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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.* c. 6.

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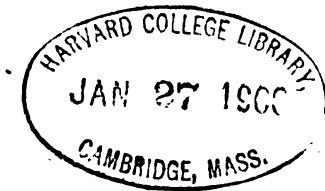
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THE CONCEPT OF IMMORTALITY IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS.¹

The aim of this lecture is to outline the concept of immortality which is presented to us in the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas. As to the importance of the subject, its place among the problems of philosophy, its ethical and religious bearings, nothing need be said. Nothing, in fact, can be said that has not been in the thoughts and words of earnest men of every age. That in our age, too, spite of all those influences which tell against such speculation, man should be concerned with the question of his destiny, is not surprising. It would be surprising, or rather incomprehensible, if, with our greater advance in the knowledge of all things else, we should lose interest in the supreme problem of our own existence.

The individual scientist may become so absorbed in his special research that he has no leisure for such discussions; but the more he discovers and teaches regarding Nature and its laws, the more seriously must mankind at large inquire as to their final lot and estate, their position in the changing universe of things. When biology tells us that the phenomena and nature of life are known in our day as they were never known before, it surely is natural that we should ask whether our human lives are more enduring than the lives of creatures less noble. When psychology proclaims that, in these latter

¹ Delivered before the University, in the Public Lecture Course, December 8, 1899.

times, it is gaining, by more rigorous methods, a more thorough insight into mind and its workings, it can hardly blame us for seeking to know whether these minds, like everything else, are doomed to decay. Nor do the physical sciences, which declare man's growing mastery over the forces of the material world, help us to the conviction that man himself, in his soul as in his body, is but a passing phase of energy in a momentary grouping of atoms.

It is, of course, possible that the progress of science has rendered the task of philosophy more difficult. The problem of immortality is perhaps more embarrassing, and the easiest way to treat it is to pass it over in silence. This, indeed, is the only course left open to those who take the materialistic point of view. If mind is simply one form of material energy, it is a foregone conclusion that mind cannot survive the body. The problem of immortality is not insoluble, because no such problem exists.

Happily, materialism of this extreme, unabashed sort is losing ground. Few care nowadays to make open profession of a philosophy that robs even the present life of its value. The greater number are those who take refuge in the agnostic position and content themselves with saying—we cannot know. As the nature of mind is forever beyond our knowledge, speculation regarding its future is a hopeless task. We may look backward as far as we please, and discern in primordial matter the promise and potency of life; but we may not look forward to a life of which the present life is potency and promise.

For all that, men continue to make guesses at the riddle of existence. Now in one form, now in another, the problem of immortality appears on the arena with its challenge to philosophy. The old views and the classic arguments may be abandoned. Scientific demonstration may be urged as a substitute for metaphysical proof. Doubtless, from age to age, the sifting and testing of evidence becomes more severe. Yet the very earnestness of criticism shows that men, at heart, are not only concerned about the possibility of a future life, but that they are anxious to secure an unshakable basis for their conviction.

Of the various lines of inquiry followed by students of this problem, there is one that more immediately interests us just now. It is that which traces the development of ideas and theories, and sets in relief the views of great thinkers. To know how men like Plato and Aristotle, Descartes, Spinoza and Kant, dealt with the question of immortality, is instructive. Their thought was epoch-making ; it survives in philosophy, either to guide or to warn. They are still the teachers of the world in breadth of view and depth and subtlety. They represent the noblest efforts of reason, its successes and its failures, in the search after truth.

To this class of thinkers, the masters of philosophy, St. Thomas Aquinas belongs. In keenness and comprehensiveness he is the worthy successor of those who moulded the thought of the ancient world. But he is also one of the ablest exponents of that Christian faith which teaches unhesitatingly that there is a life to come. A firm believer in immortality, he is at the same time a profound reasoner. And if, with the varied aspects and the manifold difficulties of the subject clearly before his mind, he nevertheless finds a rational basis for what he holds, his teaching must claim the respect and attention of every serious mind.

In order to appreciate his position, it seems advisable to explain in this first lecture his concept of immortality. The word has been taken in various senses. Those who cling to the belief in a future life, are not all of one mind as to the precise object of their belief. Those who reject all notion of a hereafter, sometimes argue against misconceptions which no one cares to defend. And when both advocates and opponents advance their claims in the name of reason, it is specially needful to define the immortality for which or against which we reason.

By immortality we mean, roughly speaking, some sort of abiding, enduring, continuing. An immortal being is one that lasts as time goes on, one that holds its reality in spite of change, withstanding the impact of destructive forces and preserving itself from internal decay. A mortal being, on the contrary, is one that sooner or later ceases to exist, whether crushed in the struggle with hostile agencies, or torn asunder

by conflicting elements within itself. This contrast between the transitory and the permanent meets us everywhere, because it is essentially the meaning of change. And according as change is slow or rapid, partial or complete, it suggests, at least vaguely, gradations of being, from that which is momentary to that which is everlasting. But when we replace this vague idea by a clearer, more definite concept, we note at once that mere permanence or persistence does not constitute immortality. The elements of the world endure, but we do not call them immortal. Force persists, the atoms remain, matter in its totality is constant; yet no one ascribes immortality to these. Immortality is the continuance of a special mode of activity, the continuance of life. Only that which lives can outlive; only that which survives, in the literal sense of survival, is, strictly speaking, immortal. Any attempt, therefore, to define immortality must begin by determining the nature of life.

Observe, again, that what we need is not an idea of life considered absolutely, but rather an idea of life as overcoming. Since an immortal thing is one that does not die, we have to form our concept of immortality by inquiring into the meaning of death. Were each living thing pure spirit, and more especially, were man such a spirit, this thanatopsis would not be necessary. But all those organisms of which we have any experience, man included, are subject to change and to that final change which is followed by dissolution. Consequently, if there be in man something that is immortal, it must remain in existence after that change has taken place. Immortality, in a word, is not simply continuance of life, but continuance of life through and beyond death.

Once we have determined the significance of life and the significance of death, there remains to be investigated the precise mode of survival. Man, as we know him here, is undoubtedly a real thing. Each human life, intertwined as it may be with other lives, is, nevertheless, a distinct existence. Selfhood, individuality, personality, are characteristics that impart to life its dignity and value. They are more complete as the living thing stands higher in the scale

and in each growing life they are more perfect in proportion to the degree of its development. When, therefore, we endeavor to think clearly of immortality, we are obliged to ask ourselves whether it implies the persistence of these characteristics.

Turning now to the teaching of St. Thomas, we find that our question really involves three questions. We had asked: What is the concept of immortality? We have now to ask:

First. What, according to St. Thomas, is the nature of life, more particularly of human life?

Second. What, in consequence, is the meaning of death?

Third. What manner of existence is that into which the soul passes when it survives separation from the body?

Life, according to St. Thomas, is essentially self-activity. A living thing is one that is not only capable of motion, but is able to put itself in motion. It has within itself the source and principle of its activity, the spring of its energy, the power of determining its function. It responds in its own way to the action of its environment, but it does not depend on external impulses. It draws substance from the lifeless world around it; but this it builds into its own structure according to its own plan. Unlike the machine, it initiates and continues a cycle of changes directed towards definite ends. Unlike the machine, it repairs its own losses and perpetuates its kind by producing other things that live as it does.

This is true of the lowest organism, but it is more obviously the case with man. Life, as we find it in ourselves, means the self-activity of organic function; and it means also that highest mode of self-activity which is revealed in consciousness. The development of our conscious life, from its simplest forms to its perfection in intelligence and will, is a growth in self-activity. The highest mental processes are those which, like thought and volition, are most evidently the operation of an internal principle. They take their rise, run their course and reach their term within consciousness itself. They enable us to become, by reflection, aware of ourselves, and thus to form the idea of a self that is active.

This idea, in its largest comprehension, includes all that constitutes us human beings. What I call myself is this

body with its functions and this mind with its conscious processes. But when, viewing life as a whole, I call it self-activity, the question arises: What is the internal principle from which this vital activity proceeds? That, says St. Thomas, which in each living thing initiates and directs its action, is the soul. That which differentiates organic function from mechanical movement in the plant, the animal and man, is none other than the soul. And it is the soul that, in each human being, makes possible the complex self-activity which reaches its culmination in the full consciousness of self. This is the fundamental notion of life; and it shows us how St. Thomas conceived of the essential relation that subsists between the soul and the body.

The import of this relation appears more clearly when we consider that in man all the various forms of vital activity are combined. We do not realize how complex our life is until we learn from physiology and psychology something of the functions that go on in body and mind. That these sciences should have many points of contact, we can readily understand; but it is significant that, just where they are apparently nearest to each other, the diversity of the functions with which they respectively deal, should be set in the strongest light. So great, indeed, is the diversity that modern thought insists on dividing and holding rigorously apart processes that are conscious from processes that are not conscious. Only the conscious processes, it is said, are psychical; with other transactions in the organism the soul has nothing to do. In this "parallelism," as it is called, there is no crossing over; the body does not act causally upon the mind, nor does the mind act as a cause upon the body.

This is not the teaching of St. Thomas. He holds rather that all manifestations of life, the unconscious as well as the conscious, issue from one and the same soul. Changes that take place constantly in the hidden recesses of the organism—in the tiniest cell and slenderest fibre—changes that most of us never suspect, are no less truly the work of the soul than are abstract thoughts and strivings of emotion and decrees of will. The suspension of consciousness, as in sleep, does not mean that the soul's activity has entirely ceased. Nor is its energy

confined, as Descartes would have us believe, to a single gland of the brain. But at all times, in every part of the body, so long as life lasts, the soul continues its action.

And here we come upon another phase of the relation in which the soul stands to the totality of our human life. It is, as we have seen, the principle of self-activity ; but it is also the principle of co-ordination. Its function is to bind together all our activities in such a way as to secure unity in our life and harmony in its development. It is not sufficient to say that many different processes go on simultaneously in the organism ; the fact is that each process is part of an orderly arrangement—is not there for its own sake, so much as for the sake of all the other processes. It is not correct to say that a disturbance in the brain and a state of consciousness are merely coincident or parallel ; we must further declare that both—the cerebral process and the mental process—have the soul for their common origin.

The need of such co-ordination is emphasized by the fact that bodily function operates in two ways. It builds up and it tears down. Along with the constant waste of tissue there goes the constant repair and renewal. Particles of matter that at one moment share the life of the organism, are at the next cast off, and their place is taken by other particles which the external world supplies. The very persistence of life seems to require that in turn the bodily elements should die.

Still, throughout this incessant come-and-go of living matter, our life itself is ever the same. We do not grow from one life to another, nor do we pass by abrupt transitions from period to period of our existence. Such changes as we note in the form and dimensions of the body, take place so gradually that there is no gap, no breach of continuity. Science, indeed, may convince me that after a given number of years every shred and grain of my body has been renewed, but it cannot bring me to believe that I am another man. What it does persuade me of is this: If life, in its material aspect, is a perpetual exchange, a commerce between the organism and its environment, there must be at the very heart of life something permanent. In the midst of this instreaming and outstreaming, there must be a centre of stability, a principle

of identity. And this principle, says St. Thomas, is the soul. At any given moment the various functions of body and mind are united and co-ordinated by the soul, so as to result in a harmonious individual life; and, by the same internal principle, the identity of the self that is now with the self that was in the past, is secured.

This view seems to be a better interpretation of the facts than that which surrenders or minimizes the consciousness of identity, in order to escape the necessity of admitting a permanent soul. A psychologist must be sorely in dread of metaphysics when he goes the length of alleging, as fatal to the mind-substance doctrine, the fact that he knows himself to be different from what he formerly was. As though the perception of difference did not require something permanent to get the perception! The very ability to say either that I am the same or that I am different, implies comparison of the present and the past,—implies, therefore, an abiding principle that is able to confront that which is with that which once was. At most, in a fit of despair, our psychologist may avow that he does not know whether he is the same man or some one else; but when agnosticism has reached this stage, it requires more drastic treatment than can be administered by St. Thomas or any other metaphysician.

As a principle of self-activity, of co-ordination and of identity, the soul exerts a manifold influence upon the body. But now when we speak of "influence" and of "exerting;" or when we study the relations between soul and body, do we, or does St. Thomas, take it for granted that soul and body are two separate things, each complete in its own sphere? This was the view of Plato, and it is the view that has prevailed in modern philosophy since the days of Descartes. That it bristles with difficulties, is only too evident. The body is a substance; the soul is another substance; one is material, the other spiritual. And since it is inconceivable that matter should act on spirit or spirit on matter, we are left with the hopeless task of accounting, in a rational way, for the unitary being and action of man.

St. Thomas foresaw this difficulty, or rather he removed the difficulty which had come down from the Platonic theory.

Man, he teaches, is specifically one substance, and the core of his substantial being is the soul. The body has its reality, its organism, its vitality, its energies and its functions, not from itself as a collection of material particles, but from the soul which actuates it. Existence belongs, in the first instance, to the soul ; and this existence is communicated, in substantial union, to the body. Man, it is true, is a composite being ; the constituents are matter and spirit ; but these are not joined on equal terms. The soul does not borrow its existence from the organism, nor does it enjoy existence simply as a co-factor with the body. It raises the body from the level of inert matter to the reality that is living, conscious, human. It depends upon the body, not for its support, but for the discharge of those functions and the adjustment of those relations which, in the actual order of things, make up the physical life of man.

The meaning, then, of life is this: The human soul, possessing reality in its own name, energizing by its self-activity, imparts to the matter of the body its organic character, quickens it to function, co-ordinates those functions and maintains, amid all variations and modifications of structure, that identity and unity in which man exists as a substantial self.

Viewed thus in its spiritual source, our life would seem entitled to perpetuity. It is not inconceivable that the soul should continue indefinitely to build up and actuate a living organism, and, in such an ideal condition, change would take place only in the direction of a richer, more perfect life.

As it is, we know that life steadily approaches a limit, and we have therefore to ask: What, in its bearing upon the question of immortality, is the significance of death ?

It seems superfluous to state that man, as man, is not immortal. Death obviously means a breaking up, a dissolution, of the composite human being and consequently a termination of human life. But our present concern is the interpretation of these facts in the light of St. Thomas' teaching. We are accustomed to speak of death as a cleavage, a separation of body and spirit. The soul is said to quit its earthly tenement, to pass away while the body remains. This language, more-

over, would be sufficiently exact on the supposition that soul and body are two independent substances. But it is an inadequate statement if we hold with St. Thomas that man is one substance. For then death means the shattering of a substantial unity, not a mere disintegration, or loss of coherent parts. And again, if this unity had its centre and ground in the material organism, we should be warranted in saying that the soul at death, deprived of that which upheld it, lapses from existence. But in keeping with the principles of St. Thomas, we come nearer the truth when we say that it is the body which falls away from its union with the soul, and, for this very reason, ceases to be a living organism. It is the material element that is detached and that perishes; that which remains is the spiritual soul.

Note, however, the consequences. Life, in its essential characteristic, that is as self-activity, persists, because the soul which is the origin of this activity survives. But it is not in all respects life as we know it here. In the first place, death implies the checking or cessation, to a large extent, of the soul's action. Those of its functions which have been most constantly performed, the functions of co-ordination, are suspended. The output of its energy which went to build up, to balance, to develop the organism in a positive way, is at an end; its vitality is confined within itself. It is even too much to say that this energy is stored up, that it passes from the kinetic form to the potential form, as it does during the life of the organism. For this very transformation is the work of body and soul conjointly; when the union is broken, the store-house is destroyed.

In the second place, consciousness itself cannot be after death just what it was before. All the activities of sense must cease; the variegated imagery that the brain supplies must be blotted out. Of impressions from the physical world there can be no question, nor of those feelings which spring from organic change. Emotion, so far as it implies a bodily resonance, can have no place in such a mind, while pleasure and pain, as sensuous states, inevitably disappear. Mental life, in a word, is reduced to the operations of the intellect and will, those higher activities of the soul which are beyond the capacity of material organs.

Thirdly, it is plain that after death the mind is deprived of those means of expression which, during life, are furnished by the organism. Thought, we may say, is prior to language; we first conceive the idea and then express it in words, or by other conventional signs. But it is equally true that these symbols are important aids to our thinking. They form the setting of our ideas and facilitate their orderly connection. When, as in abstract thinking, all other mental images fail, it is the word or the name on which we have to depend. Apart from the body, the soul must forego the manifestation of its ideas through language, and consequently surrender those forms in which it had learned to frame its thoughts.

Death, therefore, though it may not deprive the soul of existence, affects in greater or less degree every mode of the soul's activity. While some of its energies cease altogether, and while others are profoundly modified, its essential powers of intellect and will must be exercised in other ways than those of which we have any experience. The "hereafter" implies more than mere futurity; it is not only a going on but a going on differently. The life to come is continuous with the life we are leading now. The soul does not forfeit one life and betake itself to another that is entirely new. The novelty consists rather in diminution and reduction of vital function, and a consequent centering of the psychical energy upon those processes which spring from the soul itself.

This view of death, you probably observe, is speculative and partial; in order to complete it we must take into account those more familiar aspects which the lifeless body presents, those phenomena which no one calls in question. Our first impression is that the dead body is motionless, inert. All initiative is gone—the pulsing, throbbing, restless currents of life are come to a standstill. Moreover, there is no power either of response or of resistance. Though the environment is practically unchanged, and though the agencies of nature—light and sound and mechanical impact—surge round, no reaction, that we can see, is provoked. Where a short time before an internal activity struggled or ruled, the barest passivity lies; and passivity is the token of death.

Reflection, however, convinces us that activity is not absolutely ended. Within the lifeless mould, physical and chem-

ical changes of the most varied kind are in progress. Particles of matter are slipping from their bonds and entering new combinations. Force is being transformed and the play of energy continues. That which to all appearance has done with action forever, is seething with unseen motion.

But notice once more the real significance of these changes. Each of those forces which, during life, shared and sustained along with the rest an organic unity and a common purpose, breaks away after death along its particular path. It sweeps down with the tide of physical change into the lifeless world around; it hastens back to its place among the elements of earth. The solidarity is broken, and the co-ordination of function is at an end, because function, in the true sense of the word, has ceased.

The dissolution of the organism is not unlimited; it does not go to the extreme of annihilation. Each of those material particles, released as it is from living association with the body, is, nevertheless, a real thing, a real portion of the universe. It goes back to the totality of matter just as millions of other particles go back all through the course of life. The falling away at death and the return to elemental conditions are not new events, so far as the individual atoms are concerned. What makes the final change so singular and so impressive is the sudden and total return to nature of those bodily elements which were the last to take their place in the organism and their share in its life. But these, no less than their predecessors, persist as realities.

Thus, then, we may sum up these several meanings of death. That union in which body and soul were joined, is broken, and with it are terminated those activities which the two principles jointly exerted; but no whit of real existence has been lost, for matter endures and the soul lives on.

What the manner of its existence may be after death is, of course, a question for speculation. And yet some answer must be sought if we are to have a finished concept of immortality.

After what has been said, it is hardly necessary to discuss that notion of immortality which attempts to convert a popular use of the term into a philosophical dogma. Of great men we

say that they live forever, that they survive in their works, in the memory of their fellow-men, the reverence and gratitude of generations yet to be. So Shakspeare is immortal, and Plato and Thomas Aquinas himself. That this manner of speech is allowable, no one can deny ; and it is doubtless a praiseworthy ambition that prompts men to perpetuate their names by great thoughts and noble deeds. But it is strange that this concept should be seriously proposed as an index of the value of life or an incentive to worthier living. To the vast majority, it means nothing here and less hereafter ; and to the favored few, the "immortals" in poetic phrase, it simply promises that, when they have lapsed into nothingness, they will be spoken of approvingly by those who are following them to the same bourne. What comfort there may be in this mythical prospect, is hard to see. Immortality, to signify anything, must be at least as real and as concrete as mortality itself.

It may be that the natural desire to perpetuate existence, as we know it here, led many of the Greek and Hindu sages to the opposite extreme. The soul, according to the well-known doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato, not only survives, but passes from body to body through a long series of incarnations. It is the same idea of transmigration that, in modern times, suggests a plurality of existences, or a succession of lives in various human shapes. But the earlier advocates of this notion were persuaded that the soul, after quitting the body, might travel through all the grades of plant and animal life, or drag on existence as senseless clod or stone. Now, St. Thomas points out that this belief, in its various forms, springs from a false conception of the soul's independent life. Those who maintained it assumed the pre-existence of the soul, or even its eternity, and regarded its union with the body as a sort of imprisonment that did violence to its spiritual nature, the donning of a garment, as Plato held, that was worn to be cast aside. St. Thomas rejects both pre-existence and transmigration. Immortality, he teaches, implies that the soul, once it comes into being, shall continue in being. It is perpetual, not eternal, unending yet beginning in time. Its union with the body is not forced but natural, and it bears forever in its very essence a certain definite proportion and commensu-

ration to this particular body,—a tendency, therefore, to re-union which holds it aloof from those successive births of which metempsychosis dreamed.

In our own day, philosophy of the stricter type has little regard for previous states or wanderings of the soul. When it does not settle the question of future life with a decided negative or an *ignoramus et ignorabimus*, it at most holds out the prospect of re-absorption into that Being which is the Ultimate Reality, the Ground of the World, the Absolute. Mind, as we know it in our individual consciousness, is simply a part of “the one spirit’s plastic stress,”—the Universal Mind thinking for a little while through our brain. And when death tramples to fragments the dome of many-colored glass, there is only to be said :

“Dust to dust! but the pure spirit shall flow
Back to the burning fountain whence it came,
A portion of the Eternal which must glow
Through time and change, unquenchably the same.”

This theory which, more than any other, has found eloquent expression in our modern literature, appeals with a certain force to man’s longing for closer union with the divine source of his being. On the other hand, it seems to defeat its own purpose by making us purchase immortality at the cost of personality. Whatever be its ethical value, it assuredly is not a direct interpretation of our natural desires. Its fundamental idea St. Thomas long ago subjected to a criticism, which leaves no doubt as to his own meaning. The soul, he says, is not a fragment of God’s substance nor an emanation from the Divine Essence. His action brings it into being, upholds it, endows it with energy and carries it forward through all its activity. Yet, one invariable effect of His action is to maintain the soul as a distinct reality. Were consciousness merely a series of processes or states, we might reasonably, as a last resort, expect that our minds would flow back from the broken cisterns of clay to the burning fountain whence they come. As real beings, possessing existence, each in its own right though not of its own making or giving, they are capable, after death as before death, of enduring in their

selfhood. Immortality, according to St. Thomas, is not absorption; it is a continuance of individual life.

Here, indeed, a somewhat broader view is opened. Not in the human soul alone, but in every existent thing, living and non-living, God's efficient causality is unceasingly exerted. The slightest movement of the atom and the majestic coursing of the planet are alike His work, the expression of His thought, the achieving of His purpose. Yet all this activity is one cycle of transformation, of raising up and casting down. More than a relative permanence is not attained by any being of the visible world; the very structures that in delicacy and complexity surpass all the rest, are least able to endure. If mind is an exception, there must be some reason for it; and this is not far to seek. Mind alone, by its powers of intellect and will, is in some way akin to the First Cause. The exercise of those powers, far from draining or exhausting its energy, raises it to higher planes of perfection, to closer unity with itself, to better defined individuality; whereas that which is material must, in acting, spend its energies or merge its individuality in complex forms of being.

Thus interpreting on one hand the phenomena of life and, on the other, as best we may, the mystery of death, we are led by St. Thomas to this concept of immortality. The soul, as a real being, retains the essential self-activity which, for a time, it had shared with the body, retains, not all the forms of its energy, but those of thought and volition, which are the specific attributes of human life. Immortality is, therefore, more than the permanence of matter and less than the eternity of God. Matter abides, but its structure and forces are swept on from change to change. God abides, eternally identical in being and action. Man's soul, one and the same in its essence, varies from mode to mode of existence, from phase to phase of activity, from life to life, through death.

EDWARD A. PACE.

THE PRIESTHOOD AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

Much is being written at present about the relation of the Gospel or Christianity to the social movement. That a great amount of what is written should be vague and very general results from the situation. Neither the Gospel nor the social movement is a fixed quantity in the minds of observers. We have Catholic and Protestant Christianity, each radically unlike the other; we have many phases of the social movement, which at best is something difficult to define. While my purpose is to write specifically of the relation of the Catholic Priesthood to the social movement, for the sake of exposition, I use the word Christianity, taking it to mean what is conveyed by the term to the average mind. I then take the social movement to mean the whole democratic tendency in general, but in particular, that part of it whose center is in the labor movement from its conservative to its radical side.

There is no doubt that the two recognize their influence on each other. Each feels that the other means much to it, in the purposes for which both are working. Christianity is attracted to the social movement by the latter's idealism, its pronounced ethical character, and its sustained effort to realize itself in actual institutions. It is repelled by the aspect and fact of radicalism, impatience, an irreligious and antichristian character, and short-sightedness. Christianity has outlived so many similar movements and has learned by experience of so many dangers and illusions that lurk in them, that it can not help taking a conservative attitude. Then the social movement is attracted to Christianity because the ideals of the former find their highest expression and a consecration in the pages of the Gospel; and Christianity is permeated with effective sympathy for the poor and suffering. In addition, its history shows it to have been the mother of many great reforms, made in the interests of humanity. But the social movement at times mistrusts Christianity somewhat and mis-

takes its conservatism for enslavement to institutions and interests against which the movement is directing its whole force. They can not avoid nor evade each other.

The situation has been brought about in a large measure by immediate social questions which absorb attention everywhere. We commonly claim and rightly, too, that civilization is Christian; that the best understanding of human dignity and rights is found in the Gospel, as is also their surest guarantee; that the wisest guidance of social life is taken from the Gospel; that much of the progress of our twenty centuries is due to Christianity, and that many great reforms have been effected by the Church. Now that our *unsolved* social questions attract so much attention, Christianity is called to account. The human rights, so grandly taught, are only in part a reality; massive evil and no end of wrong mar our social life; opportunity for mental, moral, and even physical development is denied vast numbers of our social population. The social movement is a reaction against this condition. It is asking a two-fold question, which directly bears on Christianity, a question which will never disappear till answered effectively. Is our civilization Christian? What is Christianity worth? If we sum up the countless minor questions springing out of the situation, we can more easily realize the directness and earnestness with which the interrogation is made. The following will suggest the trend of these questions:

a) Are the *social conditions and tendencies* of modern life Christian: pauperism and social crime with accompanying degradation; the centralization of wealth; the stratification of society into classes which so often make a mockery of human equality and fraternity; the gradual elimination of conscience from business, politics, and legislation?

b) Are the *methods* of modern life Christian; methods in business, in social and industrial life, in politics and legislation? Do we find in them the legitimate product of the spirit of the Gospel? Can a business man easily be honest?

c) Are the *principles* of modern social and economic life Christian? competitive industry, manufacture for profit, private ownership of land and capital, monopoly, state individualism, and the struggle for existence?

d) Are the *ideals* of modern social life Christian? Society is shifting to an economic basis, emphasizing the economic idea in life, and its ideals correspond. Can we find the Gospel conception of the character, grandeur, and destiny of man in the successful man of to-day?

The questions are honest and earnest. They merit serious thought and a definite reply. It matters not that in many of them there are exaggerations, false assumptions of fact, and an unwarranted pessimism. In general, they are justified, and in every way worthy of all attention. Nor does it even matter that Christianity is in no way accountable for the actual condition of things; that they would be inconceivably worse except for it. The questions are there, and Christianity is vitally interested in their solution.

Replies have been made to the questions, or at least attempts have been made to formulate replies and inaugurate movements which would accord with their tenor. We may say in fact, *quot capita, tot sententiae*. While prejudice, creed and school have played their part, for our purpose of exposition we may reduce them to four principally.

A first view may be roughly stated in this way. The Gospel is supernatural and divine. It is capable of regenerating society and successfully directing it; but we have heretofore not understood it. The Gospel condemns the ideals, principles, methods and tendencies of modern social life and emphatically protests against these conditions. They are entirely unchristian. Brotherhood in Christ is the ideal—the Golden Rule is the law; yet we live in a state of semi-savagery. The Gospel condemns competitive industry, manufacture for profit, private monopoly, private ownership of land and individualism, and it commands co-operation, common ownership of wealth and socialism. This is, in substance, the reply of the Christian Socialists, taking the term in a strict and correct sense. They trace their origin to Maurice and Kingsley in England. Many who share that view are to be found in the United States. The Rev. Mr. Sprague, Bliss and Herron, all ministers, are well known as representatives of it. The view sometimes comes to expression in the secular

press, and it cannot be denied that a sentiment in favor of the view is growing.¹

A second reply may be thus formulated. The Gospel is divine and properly understood in principle. It does not condemn the principles of modern social organization as such. It does condemn many tendencies and methods and unchecked institutions and it protests against conditions which characterize modern social life. But these are due largely to political and economic principles on which our social organization rests and to a philosophic movement which has hindered Christianity from exercising its power. Christianity is not all sufficient; it cannot coerce nor change human nature. Supposing proper and wise co-operation, it can regenerate society. This may be called the attitude of the majority of Christians; particularly of the Catholic Church. It finds expression in documents, such as papal encyclicals, episcopal letters and in the attitude of the Church toward actual problems.

A third view is that of the average non-Christian or anti-Christian socialist. The Gospel is false and Christianity a human invention. Human, not divine brotherhood is the ideal and the law. Competitive industry, private monopoly, social classes, etc., violate human rights and hinder human development. Hence they are wrong independently of any consideration of the Gospel. Christianity, as an institution, is not the friend of the oppressed, it is rather their enemy.

The fourth view may be summarized in this way: The Gospel or Christianity has not much direct bearing on the question. Yet, judged by it, our civilization is not Christian. Reform can be brought about chiefly by economic and political action of the suffering classes. This view is found in the active labor movement, very widely shared among statesmen,

¹ See, for example, the article on Christian Socialism in Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform. The word is there taken in a broad sense, including every organized effort of a Christian church to further the cause of social reform. Sprague's Christian Socialism and the lectures of Rev. Mr. Bliss and Herron are authentic expressions of the view. The last named has just resigned as Professor of Applied Christianity in Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa. He was practically forced out on account of his radical views. His letter of resignation may be found in the *Chicago Commons*, October 31, 1899. Mayor Jones of Toledo, the Golden Rule candidate for Governor of Ohio, in November, is the exponent of a view much like that under discussion. He received 106,721 votes.

students and reformers. A great majority are Christian and they sincerely welcome any assistance in reform work offered by the churches. Some believe that the Gospel is divine but that its representatives "are opposed to any practical effort to advance the cause of the poor and oppressed" and that they "are against the poor and allied to the plunderers."¹

No one of these replies has won universal recognition, and no one of the numberless replies, more or less resembling these, has fared better. As regards the social movement, the great problem is still unsolved, the value and power of the Gospel, its relation to the social movement, is still an open question. Appeal to the past is of no avail. That Christianity has revolutionized society and has effected stupendous reforms is forgotten. The temper of the time is peculiar. What is alone in question is the value of Christianity to the present. A final reply, which will for all time or even for any epoch meet the question, is in the nature of the case not to be expected. It would suppose a unity of faith, a rearrangement of the perspective of life, and a social revolution. The situation resolves itself into a question of more or less. Social evils and sin, defective human institutions and social maladjustments there will be while man is man. There is a sad philosophy in the lives of Judas and Peter.

The first of the replies enumerated—that of the Christian Socialists, fails, I think, to understand the Gospel. Many-sided study is necessary to reach an understanding of the scope and meaning of it. The personality of our Savior, the conditions in which He worked and which He tolerated, attitudes which He took, the processes and limitations which He recognized in supernatural life, the laws of social growth, individual man and social nature, human limitations and the historical interpretation of the Gospel, all these elements must be taken into account before we can safely claim to have understood the rôle of the Gospel in life and its relation to the problems of society. I think the interpretation of the Chris-

¹ From a letter written to me by a student of social conditions. See *CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN*, January, 1899, p. 50.

tian Socialists fails here. At any rate it has not become a factor in the situation.¹

The third reply need not be discussed here since it calls into question the divine character of Christ. The view is current only among one class of socialists.

The fourth reply, if we may so call it, is the expression of a widely shared view. But even here we find the admission that reform by ballot is worse than nothing if the ballot is taken to be all sufficient. Law without conscience is useless, and the world does not trust in conscience without Christianity. At any rate, professed Christians who are actively interested in the labor movement, do not believe that much can be accomplished independently of religion, that is, of Christianity.

The second reply—that of the majority of Christians—particularly of the Catholic Church, is the only one, I think, that is warranted by the serious and unbiased study of the Gospel, of the history of the Church and of the economic, political, and religious history of the past three centuries. As a matter of fact the social system in which we live has not had a fair trial; we have seen its worst and not its best. Economic forces were turned loose a century and a quarter ago when the industrial revolution came. Political philosophy cleared away all legal barriers, and the disintegration of religion weakened the moral forces of society. The economic development carried all before it, and our social problem is the result. The whole reform work of the century reduces itself to the teaching of humane ideas and the checking of economic forces by legislation, and to strengthening conscience. Political and economic institutions and ethical interpretations are being slowly adjusted. Here lies the path of progress. Only when political, economic, and religious forces have done their best, may we declare our institutions bankrupt and seek a radical revolution. This, I think, is the basis of the position taken by most Christians and in particular by the Catholic Church, to which I now confine consideration.

¹ The limitations to which the realization of the Gospel may be subjected are admirably though briefly described in the letters of Cardinal Newman published in the *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 99. Tolstol's life, work, and failure are suggestive in this connection.

The attitude of the Church is not correctly understood by the social movement; when it is understood, it will hardly be accepted and acted upon spontaneously. It is necessary that the Church turn her energies to the situation, understand it, and effectively demonstrate the wisdom of her course. As the historic Church, as the one true custodian of the Gospel, as the vast organization possessing the accumulated wisdom of the ages, she has this duty to the social movement, to human society. Here lies the duty, the matchless opportunity, the responsibility of the Catholic Priesthood. The situation is clear; the point needs no demonstration. Hence I take up some practical phases of the question.

A general reply to the questions asked by the social movement is not sufficient. Only when the priesthood understands the social movement, its philosophy and its goal, its temper and its limitations,—only then will the Church win over the movement to her view. The theological sciences, as commonly taught in our seminaries, are not enough. The priest must know human society, its structure, laws, forces, and institutions; he must also know its history and its tendencies. True enough much of this is learned in our courses in moral philosophy, in theology and in history. But I think that their spirit and method are not entirely in sympathy with the actual situation; at least not as much so as might be. The knowledge needed is philosophical and scientific,—that is, accurate, honest, reasoned, and complete knowledge. It must be based on an actual acquaintance with social conditions; cursory reading of magazines and newspapers is worse than useless. It must be honest; free from professional bias and party spirit. There must be no fear of the truth. If investigations show that we are anywhere at fault, we can best afford to be the first to know it and profit by it. The honest service of truth is the only ambition worthy of a scholar who is a man. Our knowledge should be reasoned. Too much present-day opinion springs from feeling and sympathy, and often effectually hinder progress. Our knowledge must be relatively complete. Moral, religious, economic, political, and social forces combine in producing the social phenomena which we study—no one-sided view of them is ever safe. A railroad train is in a

sense an epitome of social history and economic conditions, just as the postage stamp on my desk is synoptic of the philosophy of the material universe. We may go as deeply as we wish in our social studies—any phenomenon we investigate is many-sided ; strikes, crime, labor organizations, the factory, machinery, social classes suggest problems which no genius can, as yet, successfully meet.

The priesthood has exceptional advantages for the study of social sciences. The mind of the priest is formed according to a solid, consistent, philosophical system of truth which gives it a constructive tendency, evenness, and correctness of view. A complete theory of human existence, human society, and revelation in their organic relations is kept constantly before his eyes. He possesses, too, a complete and satisfactory philosophy of sin, human passions, liberty, and grace, of the central facts of history, of the root of social problems, and the element of limitation in every human institution. The position, duties, and influence of the priest give him unequalled opportunity to understand the conditions and the temper of those for whose sake reforms are generally undertaken.

What is now needed is a slow adjustment of college and seminary courses to this situation. The horizon must be widened and the social sciences must be received into the system as an integral portion of it. They must become part of the theological formation, though necessarily submitting to the limitations which healthy traditions, and the actual situation impose. This need be only a continuation of the work already begun in the teaching of Ethics and Moral Theology. Both take account of modern conditions, as they are now taught. We must merely differentiate the social sciences, let them assume, at least an individuality and a name, and later, a proportion in keeping with their importance.

It may be well to anticipate some difficulties which could be urged, though the purpose of this paper is rather to suggest a problem, not to solve it ; to stimulate, not to direct.

It is, of course, impossible for every priest to pursue such work as is here outlined. Time, talent and taste are necessary, and, needless to say, not all have them. But I am speaking

of the priesthood rather than of the individual priest. The priesthood is a divine institution interpreting revelation to life and directing life by revelation. The social intelligence must be formed in the theoretical truths of revelation and the social will must conform to its practical truths. Life, social life at least, resolves itself into intellectual, political, social and religious movements; the priesthood should understand them. The organic view of it, as a divine institution, shows its plenary responsibility to every phase of social life which comes into contact with divine revelation. The individual priest should measure duty and direct activity by this view. It gives us apostles, raises up leaders, inspires thinkers and fits the priesthood to all times, classes and conditions.

Once this view of the relation of the priesthood to the social movement enters our traditions, and the study of society has its place in the process of theological formation, our students in general will have a sufficient knowledge of the social sciences. Then there will gradually arise among them those with peculiar talent for this work; men who may become thinkers of the first rank in Economics, Political Science, Sociology. This is the process which has given us our thinkers in Dogmatic and Moral Theology, History, Canon Law, the Languages, and Scripture. It is the brilliant few that we need—the dozen great minds which shall furnish us a safe leadership in uncertain social conditions, and show to the world what the Gospel means to society. Next to them, the great number, who are to be, at least thoroughly acquainted with the scope, methods and spirit of the social sciences and who may render great service to the cause. Then the greater number, so occupied with the cares of the ministry as to be able to give little time to social thought, can at least bring intelligent sympathy into their dealings with social problems, as is largely the case now. All in all, the traditions in which the priesthood is formed would thus adjust themselves to the times, and an effective reply to the great question of civilization and Christianity would, *nolens volens*, be forced on the world.

The work has been admirably begun in Germany, France, Belgium and Italy, where the priesthood has practically taken

over the leadership of the Catholic people in the social movement. They are writing on Economics, Sociology and Political Science, entering politics, organizing labor unions and reform parties. Conditions made it imperative. The Catholic laity is doing a noble work in these countries; it can do a great work here, but the laity alone cannot accomplish the result we seek. They have not and cannot easily have a theological formation. Truth is organic, is one; revealed and natural truth differ rather in the way of knowing than in quality. In the condition I am discussing the theological formation is necessary. When bishops and priests lose the theological spirit in their reform work, they harm rather than help the cause. This was seen in France a century or more ago; instances on the continent nearer our own time are not lacking. We must be assisted by Catholic thinkers, men who are more or less well acquainted with theological truth. No one else can do their work. But it is not reasonable to expect them to do too much.

There is a practical difficulty in the fact that there is no room in our college and seminary courses for this study as outlined. But we need not hesitate for that. Our courses enjoy no immunity from human conditions and their consequences. The situation will force the adjustment some time; the only danger is that we may be too slow. The recognized place of physiology and psychology in Ethics and Moral Theology, and the actual attention given to Economics, assure us that practical obstacles will eventually be overcome. An educational system that has overcome difficulties without number, and achieved results, great as ours has done, need never find reason for hesitation.

In urging the introduction of the social sciences into the process of theological formation, I justify myself by an organic view of the priesthood, and by the example of the Holy Father. He has studied and written on our social problems with a success and sympathy which are a source of congratulation. The encyclical on the study of philosophy touches fundamental questions of thought; the encyclical on marriage treats a group of specific social questions; those on the constitution of civil society and the origin of power,

are professedly studies in political philosophy from a Christian standpoint; that on liberty is a study of the rights and duties of citizens; that on the condition of labor is an admirable review of the social situation, and a platform for religious, social, legal, and political reform. This organic view of the priesthood is one of two great thoughts for which our University stands. It aims to serve the Catholic cause, to equip Catholic priest and layman for a life which shall be at once, serviceable to God and Country,—*Deo et Patriae*. The University stands against the fatal process of excessive specialization—it represents a synthetic thought. It is to serve in equipping priests and laymen who will stand for the unity of truth, faith and science. What is this but the Christian idea! The true concept of life assumes continuity between present and future existence. The future is to be determined here—we are part and parcel of the world and society. Christ founded His Church primarily to accomplish the work of sanctification and salvation; neither knowledge nor earthly prosperity or happiness is her direct purpose. Yet there is an essential harmony in things. In serving the future, the Church best serves the present. The Church will, therefore, never be indifferent to temporal prosperity. She is directly interested in social problems and reform. She has a message for the age, and she depends on her priesthood for its effectual presentation.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

THE POETRY OF ISRAEL.

The historical progress as well as the literary productions of the Israelites show that poetry may be considered an important factor in their religious and social development. The union of the tribes, and the gradual development of that union into a national organization, was, indeed, politically due to the necessity of preventing the encroachments of foreign peoples; but the union was made closer, and the national organization more quickly perfected by the hymns of religion, the songs of battle, and of the home, scattered among the tribes. For these songs and hymns manifested the beliefs, hopes, and feelings of all the Israelites from Dan to Beer Sheba. It is true that in Greece the poems of Homer and Hesiod produced an effect somewhat similar to that of the Hebrew songs; but the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Theogonies* of Hesiod, never shaped the Hellenic mind so exactly, nor caused such sincere conviction, as did the Song of Deborah, and the Psalms of later times.¹ The Greek mind advanced beyond the domination of Homer and Hesiod; but the Israelite ever pored over the poems of Isaiah and the heart burning songs of Hosea, and, with their words deep in his memory, looked out into the darkness for the bright Light, and the loved One of Israel. Their poems, therefore, were the expressions of ideas intensely real to the Hebrews. They were not mere battle-songs, like those of Tyrtæus, that infused a

¹For those who desire to pursue the subject of Hebrew poetry the following bibliography is given. It does not pretend to completeness.

Lowth: *De Sacra poeti Hebraeorum*. 1753. Ewald Heinrich: *Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes. Erster Theil*. Göttingen, 1839. Meir Ernest: *Geschichte der poetischen National Literatur der Hebräer*. Leipzig, 1856. Ley Julius: *Grundzüge des Rhythmus des Vers und Strophenbaues in der Hebr. Poesie*, 1875. Bickell Gustavus: *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrica*. Oeniponte, 1882. Ley Julius: *Leitfaden der Metrik der Hebräischen Poesie*. Halle, 1887. Driver S. R.: *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. New York. 1st ed., 1891. Bissell: *Metrical Theories as to Old Testament Poetry*. Presbyterian and Ref. Review. July, 1893. Moulton, R. G.: *The Literary Study of the Bible*. Boston, 1896. *Book of Psalms: The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments*. Ed. by Paul Haupt. 1898; Appendix: *Music of the Ancient Hebrews*. Briggs, C. A.: *The Study of Holy Scripture*. New York. 1899. Chapters xiv-xvii.

new spirit into the disappointed Spartans and made them wield victorious arms, nor were they only beautiful religious chants—beautiful thoughts in rhythmical words—but their war-songs and their hymns were declarations of their trust and faith in the Lord, Who guided them with an unseen but mighty hand; and the Lord in whom they believed and put their trust was considered as their own God, and they were His chosen people. It is in this idea of isolation¹ from the nations of the earth that may be found the reason of the influence of poetry on the Israelitish people. When the tribes of Israel crossed the Jordan and encamped along its banks and in the plains around Jericho, they were in a land whose inhabitants represented, in the Hebrews' sight, all that was hateful and worthy of extermination. For some time before, the Israelites had been taught to believe that this land was their own dwelling place; that the land flowing with milk and honey had been set apart for them. In distant Egypt they had learned to think upon the Canaanites, Perizites, Hittites, and the Jebusites as usurpers.² And now when they entered the Promised Land, they found themselves face to face with a people far superior in numbers, and in the arts and customs of civilization. But wandering in the desert, the consequent powers of endurance, and a firm faith in the word of the Lord, made the united tribes of Israel victors, and the Land of Promise was theirs. As the earlier inhabitants were of a kindred race and spoke the same language, it is probable that those who were not exterminated were gradually absorbed by the conquerors.³ However, neither this, nor the vicissitudes through which the tribes passed before the monarchy was established, obliterated the peculiar characteristic of Israel. That characteristic was the uniqueness of their religious belief. By this it is not meant that the belief was always so strong as to prevent the entrance of other religious beliefs into the minds of some. The earlier period, and even the middle period of Israelitish history, show a tendency on the part of whole sections of the people to move in the direc-

¹ Num. xxiii, 9 b. For the isolation of the modern Jew cf. I. Zangwill: *Zionism*; *Contemporary Review*. Oct., 1890. p. 500 f.

² Ex. iii, 17.

³ Wellhausen: *Israel and Judah*, 1891, p. 85.

tion of foreign religions. But even at the time of such movements it was known that they were against the traditional belief. Although the prophets seem to have been often opposed to the mass of the people, yet there was always a tacit acquiescence in the truth of their teachings. This religious belief, then, was of such a nature as to make it impossible for the Israelites to have unreserved communication with those who held a different faith.¹ The belief and the believer were inseparably united in the minds of the peoples of antiquity. The Israelite, therefore, held the same opinion of the worshipper of other gods as he did of those gods themselves. That opinion was, in historic times, that foreign gods were things of stone and wood, with no life in them, that bowing down before them was idolatrous, and that they were incentives to all that was lowest in man.²

Their images are silver and gold,
The work of the hands of man.
They have mouths and speak not;
They have eyes and see not.
Ears they have and hear not.

.
Like to them shall be their makers.
All who trust in them.³

In consequence of this religious belief the Hebrews were marked off from the surrounding peoples. They believed that Jahveh was the one supreme God. Other peoples of antiquity did not hesitate to adopt gods from one another. Eastern divinities with all their characteristic qualities, were found in Western temples; and in the East homage was paid to some of the gods of Greece. But the faithful Israelite could not tolerate strange gods.⁴

With this religious belief, and the consequent dislike of neighboring peoples, there was another factor that made Israelitish life isolated. On one side of Palestine was the great, apparently limitless sea; on the other was the desert,

¹ Deut. vii, 2.

² Num. xxv, 1-5.

³ Ps. cxv, 4-8. Wisdom xiii, 10.

⁴ 2 Kings, xix, 15.

roaming over which were the dangerous sons of Ismael. In the north was hated Damascus; and south, was the wilderness down to the sea. The Promised Land seemed to have been shut in by nature from foreign influences. For centuries it was indeed tempting to wanderers tired of their restless, insecure manner of life;¹ it was the battle ground of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and was traversed from north to south, and from the Jordan to the sea by vast armies; but the results of such invasions were to make the Israelite more insular, and to make more intense his hatred of the Gentiles. They were his enemies politically and religiously, and whatever intercourse was had with them produced no essential change in the spiritual life of the Israelite.

A necessary consequence of this isolation was the development of a subjective quality in the character of the Hebrew. As he was separated from other peoples, and had no share in their ideals, so was he thrown back upon himself, and upon the nature world surrounding him. The stillness and monotony of the desert were conducive to the exercise of the meditative faculty; and afforded, also, an opportunity for perfecting belief in one God. But it was in Palestine that the belief was realized; for the wonderful nature-world around presented concrete images of the power and presence of Deity.² No other country in the world has such varied scenery as the Holy Land. There are there the cold, snow-topped mountains, the wheat fields along the valleys, and the wild luxuriant flowers of the warmest clime. From the hill tops can be seen the sea beating against the long, straight coast-line; and the dull, unvaried desert that goes down from Judea to the Dead Sea. The Jordan, too, can be traced as it winds along among the tall rushes deep in the valley of the Ghor; and beyond it to the south is the weird, misty land of Moab.³ The climate also adds much to the impressiveness of the scenery. At times it is extremely variable. During the rainy season—the winter time—thunder storms of terrific force sweep over the land. To a people of the Hebrew tem-

¹ Smith: *Historical Geography of Palestine*, 1887; pp. 7-11.

² Smith: *op. c.* p. 28 f.

³ *Ibid.* p. 95. Stoddard: *A Cruise Under the Crescent*, p. 117.

perament the scenery and the wild storms were manifestations of God. The lightnings shooting from the sky were His Seraphim, and the thunder-clouds His Cherubim. The strong winds, the rushing waters, the green grass of the field, were indications of the presence of Him

Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain,
 Who layeth the beams of His chambers
 In the waters,
 Who maketh the clouds His chariot,
 Who walketh upon the wings of the wind.¹

Love of nature for her own sake is hardly discernible in early Hebrew literature. In those passages that come nearest to manifestations of nature love, the descriptions are little more than a background for the powers of God, or the actions of men. However, they show the effect of nature on the writer :

The winter is passed,
 The rain is over and gone;
 The flowers appear in the land,
 The time of singing is come,
 And the turtle-doves' murmur is heard
 In our land.
 The fig tree is reddening her figs,
 And blossoming vines give forth
 Their scent.²

A result of isolation, the subjective temperament and manner of considering nature, was to make whatever original literature the Israelite produced of a highly poetic character. For true poetry is merely an expression, in a becoming manner, of the best and noblest in man. Nearly all the Hebrew literature may, also, be designated as personal appeals to God. The Divine Spirit was thought to permeate every thing; and the Hebrew writers seemed always to feel His influence. There are, therefore, among these poetic compositions no epics—no poems in which a human being is idealized, and made an exemplar of the best in mankind. The Hebrew mind was, if we may term it, concrete; it looked at men as they are; it saw the inherent weakness, the imperfections, the tendency to

¹ Ps. civ, 2 b, 8. A. V.

² Song of Songs, II, 11-18.

what is bad, and the difficulty of attaining what is good; it saw plainly the complete dependance of man on God, and therefore it gave forth songs of praise, and thanksgiving, and petition to the Almighty. And when it considered subjects not of a purely religious nature it invested them, also, with a dignity and nobleness that came from its habitual tendency to view everything from the religious position. The poems, coming, as they did, from the heart, and expressing the thoughts that were in the mind of every faithful Israelite, produced an impression that was deep and everlasting. They put in words the great hope of Israel, just as they manifested and kept living in outward form, the belief that marked off the chosen people from all other peoples of the world. Moreover, the content of the poems being of such a character, tended to bind the individual Israelites together, and thus aided in the formation of a permanent social organization. Poetry once produced had, therefore, a reactive influence. It came from minds that were convinced, and conveyed ideas that strengthened conviction.

The influence of Hebrew poetry may, however, be considered from another point of sight than the religious one. It is a truism to state that poetry of a high order has a directive influence on the social life of a people. But on the Israelites it had an extraordinary influence. The noble poetry of the great singers developed in the people love for the music of words. Song became a necessity; and in consequence, it became a part of daily life. As religion and life were intimately united among the early Hebrews, much of that song was of a religious character. They preserved also with greatest care those literary productions that had some relation to their religious life. However, there are indications—lines, strophes, and complete poems—which point to the existence of songs not of a purely religious character. From a line in the second Book of Samuel it may even be inferred that anthologies of those songs had been compiled.¹ And in the Book of Kings we are told Solomon “spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that

¹ 2 Samuel 1, 18.

springeth out of the wall ; he spake also of beasts and of fowl and of creeping things and of fishes.”¹ But these have been lost,² along with the productions of Ethan, Haeman, Calcol, and Darda, poets who flourished probably during the Solomonic period.³ Enough, however, remains to enable us to view the closeness of the union of poetry and daily social, as distinct from religious, life.

As during the Middle Ages when, hemmed in on all sides and with persecution always imminent, the Jews manifested their love of song and music by the beautiful wedding songs of Jehudah Halevi and Luzatto,⁴ so also in earlier days poetry was an important element in wedding festivities. The forty-fifth psalm seems to have been the contribution of a Hebrew poet to the wedding ceremonies of a foreign prince. But it is too studied and devoid of joyous naturalness to be taken as a type of marriage songs. There are, however, a number of songs strung together now, and making up what is commonly called the “Song of Songs,” that were sung by the common people of the Northern Kingdom at marriages, which have never been equalled in lyrical beauty. Even now they seem to carry in every line the perfume of a soft Syrian springtime, when the air was loaded with the scent of

an orchard of pomegranates,
With precious fruits ;
Spikenard and saffron,
Calamus and cinamon, withall trees
Of frankincense,
Myrrh and aloes, with all the chief
Spices.⁵

There is a voluptuous music in their lines, a joyous naturalness, wealth of imagery, abandonment to the emotions stirred up by the happy scenes around, that indicate a high degree of poetic power in the singer, and a corresponding amount of æsthetic culture in the audience. To understand the songs it is necessary to have a mental picture of the brilliantly

¹ 1 Kings V, 12, 13, cf. Is. v, 12 a ; Amos vi, 5.

² In our Book of Proverbs there are many ascribed to Solomon.

³ 1 Kings V. 11 a.

⁴ Abrahams : Jewish Life in the Middle Ages ; p. 189 f.

⁵ Song of Songs : iv, 13-14.

costumed pageant of the bridegroom, as it slowly winds its way in the direction of the home of the bride. Along the road the attendants are dancing in half barbaric Oriental manner to the music of the harp and cymbals, while the singers with swaying bodies lift high their voices in songs of praise and admiration for the fair one. In the distance can be heard the songs of the maidens of the bride, as they discern the palanquin of the groom :

Who is this that cometh up out of the
Wilderness,
Like pillars of smoke,
Perfumed with myrrh and frankincense,
With all powders of the merchant ?¹

Then as the groom approaches nearer, the singers vie with one another in descriptive songs—lyrics small and beautifully wrought, teeming with imagery taken from the luxuriant Oriental scenery. They are the outpourings of hearts steeped in song, passionately fond of rhythmical speech, needing only the joyousness of kindred hearts to make them give forth immortal poems. And, as in all Hebrew poetry, so even in these wedding songs the earnestness of the singer is discernable, for he seems unable to resist the power that prompts him, in the midst of gaiety, to teach a lesson :

Set me as a seal upon thy heart,
As a seal upon thy arm ;
For love is strong as death ;
Jealousy is cruel as the grave ;
The flashes thereof are flashes of fire,
A very flame of the Lord.²

The mission of the poet was a noble one, and the Hebrew singer seemed to be always conscious of the power he possessed, and the nobleness of his calling. He could move the people, arouse in them a high degree of enthusiastic joy, make them able to understand the beautiful nature-world, and their obligations one to another, and, withal, forget himself so completely that the singer is lost forever in the song. In the mind of the poet, his mission seemed to be, to give forth the songs that were in him, to let them be carried over the land, while

¹ Ibid. III, 6.

² Ibid. viii, 6.

he was to be forgotten. There is something pathetic in this self-sacrifice of a sensitive soul; but it indicates the spontaneity of the song, and the love of it for its own sake.

Another source of influence discernible in these wedding songs, and which may also be observed in nearly all Hebrew poetry, is the local color. The imagery is taken from scenes long familiar to those who listened to the songs:—the pools of Hesbon by the gates of Bath-rabbim, the tower of Lebanon, and the lofty summit of Carmel. The bride and the groom seem to be products of the Syrian soil, containing within themselves all that was graceful, attractive and beautiful in the nature-world around. They are the centre of every little picture, and the culmination of the loveliness of the familiar landscape. Poetry such as this, beautiful, sensual sometimes to the Western mind, delicate, and now and then shrouded in the warm, misty symbolism peculiar to Hebrew poetry, given forth in the open air and the bright sunshine, assuredly tended to make wedded life happier, tended to elevate the minds, and make more enduring the heart-love of those who heard the poets sing. Love seemed to be consecrated by songs such as these; domestic life was made holy; and the result may be seen in the picture of the perfect wife in the Book of Proverbs.¹

Somewhat similar to these wedding songs is the pastoral prose poem named the Book of Ruth. In idyllic style it is the story of the marriage of a foreign girl and Boaz of the tribe of Benjamin. In pure pastoral beauty it is far superior to the idylls of Theocritus; and the lesson it teaches seems to anticipate the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of all men. It is also a distinctively people's book; delineating humble farm life, and the daily routine of the laborers in the fields; the pauses to satisfy curiosity; the monotonous cutting of the grain; and then the shyness of the strange girl from Moab, as she goes forth to gather the gleanings for the humble meal of her dead husband's mother, Noomi. It is, however, after the marriage, and when a son had been born, that we are able to see the natural tendency to poetic thought and speech. When

¹ Prov. xxxi, 10-31: The latest exposition of the Song of Songs is contained in: Kurzer Hand Commentar zum AT. Die Fünf. Megillot. Budde, et al. Freiburg.

the joyful news had spread abroad that Noomi was no longer desolate, because her daughter-in-law had brought forth a son, the women of the neighborhood gathered round her, and blessed the Lord who had not forgotten her. The song is very plain, in complete harmony with the simple folk who sang it; but it has a dignity and pathetic beauty about it, a naturalness and freedom from studied effort, that show it came from the heart, and lead us to infer that it was one of the popular birth-songs of the time. And from the way in which it is appended to the story we may also conclude, that the singing of such songs was not at all uncommon. Hardly any event would be more likely to call forth all the joyous emotions of the Hebrew soul in poetic speech, than the birth of a son. It was a direct manifestation of Divine favor, and was suggestive of glorious hopes, of the perpetuation of the family name, and of a calm, contented old age. It is in this light that we should look upon the simple song of the women of Benjamin :

Bless the Lord,
 Who has not left thee this day,
 Without a kinsman ;
 May his name be famous in Israel !
 To thee shall he be a restorer of life,
 And a supporter in thy old age ;
 For thy daughter-in-law, who loveth thee,
 Hath brought him forth,
 Who shall be to thee better than
 Seven sons.¹

Open air festivities are at all times and among all peoples productive of song. The spirit then seems so free, the warm sunshine penetrates so deeply, and the joyousness visible everywhere casts such a subtle spell over the soul, that the only appropriate manner of expression seems to be song. From very early times annual festivals were held in different parts of Israel.² Every year at the time when the vines were laden with grapes the maidens of Shiloh went forth into the vineyards and amused themselves with songs and dances.³

¹ Ruth iv, 14 b, 15.

² In early times there were professional minstrels, Gen. iv, 20.

³ Ibid. xxi, 29.

Unfortunately very few of these festival songs have been preserved. They seem to have died away as soon as the voices that sang them were still. The festival songs we do possess were probably composed for religious gatherings. There is one, however, that may have been written as a secular harvest song. As it has a refrain, it was probably sung alternately by the minstrel and the harvesters :

O God be merciful unto us and bless us,
 May He cause His face to shine on us ;
 That Thy way may be known upon earth,
 Thy help among the heathen.
 May the peoples praise Thee, O God,
 May all the peoples praise !
 May the nations rejoice and joyfully shout,
 For Thou judgest the people with justice,
 And leadest the nations on earth.
 May the peoples praise Thee, O God,
 May all the peoples praise !
 The earth has yielded her increase.
 May God our God bless us,
 May God bless us ;
 And may all the ends of the earth fear Him.¹

The appearance of the new moon was the signal for festivities among the Hebrews. Very often these may have been held in the open air ; and although primarily of a religious character,² yet must have been the occasion of much social joy also. One of our Psalms was written for such a festival. The opening verses are as follows :

Sing aloud unto God our Strength,
 Make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob,
 Take a psalm and bring hither the cymbals,
 The pleasant harp with the psaltery,
 Blow up the trumpet in the new moon,
 In the time appointed on our solemn feast day,
 For this is a statute for Israel,
 And a law of the God of Jacob.³

By the side of springs in the wilderness, when night had come, the shepherds and the hunters gathered round the

¹ Ps. lxxvii. Translation by Furness in Haupt's "Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments; The Book of Psalms." ² Num. x, 10. ³ Ps. lxxx, 1-4, A. V.

smouldering fire and sang songs, commemorative of the heroes of their race.¹ These were probably somewhat similar to the songs of the Bedouin of to-day. Of a different character, yet as illustrative of the power of song in sustaining the courage of the people amid great difficulties and miseries, it will not be out of place here to comment on a collection of songs, remarkable for their beauty and historical value. The songs have commonly been called the "Gradual Psalms," but the more intelligible as well as well as correct title is, the "Songs of the Ascents" or "Return."² Among Christians they have been deservedly popular; one of them is recited every day at the end of Compline; another, the *De Profundis*, is the night prayer of many, and the entire collection of fifteen songs make up the Ferial Vespers in the Roman Breviary. Many of them were composed when the Jewish exiles were returning from captivity in Babylonia.³ Those were assuredly times of severest trial for the little band that left the beautiful lands of Chaldea, and began the long journey across the desert to return to the ruins of their homes. It needed all the hope that they were capable of arousing, to make them brave the dangers and the miseries they knew were before them. But they were going back home; and among no people did the word "home" mean more than to the exiled Hebrews. It meant going up to Zion, the dwelling place of their God. The songs vividly picture the vicissitudes through which the Israelites passed, and give a deeper knowledge of the firm trust that filled the hearts of all. As they went forth into the desert they must have blessed the poet who seized the harp that had hung soundless so long,⁴ and cheered them with words that meant realities to them.

Jahveh is thy guardian,
 Jahveh is thy shelter upon thy right hand;
 By day the sun shall not smite thee,
 Nor the moon by night;⁵
 Jahveh shall protect thee from every danger,
 He shall save thy life.⁶

¹ *Ibid.* v, ii.

² *Hebraica*: Vol. II, Jan., 1896.

³ *Am. Eccles. Review*: vol. XIV, 1896; p. 385 f.

⁴ *Ps.* cxxxvii, 2.

⁵ Easterns still believe in the effect of moonlight on the human frame. Burton: *A Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, 1856; p. 104, note.

⁶ *Ps.* cxli, 5-7.

When at last they arrived at the ruins of Jerusalem, many new difficulties and disappointments had to be overcome. The land which had been so long idle refused to yield to the labor bestowed upon it.¹ In the long furrows² the seed was scattered, but the green shoots did not appear. Drought and famine afflicted the land, and the people suffered many hardships. Even the voice of the singer that had formerly aroused them and made them labor hard, although tired out, was for a while powerless to move them. It seemed as if they had been dreaming,³ and now were awake and in pain. Soon, however, their old hopefulness returned. Zerubbabel, whom the Lord had made like to a signet,⁴ guided them; and the poet again inspired them:

Those trusting in Jahveh are like Mount Zion,
Which is not shaken, which stands forever.⁵

After all the sufferings and days of despondency through which they had passed, the joy of the exiles may, in a measure be understood, when they saw the realization of their hopes in the new temple they had erected. It was not fitting that they should first have homes and then the dwelling of the Lord be built.⁶ The building therefore was begun shortly after their return. The second temple was indeed very plain when compared with the glorious one of Solomon; but it was the House of the God of Abraham, and a holy place. The head of Israel was again raised high, all the ancient splendor seemed about to envelop him; the old men told the stories of the days when King David and his mighty son Solomon had made the name of Israel feared throughout the land; and the poets sang among the people as they came up to the city:

I rejoice with those who say to me,
'Let us enter into the house of the Lord;'
Our feet are standing again
In thy gates, O Jerusalem,
Jerusalem which is built like a city
Closely compacted together.⁷

These songs, then, are a mirror of the fluctuating fortunes

¹ Haggai 1, 1-11.

² Ps. cxv, 1.

³ Ps. cxxvi, 4 b.

⁴ Haggai, ii, 19.

⁵ Ibid. 1 b.

⁶ Haggai ii, 28.

⁷ Ps. cxxii, 1-3.

and feelings of Israel.¹ "Their freshness, their brilliant color, their allusions, their reflection of the homely phrase and surrounding of the folk, show them to have no other author than the mouth of the people."²

From the Sacred Books of the Old Testament it may be inferred that Palestine contained a large population; and that the land seems to have been cultivated from end to end. It was indeed like a beautiful garden. But to maintain that state of cultivation much care and labor were needed. It is interesting, therefore, to find the man who has been wilfully careless, and has become poor,³ held up to public contempt in a sonnet, that has found a place in a book made up of popular proverbs:

I went by the field of the slothful,
And by the vineyard of the man void of understanding;
And lo! it was all grown over with thorns,
The face thereof was covered with nettles,
And the stone wall thereof was broken down.
Then I beheld, and considered well,
I saw and received instruction;
Yet a little sleep and a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep;
So shall thy poverty come as a robber,
And thy want as an armed man.⁴

A poem such as this, so stinging in its scorn, recited among the people, must certainly have had a beneficent influence in promoting the prosperity of the nation. It was in the nature of a rebuke also to other singers, who may have endeavored to stir up popular discontent in songs descriptive of the misery of the poor, and the unlimited wealth of the rich. And even in modern times, from the social of view, it is suggestive.

Manual labor was held in honor by the early Hebrews. It is not surprising, therefore, to find traces of songs written in honor of various trades. As among the Kelts, who resembled

¹ Cheyne: *Origin of the Psalter*; p. 55.

² Murray: *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*.

³ For the Arab's opinion of the poor man, cf. Burton: *op. c.*, p. 86

⁴ Prov. xxiv, 30-33.

the Hebrews in their love of poetry, there was the song of the smith,¹ so also there is an ancient Hebrew song of the worker in iron and copper.² The song as we now have it, is only a fragment ; and the text is so obscure as to make it impossible to reconstruct the poem. The extract given in Genesis probably belonged to a series of popular songs, in which the minstrel and the shepherd were eulogized also.

It is in the quietness of the home that the character is formed, traditions are strengthened, and impressions received that are everlasting. One of the most important Mosaic laws was commanded to be observed in the home. When the Paschal day came round and the ceremonies were performed, the children were encouraged to ask the meaning of the various actions done, in order that an opportunity might be had to explain them.³ In this way, year after year, as the stories of the deliverance from Pharaoh, the wanderings in the wilderness, the wonderful deeds of King David, and the splendid works of Solomon were told, the youthful Israelite learned to know and to love his country, its heroes, and the God of his fathers ; and thus was instilled into him the spirit that has been a powerful factor in the preservation of the Jewish race. In the Book of Psalms there are songs that seem to have been written rather for meditation in the silence of the home than for public recitation. They have a calmness of style, a depth of meaning, and are so suggestive that one unconsciously lingers long over them, as his own thoughts unfold themselves under the mystic spell of the poet. In these short poems the world-character of Hebrew poetry is brought forth. They are like the still small voice that spoke to Elijah,⁴ and that still speaks in the heart of every human being. Among these poems of a meditative character, such as seem to suggest home reading, we note one of singular beauty and suggestiveness. The ideas running through it are, the eternity of God, His unchangeableness, and the life of man, which is "as a passing day"⁵

¹ Petrie : Collection of Ancient Irish Music.

² Gen. iv, 28.

³ Ex. xiv, 14.

⁴ 1 King's, xix, 12.

⁵ Moulton : Literary Study of the Bible, p. 475.

Thou turnest men again to dust,
 And sayest: "Return ye children of men!"
 A thousand years are in Thy sight
 But as yesterday when it is past,
 And as an hour in the night.
 The generation of men is ever shifting,
 They are like the herb which springs anew,
 Which shoots up in the morning and thrives,
 And in the evening it fades and withers.¹

This beautiful poem must have been the work of a man who had thought and suffered much. We find so few traces of the writer who penned the lines of Hebrew songs that we seldom pause to think what manner of man he was. The poem is before our eyes like a rare diamond, the brilliancy and beauty of which fascinate, and prevent all thought of the humble material of which it is made. The following lines from the same poem give room for much conjecture; they seem to come from the heart of an old man as he thought of the years gone by, and how very brief, like the flight of an arrow through the air,² his long life had been:

Our life lasts seventy years,
 Or, at the most, eighty;
 And its unrest is toil and emptiness;
 For it passes away swiftly, and we take our flight.³

Centuries after they were written these poems still produce a lasting impression. Their words sink into the memory, and again and again some incident in our own lives will make them seem to ring out loudly in our ears. Then our lives, too, seem to be, but as an hour that passes in the night. And since the effect is so great on the modern mind, it must have been much greater, more real and lasting on the mind of the ancient Hebrew. He lived amid the surroundings that suggested the poem, the language was a living one to him, the words had a music in them all his own, he was in accord with the writer of the poem and shared all his beliefs, emotions and hopes. The changelessness of God, and the continuous changing of things created, the coming of the seasons, the disappearance

¹ Ps. xc, 3-6; translation by Furness.

² Wisdom, v. 12.

³ Ps. xc, 10.

of the flower, that was full of beauty and life a little while before, the passing of man like a ship in the waves, that leaves no trace behind,¹ all these filled the Israelite with awe, and influenced his thought in a way the modern mind can hardly understand.

In the Middle Ages the Jews enlivened the home with poetical proverbs and riddles. On Friday evenings, in the winter-time, the family would remain for hours around the table, giving forth dainty epigrams, and listening to the delicately expressed acrostics and riddles of poets like Jehudah Halevi.² Among the early Hebrews, also, there was a large floating literature of proverbs and riddles. Many of them are the expression of popular experience, and were familiar everywhere. Others, however, are of a specially didactic character, and were probably intended for the domestic circle. These are directed to the various members of the family, and their object is to teach what is needed for the perfect home,—reverence for the father and mother,³ and a peaceful, harmonious spirit. The domestic faults are touched upon in words that are few and forceful; and the virtues are extolled in a way that seems to make them lose their abstract qualities and become easy of attainment. The rich are exhorted to do acts of kindness,⁴ and the man struggling with poverty is encouraged to make his humble room a cheerful home:

Better is a dry morsel
And quietness therewith,
Than an house full of good cheer
With strife.⁵

Cheerfulness is, indeed, in a home like the bright, warm sunshine coming in and dispelling the coldness that was there; and again and again do we find poetical epigrams in praise of it.

A merry heart doeth good
Like a medicine;
But a broken spirit
Drieth up the bones.⁶

Honor of the father of the family was a virtue of the great-

¹ Wisdom v, 10.

⁴ Prov. xxii, 2.

² Abrahams: op. c., p. 386.

⁵ Prov. xvii, 1.

³ Prov. xxx, 19.

⁶ Prov. xvii, 22.

est importance among the Hebrews. All through their history we find indication of the esteem in which he was held; many laws were enacted to enforce obedience to him, and the severest punishment inflicted on those who broke the laws. Some of the most beautiful figures in Hebrew literature are taken from the relation of father and son. Israel was the beloved child of God.¹ The prominence given to this idea is one of the marks differentiating Hebrew literature from the literature of all other ancient peoples.

In the Vedas of the Hindoos, and the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, are manifested vague ideas of the great Being behind the phenomena of nature—the storm-cloud, sun, and fire. But that Being dwells apart from men, and seems to look down coldly and impassively upon them. Among the Hebrews, however, God was a loving Father, kind and forgiving, ready always to receive into His friendship again His wayward children. This love of Israel for his God was typified in the love of the son for his father. Nor was the mother neglected. Although there were undoubtedly many abuses of the law of divorce, and although woman occupied an inferior position to that of man, yet the wife and the mother were held in high honor by the early Hebrews. Many of the laws of Leviticus with regard to them cannot be paralleled in delicacy and tenderness by any other ancient nation. The great law promulgated in the wilderness declared that honor must be given alike to father and mother.² And in the popular proverbial literature it is written :

The eye that mocketh at his father,
And despiseth to obey his mother,
The raven of the valley shall pick it out,
And the young eagles shall eat it.³

Children, therefore, were instructed in their duties toward their parents, and that duty was made to appear to them of the greatest obligation. To facilitate the instruction and make it sink deeply into the youthful mind, poems were

¹ Hosea 1, 10 b.

² Ex. xx, 12.

³ Prov. xxx, 17 A V.

written; and one of these we may believe was frequently recited in the domestic circle.

My son, keep thy father's commandment,
And forsake not the law of thy mother;
Bind them continually in thy heart,
And tie them around thy neck;
When thou goest, it shall lead thee,
When thou sleepest, it shall keep thee,
And when thou wakest it shall talk with thee;
For the commandment is a lamp,
And the law is light,
And the reproofs of instruction are the way of life.¹

The influence of this poetry must have been very strong in keeping tight the family bonds and in promoting all that was righteous and conducive to earthly happiness. By means of it society was uplifted, for it acted on the individual in his formative period, and taught him the laws that are at the basis of all right social organizations.

Since poetry had such a large share in social life, it is not at all strange that in the still chambers of death the silence should be broken by the soft music of the lute and by the mournful dirge. Among the early Hebrews, just as among those of to-day in Jerusalem,² death was a terrible thing. In the words of Ben-Sirah, the Israelites wept for the dead, for his light had failed.³ In the few death songs we possess the anguish of heart is manifested in a way that makes the grief of the ancient singer something so real and sad, as to awaken sincere sympathy in the reader of to-day. The principal poem of this class, one that is famous all the world over, is the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan. Even in the fragmentary state in which we have it, it is a perfect mourning song. The sorrow that is in every line seems now as keen as it was centuries ago in the heart of him who sang it on the ruins of Siqlag.⁴ Nothing wrings the heart so much as the

¹ Prov. vi, 21-23 A. V.

² Cf. an interesting article in the *Cosmopolitan*, Jan., 1899, on "The Jews in Jerusalem," p. 817 f.

³ Eccles. xxii, 10.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxx, 1; 2 Samuel i, 2

tears of a strong man, and the tears of King David seem even now to stain this poem :

Understand, O Judah, the things that are hard,
 Mourn, O Israel,
 The wounded upon thy high place!
 How have the strong men fallen!
 Tell it not in Gath,
 Announce it not in the streets of Asquelon;
 Lest the daughters of the Philistines have pleasure,
 Lest the daughters of the heathen rejoice,
 Mountains in Gilboa let not the dew fall!
 And let it not rain upon you, Mountains of Death!¹
 For there the shield of brave men was cast away.

Jonathan, my heart is wounded by thy death,
 I am distressed because of thee, my brother Jonathan..
 Thou has been exceedingly dear to me,
 Thy love to me was passing the love of women,
 How have the strong men fallen!
 And the weapons of war been destroyed!²

This is the funeral song over the Hebrew dead. Stories have been woven round the old King of Israel, history has recorded the deeds he performed, tradition of the ages has made him a hero of the dim past; but this little poem brings the man David very near us; it brings him just as he was, with the warm heart beating in his breast that has made the love of the world go out to him.

In every part of Hebrew life poetry entered, and its influence was felt everywhere. It expressed the highest hopes of the soul, and aided in the spiritual formation that tended to the realization of those hopes. Moreover, Hebrew poetry contains within itself the germs of life. Its interest and influence did not cease with the united existence of the people for whom it was primarily composed. It has spread abroad beyond Lebanon and the great sea, and has become the com-

¹ I have here adopted the reading of Lucian and of the *Vetus Ital.* LXX has: ἀγροὶ ἀπαρχῶν. It is difficult to conjecture the original text.

² This translation is based on the Hebrew Text of Budde, in Haupt's "The Sacred Books of the Old Test." "The Books of Samuel." 2 Sam'l., I, 17-21; 25-27.

mon property of the world. During every century since the days when the great Descendant of King David sent forth His apostles Hebrew songs have been sung in every land ; their message of hope, and joy, and instruction, have elevated and made happy and guided the weak and the ignorant, the rich and the wise. In them, as they are now collected in our Sacred Books, there is a depth of meaning, a beauty of expression, a divine inspiration, and an everlasting character that show the people who produced them to have been, indeed, chosen of God, and that their holy songs contain the living Word of Eternal Wisdom.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN.

EUGENE O'GROWNEY AND THE REVIVAL OF GAELIC.

The recent death of Father O'Growney far from home and kin, recalls to memory his life-long labours and strivings for the rehabilitation of his race. To his single efforts is owing, in large measure, the present happy condition of affairs in that the Irish people are awakening to a right perception of the principle of Nationality, and bestirring themselves to action upon it. To appraise his deeds at their merits, one must comprehend the world of vain illusions and inconstant flutterings from which his clear voice has called back his people and veered them to the forgotten track, whither alone their highest destinies may be pursued. The radical causes of Ireland's madness are remote to seek, wherefore it will be useful,—and commendable, too, on other counts,—to glance at the chapter-titles of its history, if, perchance, we may discern what has become of a onetime Keltic land and whence this Teutonic changeling.

There is an insular group in the Western Ocean of mainly two islands, a longer easternmost called Britain and, breasting the high main, a shorter westernmost called, amongst other names, Scottia. Both were part of the Keltic nation, were indeed the last organic survivals of a great folk-name, which had once occupied a southern middle zone of Europe, from Asia to the Atlantic, but whose identity had become absorbed through race mixture on the mainland. The people of Britain, in the matter of tongue, were closely joined to their kindred on the Continent, and may be held as an extension of the neighboring Gallic tribes. Tested by that standard, Ireland differed from both. The British and Irish languages stood to each other almost in the relation connecting modern English and German. A comparison of habits, institutions, and culture reveals wider Irish divergencies. Because of remoter geographical position of the Irish from the theoretical Indo-European cradle-land, an earlier period of arrival and

occupation might be advanced for them ; their sharp language bias, when the slow and conservative rate of sound-mutation amongst the Kelts is regarded, would prove long separation from their fellow kindred of Keltic stock, while their culture and temperament variants point to sojourn in different climes and to contact with other peoples. For nearer definition the material to hand is provokingly evasive. When we consider the total failure of direct testimony of such sort, as for instance, explicit historical mention from foreign sources, or a chain of continental place-names that could be vindicated for distinctly Irish ; and again when confronted by the native wealth of *origines* stories,—that vague penumbra and borderland between the historical and the prehistoric where our eponymous ancestors, looming with a bigness beyond human, have their dwelling and real frontiers are not determinable,—then we must confess that the provenance of our race, the path they journeyed, the time of their final occupation and what were the tribes they subjugated, are all matters dark to us. However, at the first dawn of historical light we find them enjoying such a high degree of culture, marked by such intricately organized social conditions and altogether endowed with traits so ingrained and peculiar that we may safely project the whole far back into the unseen time-distance beyond. And they have long inhabited the country, for the epigraphic witness of the Ogham inscribed stones marks the inferior limit of what must have been an immemorial occupation. The Roman conquest of Gaul that extended to Britain lifts the veil from that island and affords us a glimpse of it as seen by its conquerors. The western isle wins only a scant reference, for the foreign light declines again, and we must await the beginning of native accounts a couple of centuries later. In the meantime the British, having themselves become Christian by contact with the Roman soldiery, and now with customs, institutions, and language, whereof the pristine Keltic cast had suffered serious modification through foreign influence, came over to Ireland and introduced Christianity. Of their efforts to make themselves understood, preaching in a patois half British, half Gaelic, even modern spoken Irish holds for us unmistakable traces. One of their number, a Romanized Britain, from the

northern half of the island, united the Christian stations founded by his predecessors, carried a knowledge of the Faith into districts hitherto unvisited, and completed the work of national conversion. He was the Patrick of the Gael.

On the opening of the native records we find evidences of disturbance in the race-distribution of the islands. The Scotti or *ciniud Scuiti*, to give them their proper name, had passed beyond their territorial limits and established settlements in the Island of Britain, one occupying the western side of its northern half and the other the district now called South Wales. The former colony brought with it the name of the mother country, namely, Scottia or Scotland, a name which it retains to this day, even as its people still speak the Irish language. In some few things they have held a more tenacious grip of Irish tradition than those who remained at home, as witness the tribal system, the so-called Highland tartan, and the Highland pipes. The other, at best an insignificant settlement, accepted the British language and is, therefore, now indistinguishable. In return the British made descents upon Ireland and founded local colonies. There were the Cruithni of Antrim, the people who bestowed the name Salchóit upon a place in Tipperary and the Walshes of the Mountains in the barony of Iverk, in the county of Kilkenny. Every Irishman whose name is Walsh is descended from those British settlers, and the name in Irish is still *Bretnach*, the Britain. During the same interval the southern and eastern portions of Britain had fallen into the hands of certain Germanic tribes, and some of the displaced inhabitants were forced to seek a home in a promontory of France over against Cornwall. The district has ever since been called Brittany, and its people still speak a British dialect.

Those of the Germanic race-accession called themselves in their own tongue *Englisc* (the name Anglo-Saxon as applied to themselves or to their language was unknown to them). The British they called *Wealh*, that is, the old Keltic tribe. name *Volcæ*¹ specialized to designate those who did not speak a Germanic language. To the Irish fell the task of converting the new-comers to Christianity, as the Welsh, whose memory

¹ Kluge, Wörterbuch, sub voce Welsch.

of the conquest still smarted, and was even occasionally renewed by minor racial feuds, elected rather to leave them alone. Accordingly the northern English folk were converted by the zealous priests of St. Columb Cille's great missionary establishment at Hi. Of a kind with their first peaceful meeting was for long centuries afterwards the intercourse of the English and the Irish. Indeed, subsequent acts which engendered the bitterest hatred between the peoples called English and Irish, though popularly attributed to the Germanic element in the English nation, were in their inception and for a long period of their continuance solely the work of the Normans. It is significant that we possess an Irish poem written by an English prince, who had found shelter during exile in Ireland and received his education in its colleges, wherein he recounts the hospitality and kindness he had received in each of the four provinces of Ireland, whereas the great prototype of the vulgar book of the modern English tourists is the infamous *Topographia Hiberniæ* of Gerald de Barry, a Norman priest.

From the ninth century onwards the whole island group was engaged in repelling the hordes of Northmen who infested the coasts and even effected permanent lodgments inland. When that element was finally disposed of, either by battle or by peaceful assimilation, the island of Britain, then called England, was profoundly disturbed by the invasion of William the Norman. A good gauge of the magnitude of the change wrought by this event may be obtained by examination of the English language before and after the conquest. After a century's breathing-space the Normans directed their attention to Ireland and made a descent upon that country in 1169.

A desultory conquest followed. It is curious that Ireland so long resisted the prowess and improved methods of warfare to which England had succumbed so quickly. More remarkable was the fascination exercised by Keltic civilization upon the strangers. The sons of feudal Normans discarded the traditions of their people, took Irish wives, and set their establishments in order for carrying on the business of Irish tribal chieftains. For at that time Irish Kelticism was vigorous

enough to absorb anything less than an annihilating incubus of foreign material. It must be remembered that whereas Britain was Romanized near the first century, traditional Keltic institutions sustained no serious check in Ireland until the twelfth, and even then their integrity was very little impaired. However, the meddlesome suzerainty of Norman England, the unremitting influx of foreign settlers and the policy of maintaining an armed Pale constituted perpetual sources of irritation, distracted the native forces and consolidated English power. Then it was that the name Gall, once applied to the dreaded Dane, was transferred to the English. Unfortunately for Ireland, the course of political events in England brought about a religious change and added an envenomed element to the bitterness of race opposition. And that ingredient, howsoever the fact may be disguised for shame, or how cavalierly soever the contrary may be flaunted by English organs, has been the motive agent of England's dealings with Ireland ever since. Finally a wearying series of harassings and plantations ends with the raid of Oliver Cromwell, who formally finished the conquest of Ireland begun in the twelfth century.

The glorious reign of letters in Ireland from its prehistoric beginning to its violent extinction in the seventeenth century need not be dwelt on here. Irish labours at home and abroad for the propagation of religion and learning and the advancement of civilization are well known, and are even now beginning to be grudgingly acknowledged, owing to the insistence of plain truth revealed by superior foreign scholarship. Irish books have long won a place beside the Greek, Latin and Sanskrit classics upon the study-tables of the learned. And they have not been slow to declare how grievous a loss human knowledge has sustained from the circumstance that the English should have elected to include truth as part-object of their ever-triumphantly successful policy of repression. And hence it is that the grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to the Irish in these things, now abundantly set forth in many places, have not come out from those calling themselves by the English name.

About the time of Cromwell, the first stand in defence of

Gaelic speech is to be chronicled. As the tale of Father O'Growney's life-tasks is a recital also of the coming steps of the neo-Gaelic revival, so there is a story of seventeenth century effort intimately blent with the labours of the Four Masters, of Dubaltach mac Firbisig and of Dr. Geoffrey Keatynge. The shock that culminated in the triumph of Cromwell was a death-blow to the Irishry and all their name stood for. Their long inherited individuality having withstood the rude brunt of assailings re-urged with a long persistency, yielded sullenly to the power of conquest. Then the scholars of that day, with an infallible instinct for what was most precious, retreated to the last citadel, the heart of the nation, and defended her language. Thence ousted by the working of shameful laws, enforced by a grimly ready executive, they retreated again beyond the sea and sought from Louvain, from Rome and from Paris to smuggle over intellectual supplies to the beleaguered. A pattern of such noble constancy to a hope was never seen, nor ever so villainously thwarted. And so it failed. For the final overthrow of native power meant the decay of native schools, and the Penal Code proclaimed that it was either: accept English language, thought, and religion, or remain ignorant. The Irish chose the latter alternative. Then all became dark, and for a couple of generations we have the spectacle of a folk who had enjoyed prehistoric culture, deliberately condemned to a state of illiteracy, and that by a stronger nation who had gained the very first knowledge and use of letters from them. Well, even if negative, it was at least a requital in kind.

There followed an order of things of which the present is an outcome. Condemned to perpetual ignorance or deny their fathers, they made a choice that seemed to them no sacrifice. However, with lapse of time and a couple of generations, the memory of the things of their fathers began to fade and a folk long in the use of them had an inborn yearning for letters. They saw the well-dressed and powerful ones of the land read and speak English, and that also told by contrast with their own helplessness and poverty. In this sad condition of artificially induced savagery, their highly elaborated tradition having fallen bodily away, their tongue lost all visible con-

nection with a literature; they began to regard it as a vulgar gibberish bound up with their miserable lot and somehow responsible for it. In such sort did they despise the things of hearth and home—merely a revulsion from the shabbiness of realism—that they hated all that was left of their own and pined for the commodities of the foreign people. Their fathers' books had ceased to be even a memory and now they craved for the books of the stranger. Geoffrey Keatynge died in 1644, Eugene O'Growney was not born until 1863, and they missed the course in the long dark span, without a beacon light. For presently there arose a stealthy unorganized effort to learn English. The hedge schoolmaster was abroad. With him the poor deluded parents, generated in dungeon darkness, conspired to stamp out the only language the people knew, and introduce a strange one they knew nothing about. And herculean as was the labour, and miserable the tools, they succeeded. Irish words were declared contraband. For every one spoken in the home the parent etched a notch upon a little tally-stick which the poor child carried at a string around his neck. For its tell-tale reckoning he had to yield himself to a condign suffering on the morrow at the hands of an ignorant and ridiculously pedantic functionary who ruled in a ditch-side bothy amid all the concomitants of squalor. That tally-stick with its fetish terrors proved such an effective instrument that a revival of its use with reversed action might be commended to Gaelic Leaguers of our own day.

After about a century of such educational régime the governors of the land bethought themselves of giving some measure of teaching to their Irish subjects. A scheme for national education was drawn up and subscribed to by those who then held the destinies of the people in their hands. That nobody should ask what was to be the language of the new schools is a little astounding. Indeed, fully thirty years before, when the Government established a college at Maynooth for the education of young men intended for the priesthood, nobody seems to have doubted for a moment that the language of the place should be English. Irish ecclesiastics at the beginning of the nineteenth century had lost the clear vision of their forerunners at the beginning of the seventeenth. With May-

nooth in full blast and a network of "National" schools all over the country teaching a foreign language, it seemed as if the Irishry had but scant hopes of withstanding such vigorous measures for their improvement. The children pattered a strange jargon at the fireside of week nights, the priest preached in it Sundays from the pulpits, and all persons who would be considered respectable spoke it. The leaders of the people had turned traitors. However, one man was found to raise his voice against the awful imposition, the man who has deserved best of Irish Ireland in this century, her one faithful son in a supreme crisis, John, Archbishop of Tuam. But "*is maol guala gan bráthir, is mall buille an aon-duirn*," in a fight "bare is the shoulder without a brother, slow the stroke of one fist." When he died the Irish enemy may be said to have become an extinct species, and the last conquest was consummated.

England's tardy boon of education explains itself when we consider its resemblance to a certain gift horse of antiquity. Its avowed object was proselytism. In opposition to this intent the Christian Brothers established a system of primary schools. They also elected to teach English. A number of convent schools began to appear—devoted to the primary and higher education of Irish girls, and they, too, teach in English. Indeed, there are no more virulent nor effective opposers of everything Irish than those convent schools. Their main object seems to be to teach children committed to their care to speak English with an English accent. It seems a judgment upon them that parents having acquired a taste for this accent now deport their children by wholesale annually to England so they may learn it at first hand. Thus those who are to be the future mothers of the nation are made wry-necked from infancy, and the very hearthstone, the foundation of a people's true nationality, is uprooted and overturned.

In the Intermediate Schools, it is true, a something called "Keltic" gets recognition as a subject on a footing with continental languages. As the intermediate system itself transcends classification, the "Keltic" may safely be bulked with it. In the "National" schools the national language may be taught outside of school hours merely as an extra, but

only to pupils in the higher forms, that is to say, to those who are already securely transformed into English. Of the Training Colleges for teachers, some give Irish tuition, others, including at least one under popular management, do not. In some of the National, Brothers' and Convent schools, Irish is taught, and some priests favour its use, and do all in their power to preserve it. But the overwhelming majority of both school-teachers and clergy accept the assumption that Ireland is an English province and act accordingly.

Politics also, though proceeding from the best of intentions, has contributed mightily to the disintegration of Irish Nationhood. The methods of politicians, too, have ever been vitiated by an illusion in that they seek to arrogate to the transient objects of modern political activity the exclusive title to the name of Nationality. Matters vaunted as of prime import succeed each other so rapidly that there is no interval for taking account of the supreme need. It has already been pointed out that the principle of racial hatred is an accidental and unnatural circumstance, and does not by any means constitute a secure and positive motive for Nationality. The present system of passive resistance was invented by O'Connell, who conducted his great meetings in English and sustained his propaganda by an English Press in Dublin. The leaders of all succeeding movements have copied his tactics. The Land League agitation has contributed its own share to the province-making. Those of us who remember the country twenty years ago and see it now can estimate the change wrought by a strenuous popular movement conducted in English. Those political movements have rendered incalculable service to the people no doubt, and the totality of change cannot be laid at the door of the Land League, while there were, besides, such powerful concurrent agents as the educational and religious forces. But to it may be charged the fact that nowadays Irishmen utterly fail to take themselves in the absolute, that their faces are ever turned to London, and that they think and act with habitual reference to England.

Now, after a century of native energy exerted against our civilization, the task of summing up our present state is a sad

one. With the exception of the Irish-speaking counties on the northern, western, and southern seaboard, Ireland may be regarded as blotted out. The almost total loss of the Irish nation to itself and to the world is the result. To those familiar with our still untainted people, and who possess some detailed knowledge of their past, the loss is a poignant one.

A few years ago some young men recognizing the difference, set themselves to stem the tide of Anglicization. They formed a society in Dublin, having for object the promotion of the use of Irish amongst the people. Hitherto, Gaelic societies had contented themselves by purveying small quantities of literature to dilettante students. The men of the new society had a more practical concern. They recognized that enough of tradition still lived in the Irish-speaking districts to enable them to effect a junction once more with our neglected literature, and so raise up a nation having ideals of its own. One of the leaders in the new effort, and one who certainly did a man's work in furthering its aims, was Father O'Growney.

He was born in the County of Meath in 1863. It is a curious gloss on the word "National" as applied to our system of primary education that he passed through the ordinary curriculum of instruction provided by it without once having the slightest suspicion that Ireland possessed a national language. He first became aware of that fact after entering the Seminary at Navan to commence his studies for the priesthood. There he eagerly read all the books dealing with the subject that came in his way and succeeded in acquiring a knowledge of Irish by private study. On coming to Maynooth he found many Irish-speaking fellow-students more fortunate than himself in having been born outside the English Pale. With their help he soon learned to speak Irish. His interest in the language begot a like interest in others and in a short time he had conversation classes afoot. His opportunity was highly favorable. He had to his hand natives of the four provinces of Ireland, with abundant occasion for collecting all dialect variants of the spoken language in its present state, and he had besides free access to the great store of printed and manuscript books in the

College Library. He spent his vacations in language pilgrimages to the various districts of Irish Ireland, thus acquiring a valuable collection of dialect material and a just appreciation of the Gaelic as compared with the English Irishman. Some few years after his ordination he was chosen professor of the Irish language in his own College of Maynooth. The Irish Hierarchy could not have made choice of a happier instrument for inaugurating the present noble endeavour of liberated Maynooth to undo the evil work of the black days under the Government. And when rapidly declining health forced him reluctantly to quit the field of his beloved labours the same wise judgment did not fail them in selecting as his successor Dr. Hickey, one who is a thorough master of his craft, and justly appreciates the importance of his position in the pivot centre of Gaeldom, the truly national and vigorous Maynooth of to-day.

Father O'Growney was splendidly equipped for his teaching duties. Knowledge, wit and enthusiasm were his, and a consciousness of the sharp need for retrieval if Ireland would preserve enough continuity with its past to make it self-identical. Poor John Fleming, then coming near the evening head-land and unyoking time, relinquished the editing of the *Gaelic Journal* to his youthful and energetic abettor. He at once remodelled the management, extended the circulation and made an effort to reach the common people. He set himself then to make good the almost total defect of elementary instruction-books and devised, with the concurrence of Dr. Walsh, the Archbishop of Dublin, a simple system of phonetic sound representation that has long since proved itself of the highest worth. The *Journal* became the organ of the Gaelic League and both became energetic. Young Ireland was aroused, the principle, "Language Makes the Man," was their forwarding cry, and the old English myth was roundly questioned. Wherefore thy being? Offshoots from the League spread over the country, both without and within the Pale, comrades in many a foreign land joined the line, and the widespread Gaeldom of to-day becoming conscious was aghast to find itself foreign to itself and alien to

its forbears. At the cry of impending danger to the land, the flood rallied, returned, filled the arid places as by a tidal bore and an Irish heart throbbed again in Erin. For luck it was not a rehearsal of the story of Caillech Bérre. She sat in her grey hairs a witherling, bewailing her plump days now that her ebb and eventide was at hand, so that she said :—

Céinmair ailén mara máir,
dosníc tuile iarna tráigh
is mé ní fresciu domthí
tuile tar éis aithbi.¹

O happy the isle of the great sea,
Which the flood reaches after the ebb;
As for me I do not expect
Flood after ebb to come to me.

The broad arrow of the highest cubit mark was well set in on the occasion of the address delivered in the Antient Concert Rooms in Dublin by Father P. C. Yorke, of San Francisco, last September. There, in a torrent of eloquence such as no Dublin roof-tree has resounded to since the days of Flood and Grattan, he delivered his thrilling slogan to the clans of Ireland. It was a cry of the awakening, a shout of triumph for the Gael at his starting-place, a fitting pæan for the re-birth of a Nation. The long overshadowed goal stood revealed in clear light when Ireland turned weary eyes thither and saw it. Then her pulses quickened, a flush of life came over her, welling even again from that old mysterious elixir source, and she is alert. No more like a hound that has lost both sight and trail need she range at fault, vexing the very welkin with bootless barking, but in a view hallo and a quick run up, she bounces to her quarry. And when her blood is up, who may snatch it from her?

Still, in the joy of harvest-time we must not forget one who has borne the toils of seed-sowing. That shout from Dublin echoed over the earth and reached the ears of one stricken to death on the Pacific Slope. Father O'Growney was lying in

¹Caillech Bérre, ed. Kuno Meyer in *Otia Merselana*, the publication of the Arts Faculty of University College, Liverpool. Part I, 1898; p. 128.

the Sisters' Hospital, at Los Angeles, nearing the end. He rejoiced to greet that day of rich fruition for his life-labours, but his heart quailed at the knowledge that he should never more see the land or the folk that had been the objects of his thoughts and his struggles. Columb Cille, it was said, was banished and laid under penance never again to look upon the soil of Ireland ; so it is recorded he said :

fil súil nglais
fégbas Hérinn dar a hais.¹

There is a grey eye
That will look back over the shoulder at Erin

as he set forth on his banning. The no less rigid decree of Death forbade Father O'Growney evermore to see the sun rise over his native plain of Yemair, to hear the brooks sing at noontide, or listen to little children lisp the Irish tongue, the soul and spirit of his race, melody to him sweeter than all the music of the world. Then he turned his face to the wall and wept. The yearning of the exile had come upon him, a craving not to be appeased until Doom ; the desire of his two eyes struggled with the bitterness of his lot, and in that tumult his heart broke. Since Columb Cille many an Irish soul has sent back to that land its supreme homage in the imminence of death ; none with such longing as he whose grey eye from the distant Pacific looked back over the shoulder at Erin.

But his spirit will not die. It will soar far to the West and be with the morning sun in Ireland. It will whisper to the children of his race : "Build ye up your Nation, hoard ever each one of the fragments of your patrimony; therein lies your treasure, therein your right of existence, your title to stand as Irishmen before all the people of the world." And at his word the horrid darkness will flee from the land so that it will shine there as in the old-time vision of an Irish Saint who saw it blazing up with one effulgence, even unto Heaven. And the poor wanderer in his lonely grave at Los Angeles will await his resurrection in peace.

RICHARD HENEERY.

¹ Lebor na hIldre, p. 5a, line 22.

THE WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS.¹

Every student of Early Church History is aware of the service rendered to science and religion by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna, through the publication of a new series of the Latin Ecclesiastical Writers which shall satisfy the just demands of our age, grown exacting in all that pertains to the purity of text, the research for and comparison of the best manuscripts, the correctness of printing, the fulness of prolegomena, indexes, and those other academical "subsidia" that give suitable orientation to all who are anxious to begin with the *ipsissima verba* of the ancients, as far as they can now be restored.² By this act the scholars of the Austrian Academy have relieved all students, at least partially, from the yoke of older and imperfect editions of the Latin Christian writers. This is true, notably, as regards the Migne editions or reprints, in which typographical errors abounded, and many of whose volumes have been reprinted with a pagination differing from that of the original collection. Owing to the progress of patrology, this collection is henceforth incomplete. Not only have many important texts of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, been discovered since the completion of Migne's collection, but of many of those therein included new editions, more accurate and serviceable, have been issued.³

¹ Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte herausgeg. von der Kirchenväter Commission der K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Hippolyt's Werke. I. Band: Exegetische und homiletische Schriften. 1. Hälfte: Der Kommentar zum Buche Daniel und die Fragmente des Kommentars zum Hohenliede, herausgegeben von N. Bonwetsch. 2. Hälfte: Kleine exegetische und homiletische Schriften, herausgegeben von Hans Achelis.

The Graeco-Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries. Edited by the Church-Fathers' Commission of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences. The Works of Hippolytus; Vol. I. Exegetical and Homiletic Writings; Part I. Commentary on Daniel and Fragments of the Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, edited by N. Bonwetsch; Part II. Minor Exegetical and Homiletic Writings, edited by Hans Achelis. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 8°, pp. xxvii—374; x—309. \$5.50.

² Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesariae Vindobonensis, Vindobonae, 8°, 1866.

³ Patrologiae Cursus Completus, seu Bibliotheca Universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium SS. Patrum, Doctorum Scriptorumque eccl. qui ab

The Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences now follows worthily in the footsteps of their brethren of Vienna, and proposes to print within the next twenty years a series of some fifty stately octavo volumes, in which shall be housed, with the due scientific apparatus, all the works, entire or fragmentary, of the Christian Greek writers of the first three centuries of our era. In addition, whatever documents, pertaining to Christianity and written in Greek, fall within this period, will be given hospitality. Hence the writings of

aevo apostolico adusque Innocentii III. tempora floruerunt. Accurante J. P. Migne. Series Prima in qua prouident Patres, Doctores Scriptoresque Ecclesiae Latinae a Tertulliano ad Gregorium Magnum, Paris, 1844-1849, 79 vols. 4°. Series Secunda, etc. a Gregorio Magno ad Innocentium III. *ibid.*, 1850-1855, vols 80-218. Indices generales simul et speciales. *ibid.* ; 4 vols —221 vol.

Series Graeca etc. a S. Barnaba ad Photium *ibid.*, 1857-1860, 104 vol. Series Graeca posterior in qua etc. usque ad Concilium Florentinum tempora, vol. 105-162. There is no such index for the Greek Fathers as for the Latin Fathers. Dorotheos Scholarios published at Athens, in 1879, a quarto catalogue in Greek of all the Greek texts in Migne and in the Collection of the Byzantine writers, published at Bonn (1828-1855, 45 vol. 8°); also in 1883 one volume of a quarto Index Rerum to the contents of the Greek Migne and the Bonn Byzantines. A. Kreissberg (St. Petersburg, 1881), published a very faulty alphabetical index of the Greek Fathers in Migne. cf. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, 1894, p. 19.

Besides the valuable indications and discussions contained in De Rossi's "*Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*," and the "*Nuovo Bullettino*" that succeeds it, the student of patrology will find in the "*Bulletin Critique*" (Paris), the "*Revue des Questions Historiques*" (*ibid.*), the "*Theologische Quartalschrift*" of Tuebingen, the "*Historisches Jahrbuch*," of the Goerres Society, and other Catholic publications of the Continent, occasional compte-rendus, general or special, that will keep him informed of all notable discoveries in patristic literature. Excellent resumés are those of Father Savi (Barnabite), "*Delle scoperte e dei progressi realizzati nell' antica letteratura cristiana durante l'ultimo decennio*," Siena, 1893, 8°, and Dr. A. Ehrhard, "*Die alchristliche Litteratur und ihre Erforschung seit 1890, Allgemeine Uebersicht und erste Litteraturbericht (1890-94)*" Freiburg, 1894. The Catholic "*Patrologie*" of Bardenhewer (*ibid.*, 1894), and the Protestant "*Geschichte der alchristlichen Litteratur*" of Krüger (English translation, Macmillan, 1897) contain notices of nearly all the additional texts that have lately been published within this domain. They may most easily be consulted by the English reader in "*Ante-Nicene Christian Library*" whose tenth volume contains translations of early Christian works discovered since the completion of the series, and selections from the Commentaries of Origen, edited by A. Menzies, Edinburgh, 1897. The American edition of this valuable work is disfigured by a series of polemical anti-Catholic notes from the pen of the late Bishop Cox. The new and ever increasing material concerning the Christian Martyrs will best be found in the "*Analecta Bollandiana*" one of the most scientific and meritorious of modern historical publications. This same review applies the touch-stone of a fearless criticism to all hagiological works that appear from time to time. The "*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Litteratur*" of Gebhardt and Harnack; the Cambridge "*Texts and Studies*," contributions to patristic and biblical literature; the "*Forschungen*" of Zahn since 1881 (5 vols.), and the "*Anecdota Maredsolana*" since 1895 (2 vols.), are treasure-houses of new texts, Greek and Latin. If I add to the above the henceforth classic works of Adolph Harnack, on the "*Geschichte der alchristlichen Litteratur*" (two parts in 4 volumes) Leipzig 1893 sq., and the noble "*Bibliographical Synopsis*" of E. C. Richardson (supplement to the Ante-Nicene Fathers; Buffalo, 1887), the reader will have before him the best of the latest "*subsidia*" for the study of patrology.

heretics, and all authentic Acts of Martyrs, will be included—every volume to be executed as part of a plan and according to the method and principles of scientific patrology. If the original Greek texts are no longer available, the earliest and best translations will be offered. Introductions in the German tongue, and indexes of philological and historical character, will accompany each work. Such more profound studies or “excursus” as may be needed, will be printed in the “Texte und Untersuchungen” of Gebhardt and Harnack, out of which enterprise, indeed, this design has arisen.

The first fruits of these labors lie before us in a goodly Greek volume, containing the exegetic and homiletic writings of Hippolytus. It is edited by Professor Bonwetsch of Göttingen and Privat-docent Achelis of the same university, scholars already well and favorably known, the former for his “History of Montanism” and the latter for his edition of the so-called “Canons” of Hippolytus.

If we except that extraordinary man, Origen, the founder of our Christian systematic theology, whose portrait by Eusebius’ hand of genius may be seen in the sixth book of the “Church History,” no figure of the third century appeals more to the student of patrology than Hippolytus. Neither Carthage nor Alexandria nor Antioch, though no longer poor in thinkers and writers of Christian persuasion, offer one around whose person centre so many questions of grave import. One needs only to look at the space his name occupies in the modern “literature” of pre-Constantinian Christian history, to be convinced that neither Cyprian nor Tertullian—scarcely Chalkenteros himself—have so aroused the curiosity and the criticism of patrologists of every school and shade of temper. And this attention to his person and his writings is nothing new. The primitive Christians eschewed actual portraits of Christ and the Saints. One may count on the fingers of one hand the actual portraits (not, of course, paintings, symbols and the like) that have reached us—medallions of Peter and Paul, a bust of Callixtus, perhaps a head of Christ in Santa Domitilla. But Hippolytus had the extraordinary honor of a statue from the contemporaries of Tertullian,¹ whose rigoristic views on the

¹ This statue, now much restored, may be seen in the Christian Museum of the Lateran, which every lover of antiquity ought to visit when at Rome. It was taken

uses of art among Christians are well known. On one side of the Cathedra in which he is seated are inscribed the titles of many of his works—they are the oldest extant contemporary catalogue of the writings of any Christian, not excepting the Muratorian Canon, which an Irish hand copied at Bobbio in the seventh century, though the same was doubtless drawn up before the death of Hippolytus. For the esteem in which his successors in Christian literature held him let Saint Jerome, the first to publish a formal manual of patrology, be witness.¹

One might imagine that some main lines of correct tradition would have survived concerning such a man,—a Roman, contemporary of Cyprian, Tertullian, Dionysius of Alexandria, Cornelius of Rome, and others about whom we are fairly well informed. Yet St. Jerome says he could not find out where his see was. This need surprise us less than the confessed inability of Eusebius to locate him in any line of episcopal succession,—a fact very surprising; because, on the one hand, he died scarcely fifty years before the birth of Eusebius, and, on the other, Eusebius, like Hadrian, *indagator omnium curiositatum*, had access to all the archives, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Empire, and was notoriously attached to the “succession of bishops coming down from the Apostles.”

thither from the Vatican Library, where it was long left after its discovery in 1551 in the vicinity of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. One side of the Cathedra is taken up by the Paschal Cycle which Hippolytus drew up for the years 322–333. The statue has often been photographed and engraved. Cf. the Dictionaries of Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Martigny, Kraus, or Smith; also Northcote's *Roma Subterranea*. With the statues of the Good Shepherd it marks the oldest known efforts of the Christians in the sculptor's art.

¹ Nescis quid in libris ejus primum admirari debeas, eruditionem saeculi an scientiam scripturarum. Ep. 7^a, ad Magnum.

² St. Jerome, loc. cit., and De Vir. Ill. c. 61. In this latter passage Hippolytus and Origen are curiously confronted, first at Rome and then at Alexandria: “Scriptis . . . et προσμυλίαν, de laude Domini Salvatoris, in qua praesente Origene se loqui in ecclesia significat. Hujus emulatione Ambrosius . . . cohortatus est Origenem in Scripturas commentarios scribere, praebens ei septem et eo amplius notarios eorumque expensas et librariorum parem numerum, quodque his majus est, incredibile studio cotidie ab eo opus exigens. Unde et in quadam epistula, ἐργοδιώκτην eum Origenes vocat.” Euseb. H. E. VI. 20. St. Epiphanius, Leo of Byzantium, Zonaras, Georgius Syncellus, Nicephorus, and the other usual givers-of-testimony in the prolegomena of Migne, know nothing more accurate. By a not inexplicable accident, his memory has been more cherished among the Orientals than among his own Romans. To the Oriental Christians he was one who

“Mouthed grandly the last Greek.”

Hence, in the sad days of heresy, schism, decadence and Islam, he was a welcome

He has been variously assigned, from "Portus Romanus" near Rome, to "Porto" in Arabia (Aden). Most critics accept to-day the thesis of Doellinger¹ that he was bishop of the former place, the once splendid Havre of Rome. It is also the opinion of that careful and trustworthy student, Bishop Lightfoot,² with the suggestion that he was an "episcopus gentium," a kind of bishop for foreigners, barbarians, and such like, who crowded to the city. This opinion has the merit of falling in, to some extent, with the unbroken tradition of the Orient that Hippolytus was Bishop of Rome.

Still, no catalogue of the earliest Roman bishops, and there are several very old, counts Hippolytus in the line, nor was there at any time local tradition to that effect, such as existed for other names rightly excluded from the list. By its silence the Western Church rejects the opinion of the Eastern Church. How that opinion arose was a matter of much contention until the middle of this century, when a now famous discovery brought again to public notice the person and writings of Hippolytus, and, while solving some problems of his life, created new ones that are not yet unravelled to universal satisfaction. I refer to the work known as "*Philosophoumena seu omnium haeresium Refutatio*," announced in 1842, published first at Oxford in 1851, under the name of Origen, but adjudicated from him in 1859.³ The next year the Abbé Cruice (later

bond and echo of that ancient unity in which the Greek found a vigor and a progress, a freshness and an openness, that have been lost since an insane seclusion has left him a prey to all those evils of the Orient that he had himself been combating since Alexander won for the West the hegemony of mind, thought, humanity. Curiously enough, that local Roman reaction against the *Græculi*, working strongly since the days of Hadrian, came to a head in the City almost in the days of Hippolytus. He is himself the last Roman Christian to use Greek habitually. On his heels come Novatian, Cornelius, the Roman presbyters. Thenceforth Latin, never disused, but hitherto a rather inferior tongue, like Anglo-Saxon in the curia of Lanfranc, is dominant. The Greek lines are effaced in the Roman Church; the Latin lines come out never to yield their prominence. The popes are no longer called by Greek names, but by archaic Latin names of good republican ring,—Fabian, Cornelius, Sixtus, Gaius. And within the outlying Roman ethnicism the same change is tangible. Decius, Gallus, Valerian, mark the acme of the long-swelling reaction of Latinism. The good father, Hippolytus, came none too soon to exert any influence on the mind of Syrian, Copt, Armenian, and Bulgarian. Perhaps, in his very person is to be sought the first parting of the roads that East and West have since that day pursued in all that pertains to the Christian idea.

¹ Hippolytus und Callistus, Regensburg, 1858.

² The Apostolic Fathers, Part I, vol. II., 317-477.

³ By the edition of Duncker and Schneidewin (Göttingen, 1859, reprinted in Migne, PG., vol. X), and by them adjudged to Hippolytus.

Archbishop of Marseilles) published an edition of the text, with introduction and commentary. In the meantime a host of scholars had taken up the matter, and in England, France and Italy, the question of the authorship of the "Philosophoumena" was discussed with an unusual warmth. A summary of the controversy may be seen in the valuable work of the Bollandist, de Smedt.¹ Of late, De Rossi, Funk, Duchesne, Allard, Erbes, Lightfoot, and others, have again awakened the question of authorship. The titles of their contributions may best be found in Chevalier or Richardson,² more briefly in Bardenhewer's Patrology, (Freiburg, 1894).

If the discovery of Mynoides had only revealed new material for the history of early heresies, notably Gnosticism, it is doubtful whether so many great lights of patrology would so soon have entered the lists. The "Philosophoumena" contained more. In its ninth book (cc. 7, 11-12) the author attacks Pope Callixtus (217-222), accuses him of heresy, of injustice, of cowardice and flight in persecution, and in general depicts this good pope as a most unworthy man. Moreover, he asserts that for these and other reasons he has broken away from his communion, has been himself constituted head of the people, and is henceforth the rightful Bishop of Rome. Hence the importance of the question of authorship. Tertullian, Novatus, Caius, and others were put forward by those anxious for the good name at once of Callixtus and Hippolytus. It did not seem possible that one so long held in veneration could have been the first anti-pope we know of, nor that he could have so fiercely assaulted the character of Pope Callixtus. For there can be little doubt that his description of Callixtus, if not a libel, is at least a distortion of the facts.³

If Hippolytus be the author of the "Philosophoumena," he retrieved the errors of schism and injustice by a martyr's

¹ *Dissertationes Selectae in Hist. Ecc.* Paris, 1876.

² Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen-Age*. Richardson, *Bibliographical Synopsis*, in the last volume of the Ante-Nicene Library.

(?)³ Der einzige Bericht, welcher uns über diese Spaltung vorlegt, ist die Erzählung der "Philosophoumena." Die bewusste Absicht seinen Gegner zu verleumden, kann man dem Berichterstatter nicht zur Last legen. Aber freilich ist zwischen den erzählten Thatsachen und der Färbung welche die Darstellung denselben gibt, und den Motiven, welche sie ihnen unterlegt, sorgsam zu scheiden. Bardenhewer, op. cit. p. 123.

death. In 235 he was banished with Pope Pontianus to the deadly island of Sardinia, and, in all probability, soon paid the debt of nature in the company and communion of the successor of Callixtus. This is not the opinion of De Rossi, who is moved by a Damasan inscription and the testimony of Prudentius to defend the return of Hippolytus from Sardinia in the reign of Philip Arabs, his adhesion to the schism of Novatian, and his death at Rome during the persecution of Valerian (253-260), on which occasion he was reconciled to his brethren.

A stirring and an agitated life, and not the only example in that century of a soul ground between the upper and the nether millstones! Eusebius tells us expressly that he will be silent about the internal conflicts of Christianity in this period. To us, at this distance, these awful domestic storms are like remote electrical disturbances, revealed now and then by a red and sudden rift in the atmosphere. They were the greatest humiliation of the Christians, and they hastened to forget them even before their hour of public triumph. In Pace! was their symbol; they wrote it not only over their graves, but over their sorrows and their conflicts. Hence our ignorance of so much we would fain know about one of the principal Christian scholars of his or any age. Hence the fact that among his writings this particular one was neglected, and only the tenth or last book, a summary of its contents, was much quoted, especially by Theodoret.

Hippolytus left many writings on many subjects, but the greater part of them is known to us only by their titles. Even the number of these is uncertain; the public catalogue on his statue is incomplete, and more than one title appears in different forms. Thus, the list of his writings is hard to identify. Nevertheless, with the aid of Eusebius and St. Jerome, together with references in the later Orientals, a tolerably correct idea of his encyclopædic activity may be obtained. Exegesis, Homiletics, Apologetics, Polemics, Dogmatic Writings, Chronography, Canon Law,—scarcely any branch of theological learning went unadorned by him. Only one of his dogmatic writings has reached us complete, his curious treatise “On Antichrist,” completed about the

year 200. Besides a work against the Jews, in part preserved, he wrote, in addition to the "*Philosophoumena*," a smaller historico-dogmatic work against thirty-two heresies. He wrote, likewise, against Noetus, who stood for Sabelianism, of which work a large fragment still exists. His book against Marcion (H. E. VI, 22) is lost. In 1883, J. Gwynn published in "*Hermathena*" (VI, 397-418) certain "*Heads Against Caius*" (*Capita adversus Caium*) found in a Syriac translation. They defend the Apocalypse against his fellow-priest of the Roman Church. Other works of a dogmatic nature were the lost treatises, "*On the Good*," and "*Whence is Evil*," "*On the Resurrection and Immortality*," and his Exhortation to Severina (Julia Mamaea? Julia Aquilia Severa?) of which a few fragments remain, to show that it too treated of the last-mentioned theme.

The fixation of the Paschal cycle, so as to bring about a unity of celebration among orthodox Christians and avoid the Easter of Jews and heretics, occupied the attention of Hippolytus. Of his extensive work on the computation of Easter, only the "*Canon Paschalis*" is preserved,—the table of Easter from 222-333. His "*Chronicle*," made up largely from the Old Testament, exists in a Latin translation known as "*Liber Generationis*." It is found in the famous text known as "*The Chronographer of 354*," and exists also in a few Greek fragments. Originally it stopped at 234, but another hand has continued it to 334. For the history of the earliest popes this "*Chronicle*" is of great value, as may be seen by the use made of it in Duchesne's edition of the "*Liber Pontificalis*."

Significantly enough in the Christian Orient the names of Clement of Rome and Hippolytus of Rome have always been connected with discipline and legislation. The "*Constitutiones per Hippolytum*" agree very closely with the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and are, it seems, an extract therefrom. The (38) "*Canones S. Hippolyti*," in Ethiopic and Arabic translations, though very curious and representing much archaic tradition, are not from him, but from the book of the Apostolic Constitutions just referred to, only by way of the work known as the "*Ecclesiastical Discipline of Egypt*." On the statue is mentioned a work, "*The Apostolic Tradition*

Concerning the *Charismata*." Perhaps we ought to see here, with Bardenhewer a confusion of two titles. Perhaps, too, this work "*On the Charismata*" is the basis of that portion of the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions (§ 5, 4) which treats of these primitive graces. Certainly there are many points of contact between the latter great disciplinary compilation and fragmentary canonical writings that have long gone under the name of Hippolytus.

The statue-catalogue attributes to him "*Odes*" on the entire Scripture. It is not easy to say whether these were hymns on Biblical subjects, metrical translations, or paraphrases of the Bible. What a pity that some specimens of this early hymnology have not reached us! How his poetry would fit in between Commodianus and the Apollinarii, father and son! A number of writings, surely or probably spurious, are indicated by Krüger (p. 215). The principal ones are a work "*Against Heresy*," and a "*Discourse on the End of the World*."

In addition to general reasons, some of which may be found in the prefaces of Bull and of Petavius, the preceding sketch may furnish special causes for which in the revival of patristic studies less attention was paid to the editing of Hippolytus than to that of other early Christian writers. Though a Roman, he wrote in Greek; though a Greek, his works seem never to have been collected into a "*corpus*"; his style, though chaste and elegant, seemed "*archaistic*" to the copying Greek monks of the time of Photius; somehow closely related to the origin of Greek ecclesiastical law, he was cherished at a later time mostly by Oriental Christians, through the fragments of whose literatures, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, many remnants of his writings have alone come down.

Then, too, there is something "*grimmig*" and unpromising in the morality and disciplinary ideas of Hippolytus. Even without the "*Philosophoumena*" we should know him for sympathetic to the fierce and harsh Tertullian, the "*exaltés*" of Montanism, the "*retardataires*" of Novatianism, to which schism, indeed, a very old tradition adjudges him. Instructive as it would be, we shall never fully know, by reason of the churchly heart of Eusebius, what grave con-

tention as to principles and methods of government went on from the Shepherd of Hermas to the election of Silvester. Hints, traces, echoes,—that is all that even the skill of a De Rossi, a Duchesne, or a Harnack, can ever evoke from the more than Etruscan silence of those old Christian Lucumos. Angry and mutinous hearts there certainly were who saw in the increasing liberality of bishops like Callixtus and Cornelius the cloven foot of *ὁ πονηρός*—nor were they likely to want for leaders among conservative men of antique Christian erudition and decided gifts for administration, such as Hippolytus assuredly was.

So through the Latin Middle Ages, the “*Graeca veritas*” of this admirable writer, otherwise close kin to its prophetic and allegorical commentators of Scripture, went almost unknown. Even in the seventeenth century his name was seldom heard. It was not until early in the eighteenth century that Fabricius collected for the first time all the known fragments of his writings.¹ The labors of Fabricius and of the few scholars who preceded him in this work were given to the public by Gallandi,² whose text, with additions, is reprinted in Migne (PG. X). The Syriac savant, Paul de Lagarde, undertook a complete edition of Hippolytus, but had scarcely issued his recension when he became aware that, though it represented the best previous scholarship, the whole work needed to be recast and done over.³

In all this time the chief interest centred about the “*Commentary on the Book of Daniel*” that all antiquity agreed to consider as the principal work of Hippolytus, and that was long read with edification in the Greek and Oriental churches. Combefis had published (1672) extensive fragments, and the French oratorian, Simon de Magistris (Simon de Maîtres) had added to them by his edition of the Chigi codex of Daniel (Septuagint and Theodotion) between which versions was inserted a notable part of the commentary of Hippolytus.”³

¹ Hippolyti episcopi et martyris opera, non antea collecta et partim nunc primum e MSS. in lucem edita graece et latine cūrante Jo. Alb. Fabricio; Hamburg, 1716-18.

² Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum, t. II. 1767.

³ Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia graece, Lipsiae et Londini. 1858. 8°; cf. his *Analecta Syriaca* (ibid).

⁴ Other fragments he edited in his now rare and curious work “*Acta Martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina sub Claudio Gothico*.” Rome, 1795.

Bandini (1764) and Cardinal Mai (1825) rendered services to the cause of the writings of Hippolytus. So, too, did Overbeck (1864) and Bardenhewer (1877), the latter by his remarkable inaugural discourse on the commentary (Freiburg, 1877). Between the discovery of the "Philosophoumena" and the scholarly labors of Gelzer (1885) on the "Chronicle" of Hippolytus, and its edition (1892) by Frick, falls the curious apparition of unknown and unsuspected texts that have justified a new edition of all the writings of Hippolytus.

In 1885-86, Georgiades published at Athens¹ the Greek text of the whole fourth book of the Commentary from a manuscript of the monastery of Chalki in the Archipelago. It was translated into English by Kennedy (Dublin, 1888), and made known to the learned through the use made of it by Bishop Lighfoot in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers.² A critical notice of the work of Georgiades by Harnack led to the revelation at Mount Athos of another, though imperfect and damaged, Greek MS. of the Daniel-Commentary. This was printed at Bonn by Bratke in 1891, and thereby the latest Greek text of both manuscripts made accessible to the public of patristic and philological scholars. An Old-Slavonic translation of the Commentary, known to the Russian savants since 1874, was re-discovered by Professor Bonwetsch³, whereby the material seemed sufficiently extensive to demand a new edition of the writings of this ancient Roman father, whose literary vicissitudes offer no little romantic interest.

The manuscripts on which Professor Bonwetsch bases his text of the Hippolytus-Commentary on Daniel and on the Canticle of Canticles are the newly-found original texts of the monasteries of Chalki, and of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, besides the Chigi manuscript of Daniel, the unknown "archetype" from which the Catena-makers drew, and some other less important manuscripts. The Vatican Archive and the British Museum furnish some Syriac manuscripts, out of

¹ *Εκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια*, 1885, pp. 10-24, 49-60, 1886, pp. 225-247; 273-287. For an account of the Greek monasteries and their manuscripts see Curzon, "Monasteries of the Levant," and Duchesne and Bayet's report of their journey to Mount Athos.

² Part I, Vol. I, pp. 817-477 (notably 391), London, 1890.

³ Cf. Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1896, Heft I, pp. 16-42.

which fragmentary translations have been drawn, both Syriac and Armenian ecclesiastics seeming to have kept alive the use of the Daniel-Commentary during the Middle Ages. It was in the hands of the Syrian Ebedjesu (d. 1271). Quite unexpected was the discovery of a translation into Old-Slavonic (Bulgarian) of the Daniel-Commentary, which translation is now looked on as complete by the collation of four manuscripts kept at Moscow and dating from a period between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. The genuinity of the Daniel-Commentary is unquestioned. Some twenty-three "testimonia" of the ancients, quoted by Professor Bonwetsch, put it beyond doubt. They cover one thousand years of tradition, Greek and Oriental, beginning with Apollinarius and St. Jerome.

That Hippolytus wrote also on the Canticle of Canticles, a series of homilies, rests on the solid authority of Eusebius, St. Jerome, Theodoret, and later witnesses. Hitherto only one Greek fragment was known.¹ Professor Bonwetsch pub-

¹ Canticles IV, 16, "Arise, O North wind, and come, O South wind, blow through my garden, and let the aromatical spices thereof blow." From the Ante-Nicene Library (V, p. 176) I print the following translation of the comment of Hippolytus in these words:

"As Joseph was delighted with these spices, he is designated the King's son by God: as the Virgin Mary was anointed with them, she conceived the Word: then new secrets, and new truth, and a new kingdom, and also great and inexplicable mysteries are made manifest.

"And where is all this rich knowledge? and where are these mysteries? and where are the books? For the only ones extant are Proverbs, and Wisdom, and Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs? What then? Does the Scripture speak falsely? God forbid. But the matter of His writings was various, as is shown in the phrase 'Song of Songs': for that indicates that in this book he digested the contents of the 5,000 songs. In the days, moreover, of Hezekiah, there were some of the books selected for use, and others set aside. Whence the Scripture says, 'These are the mixed Proverbs of Solomon, which the friends of Hezekiah the king copied out.' And whence did they take them, but out of the books containing the 3,000 parables and the 5,000 songs? Out of these, then, the wise friends of Hezekiah took those portions which bore upon the edification of the Church. And the books of Solomon on the 'Parables' and 'Songs,' in which he wrote of the physiology of plants, and all kinds of animals belonging to the dry land, and the air, and the sea, and of the cures of disease, Hezekiah did away with, because the people looked on these for the remedies for their diseases, and neglected to seek their healing from God."

In a note prefixed to this translation we read (A. N. L.; V. 176), the following: "Simon de Magistris in his *Acta Martyr. Ostiens.* p. 264, adduces the following fragment in Latin and Syriac, from a Vatican codex, (it is Vat. Syr., 108, fol. 179), and prefaces it with these words:

"Hippolytus wrote on the Song of Solomon, and showed that thus early did God the Word seek His pleasure in the Church gathered from among the Gentiles, and especially in His most holy mother the Virgin: and thus the Syrians who boasted that the Virgin was born among them, translated the Commentary of Hippolytus at a very early period from the Greek into their own tongue, of which some fragments still remain,—as, for example, one to this effect on the above words." Cf. Bonwetsch, op. cit. pp. 343, 358, 373.

lishes for the first time (in German) some seventeen excerpts from three Slavonic manuscripts, in which these fragments of Armenian and Syriac renderings found hospitality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thereby the Canticle-Commentary is notably increased.¹ A nineteenth fragment from a Berlin Armenian miscellaneous codex, of the year 1698, contains a very lengthy paraphrase of verses from the first five chapters of the Canticle, purporting to be from Hippolytus; but Bonwetsch (p. xxii) doubts the genuinity of this Armenian text.

St. Jerome bears testimony to the existence of many other commentaries on the Scripture from the hand of Hippolytus.² He writes as though he knew that his list was an incomplete one. Indeed the extensive series of fragments published by Dr. Achelis in the second half of the volume before us shows that the activity of Hippolytus must have reached out to almost the entire Old Testament. The principal fragments are those on Genesis and the Psalms; the former comes down from the great Catena of Procopius of Gaza, early in the sixth century, on the Octateuch. In both series of fragments there is room for critical discernment, not every remnant having for it ancient testimony or internal evidence that make it out "Hippolytisches Gut." Similarly, fragments from commentaries on the Proverbs, on the Great Ode (Deuteron. c. 32), the Benedictions of Balaam, the Witch of Endor, Isaias and Ezechiel. A little fragment from a supposed commentary on Ruth is contributed by the Monk Gregorios, actually at Mount Athos. From an Arabic Catena on the Pentateuch, of Syriac provenance, lengthy excerpts are given that offer much that is characteristic of Hippolytus. From the New Testament follow fragments on Matthew (the Ten Talents, the Two

¹ The frequent agreement of the Canticle-Commentary of St. Cyril of Alexandria with our fragments of Hippolytus' Commentary would indicate that the former likewise gives us back Hippolytus in those other parts that we cannot now control. Quite curious is the proof (pp. 347-348) that Gregory the Great took from the Commentary of Hippolytus on the Canticle (II, 8, 9) his well-known thought (Exp. evang. hom. 28): "Veniendo (Christus) quosdam . . . saltus dedit . . . de coelo venit in uterum, de utero venit in praesepe, de praesepe venit in crucem, de cruce venit in sepulchrum, de sepulchro rediit in coelum."

² Scripsit nonnullos in scripturas commentarios, e quibus hos repperi, *Ἐξαήμερον* et in Exodum, in Canticum Canticorum, in Genesim et in Zachariam, de Psalmis et in Isaiam, de Daniele, de Apocalypsi, de Proverbiis, de Ecclesiaste, de Saul et Pythonissa. De vir. ill. c. 61. Elsewhere, in his prologue to Matthew, he cites "Hippolyti martyris opusculum" on that Gospel.

Thieves) and John (Resurrection of Lazarus). Dr. Achelis is inclined to see much that is genuine in the Apocalypse fragments, since they have for them the authority of a learned Copt of the thirteenth century, were known to the Syrians of the eighth century, and received the honor of an old Sclavonic translation,—a similar judgment may be rendered as to the “Heads against Gaius,” the Roman opponent of Montanism. Hippolytus wrote on the Resurrection to the Empress Julia Mammæa, perhaps, also, another work on Immortality, and an Exhortation to Severina. Their mutual relation is yet uncertain,—fragments of the first are published from the Syriac by Achelis. Here, too, we find the work “On the Holy Theophany” attributed to Hippolytus, a work on the Holy Pasch, and curious Hippolytean excerpts from the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius. At the end of the volume, in an appendix, are printed fragments from an Arabic pseudo-Hippolytus correspondence, and the pseudo-Hippolytus work on the End of the World, in which, however, much has been borrowed from the genuine work of Hippolytus “On Antichrist.”

This latter is the principal text published by Dr. Achelis, and for it he was able to use, besides the manuscripts of Evreux and Rheims, a tenth century manuscript from the Library of St. Sepulchre at Jerusalem, as well as an Old-Sclavonic version. The critico-literary introductions to these exegetical and homiletic writings appear in the sixteenth volume of the “*Texte und Untersuchungen*”; the index, and a treatise on the chronology of the writings of Hippolytus are to be found at the end of the second and forthcoming volume of these “*reliquiae*.”

There are many interesting questions raised by the publication of the works of Hippolytus. We reserve for a future issue some account of the theological and historical problems of which he was the centre, or which have arisen apropos of his career and writings. Something, too, remains to be said concerning the method and “*Grundlinien*” of this new edition of the earliest Greek Christian writers, for all of which we must crave the indulgence of our readers until some later date.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Spinozistic Immortality. George Stuart Fullerton. 1899. Published for the University of Pennsylvania by Ginn & Co., Boston. Pp. VIII + 154.

This is the third number in the series in philosophy, published by the University of Pennsylvania. Its aim is to "set forth as clearly as possible Spinoza's doctrine of existences and essences, and of the passage of the soul from the world of perishable things to that of things imperishable and eternal." Its import, consequently, is both historical and actual. Considering, on one hand, the influence which Spinoza's teaching exerts upon modern thought, and, on the other, the revival of interest in the problem of man's destiny, we must acknowledge the timeliness of Prof. Fullerton's monograph. It is all the more valuable because the author's admitted fondness for the man takes the form of a critical appreciation. What he offers us is not merely the doctrine of Spinoza on this particular topic, but rather a survey of the whole Spinozistic philosophy bearing on immortality. The exposition deals, under four parts, with the world of existences, the world of essences, the passage from bondage to freedom, and the religious element in Spinoza. On each of the more important points side-lights are thrown from the teaching of Spinoza's predecessors, especially of St. Augustine, the scholastics, and Descartes. To the Spinozistic literature little reference is made.

The net result is not very encouraging. After the account of the parallelism between the world of ideas and the world of things, and after a review of the hierarchy of essences, we come, at page 56, upon a statement of the doctrine of immortality, which, as Fullerton says, is easy to understand. But around this little clearing there lies a maze of inconsistencies. The soul is immortal on condition that it be transferred from the chain of transient causes to the world of essences. This condition the mind can fulfil by rising from confused ideas to an adequate knowledge of things. Since adequate ideas are known *sub specie aeternitatis*, the mind which consists of such ideas becomes, so far as it may, eternal. This is plausible enough until we ask for an explanation of the terms; and then we find that the "essences" are shifting and the "eternity" rather elastic. It is, of course, "interesting" to know that

Spinoza means one thing and Spinozism something else. There may be, also, some consolation in the thought that his "errors in reasoning are not wholly unreasonable." But when a philosopher or his philosophy takes such liberties with the fundamental idea of essence as to call it at one moment a universal and at the next moment an individual thing, we can readily understand that his notion of a future life should be somewhat hazy. Prof. Fullerton has traced, quite patiently, the various phases of Spinoza's thought; and he has taken care not to read into the author he studies doctrines that belong to a fuller development of philosophy. Indeed, it would require no less than Spinoza's own genius to get adequate ideas of immortality out of the confused notions which he has left us.

E. A. P.

Religion and Morality. Their nature and mutual relation, historically and doctrinally considered; dissertation for the Doctorate in Theology at the Catholic University of America, by the Rev. James J. Fox, S. T. L. New York: W. H. Young & Co. 1899. pp. 336.

This essay won for its author the degree of Doctor in Divinity. A careful perusal of the work will readily convince the reader that the honor was well deserved. The importance of the subject, the scientific manner in which it is treated, the clear presentation of the case, the strength of the proofs and their logical connection, the many and well-selected references found throughout the whole work, are evidences of a broad, cultivated mind, and reflect great credit on the new Doctor as well as on the University in which he was trained. A brief analysis of the dissertation will best give an idea of its merit.

It is divided into four parts: *introductory*, *historical*, *doctrinal*, and *critical*. In a brief introduction, Dr. Fox carefully explains what are morality and religion, and refutes the misleading notions of certain contemporary writers. This was necessary to clear the ground and state properly the question at issue, viz., whether morality is *essentially* dependent upon religion. Two methods may be followed to solve the problem; the *historical*, which investigates the religious beliefs of mankind to see whether they have really supplied a standard for the distinction between moral good and evil; and the *doctrinal* which analyzes the various elements of moral life to determine whether they logically force us to admit a supreme Lawgiver to whom we owe obedience.

The writer begins with the former, laying more stress than is commonly done on the historical argument, and rightly so; for facts have more weight with our contemporaries than *a priori* arguments, and pave the way to the doctrinal proof. With great accuracy and erudition he

reviews the religions of Assyria and Babylon, of Egypt, Persia and China, of Greece and Rome, of the Mahomedans, and even some semi-civilized and savage races, so as to make his induction as complete as can be. On these various subjects he brings to bear the light of the most recent discoveries, and quotes from the original sources as well as from the best writers of our own times. After a critical examination of the texts, he concludes that the belief in a religious sanction is common to all peoples. To this general rule there seems to be but one exception,—Buddhism, the founder of which speaks neither of God nor of the immortality of the soul. But, as Dr. Fox remarks, whatever may be said of the master's doctrine,—which it is difficult to ascertain,—his disciples have connected morality with a belief in future retribution, and it is only by so doing that they have succeeded in winning over to his system millions of proselytes.

The third part is devoted to the doctrinal treatment of the matter. Here we find unmistakable signs of the spirit of precision and moderation which pervades the whole work. Our author will not venture to say that it is absolutely impossible for a given man to be morally good without religion, but he claims that "it is utterly impossible that any valid system of ethics can be constructed by human ingenuity without recognizing the existence of God as the author of the universe and of the moral order" (p. 158). No doubt the proximate basis and rule of morality are "the reason and will, or the will inasmuch as directed by the intelligence" (p. 165). But there must be a standard whereby reason may judge with authority, for "the moral judgment is pronounced with an authoritativeness which is absent in speculative arguments" (p. 170). This standard is not *utility*, for many actions are extremely useful which are far from being virtuous. Neither can it be *what is highest in our nature*; for as there are goods soliciting our will, which are incompatible with moral good, why should we forego these, and deprive ourselves of much happiness, if there is no authority to impose this privation upon us? Can it be *humanity*? "Humanity is but a handy abbreviation—a name given to indicate the aggregate of human beings . . . The good of humanity can have no higher intrinsic character than is to be found in the good of the individual" (p. 178). Here the author might have added that it is frequently in the name of humanity that the most outrageous crimes are perpetrated. There remains, then, but one standard, the Will of God guided by His infinite Wisdom. An additional chapter on Supernatural Religion, though unnecessary for the demonstration of the thesis, gives the reader a synthetic outline of Christian morals, which is not without interest. In the fourth part we have a critical review of the representative system

of independent morality advocated by modern writers; the subjectivism of Kant, the utilitarianism of Mill, and the evolutionism of Spencer are successively exposed with clearness and impartiality, briefly though solidly discussed, and ably refuted.

We like the hopeful views expressed by Dr. Fox in his last chapter, as well as his remarks on the necessity of religion to solve the educational and social problems of the day. May we not expect that an alphabetical index be soon added to a work which contains such an amount of valuable information?

One of the striking features of this essay is a happy and harmonious combination of old and new lore, of scholastic dialectics and modern erudition; it is by working on these lines, under the guidance of their professors, that the students of our Catholic University will show that there is no opposition between faith and reason, between science and religion.

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A. T.

Dionysos and Immortality. Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899. Pp. 67.

The Ingersoll lecture at Harvard University for 1898-'99 dealt with a single phase of the problem of a future life: the Greek faith in immortality as affected by the rise of individualism. In prae-Homeric times this faith took the concrete form of ritual observance—feasts for the dead at which offerings of food, especially of blood, were made to appease the departed spirits. Then came a period of atrophy; the rites of soul-worship ceased and belief in personal survival gave way to such vague and gloomy notions as we find in the Homeric poems. The revival came between 750 and 600 B. C. It was largely due to colonial expansion, which developed industries, drew men into the cities, gave rise to new political conditions and made each man the bearer of his own destiny. The old soul-worship revived; but the mere knowledge that they were to live after death no longer satisfied minds in which the consciousness of a personality was strong; they sought eagerly to know how they were to live. Answer to this desire was first given by the Mysteries of Eleusis, and upon these was grafted the Dionysos worship. Its central feature was the "ecstasy" in which the soul wandered off to the spirit world. Escaping for brief intervals from the prison of the body, the soul caught glimpses of its higher life. Hence the Dionysiac problem of salvation—how to make the vision continuous. Not by death but through successive births and long processes of cleansing, the

soul attains its destiny. This is the germ-idea whence sprang the Orphic theology, the Platonic philosophy, and those conceptions of the future life to which later writers like Pindar and Sophocles gave expression.

E. A. P.

Etude Sur le Cénobitisme Pakhomien : pendant le IV^e siècle et la première Moitié du V^e. Dissertation présentée à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Louvain pour l'obtention du grade de Docteur par Paulin Ladeuze, licencié en Théologie. Louvain : Typ. J. Van Linthout; Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1898. Pp. IX + 390. 6 fr.

This is an excellent book which any university might feel proud to be able to bring out; not only as a sample of the scientific training it offers to its students but also as a proof of the efficiency of its methods. It is not a simple promise of the future, a blossom; it is the fulfillment of that promise, a fruit of the best kind. The task of the author was a most difficult one; it embraced two periods of Oriental Monasticism,—the Pakhumian and the Shenootian, the latter being an attempt at a genetic reform by the famous Apa Shenoute (Coptic) or Shenoodah (Arabic). The material used by the author for the first period is partly old: Greek and Latin, and partly recent: Coptic (Theban and Memphitic) and Arabic. For the second period he had nothing but recent material: Coptic and Arabic. Evidently it is this recent material that has prompted Abbé Ladeuze to select such a subject for his dissertation. Herein he has displayed considerable literary courage, for the selection of this thesis implied a thorough examination of the introductions with which M. Amélineau, the chief editor of the Coptic and Arabic text, prefaced each of the documents he published, and which he styles critical, though they are anything but critical. Some might have thought the romantic and incoherent elucubrations of M. Amélineau entirely unworthy of notice. Perhaps Abbé Ladeuze would have thought so if they had been merely romantic. But the introductions of Amélineau are also slanderous, calculated to cast a slur on what all Christians have hitherto considered as the most admirable and successful attempt at a pure and spiritual life. All high-minded Christians and philosophic thinkers will ever be thankful to M. Ladeuze for having rehabilitated the Egyptian cenobitism whose offshoots in Europe have so powerfully contributed to the maintenance of a spiritual ideal as against the instincts of a brutal barbarism.¹

¹Another writer to whom Abbé Ladeuze devotes much of his attention is Grützmacher, who, in his "Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben" (1897), follows in Amélineau's "footsteps," and even seems occasionally, as we shall see, to improve on his predecessor.

The book is divided into three parts, followed by an appendix. In the first part the author carefully examines and classifies the sources of Egyptian cenobitism under St. Pakhumius (d. 346) and his successors, and Apa Shenoute (d. circa 452). The second part contains the *external* history, and the third part the *internal* history of Egyptian cenobitism. The appendix is an eloquent though scientific refutation of the accusation of immorality brought by M. Amélineau against the Pakhumian and Shenootian monks. The chief sources for the life of Pakhumius and his successors are: 1. The *Vita Sancti Pachomii*, by Dionysius Exiguus, from an uncertain Greek author (A). 2. The *Vita Sancti Patris nostri Pachomii*, attributed to Simeon Metaphrastes, translated from the Greek by Hervet, and published in Surius (B). 3. Another unpublished Greek life of Pakhumius. 4. A Greek life published by the Bollandists (C). 5. Various Theban fragments of a life of St. Pakhumius (T). 6. An incomplete life of the same in the Memphitic dialect (M). 7. An Arabic life of the same (A^r). 8. *Paralipomena de SS. Pachomio et Theodoro*, from the Greek; extant in the same manuscripts as C, and likewise published by the Bollandists (P).

According to M. Amélineau, the manuscript T is the source from which all the other documents were independently derived, A^r being the most faithful representative. Against this position of M. Amélineau, our author maintains that the true original is C, composed shortly after A. D. 368, and translated into Theban, with original additions, by the author of T. In turn those additions were, in the first half of the fifth century, translated into Greek (P). From C + P was derived B, of which A is an extract made toward the close of the fifth century. M is a free translation made from T at an early date; as for A^r it is an awkward compilation not only from T but also from M, the *Historia Lausiaca*, and even from C. Outside of what the Egyptian sources had in common with the original C, from which they are derived, they deserve but very little credit, as they gave to the facts they evidently borrowed from C, a strong legendary development. The facts are not unfrequently grossly distorted and interpolated, whether the Egyptian translators were conscious of it or not. Thus they convey to the mind of the reader an impression entirely different from that which would result from the original. Naturally it is in the Arabic life that we find most of those distortions and interpolations, not to speak of other literary phenomena like the one Abbé Ladeuze so well characterizes as "*dédoublement de faits.*" Of this he gives two very striking instances (pp. 93, 94). The origin of these legendary accretions seems to be the desire of the writer to glorify the founders of the cenobitic life, or to exalt the cenobitic life as against the anachoretic; to edify the monks, to enforce discipline,—in some

cases even to expound some pet eschatological theory. These tendencies after all, were not uncommon even in the Greek and Latin monastic literature of the corresponding period. To such a mental temper facts become entirely secondary.

Very different is C, which is throughout an accurate and plain statement of fact. Abbé Ladeuze concludes this important chapter with a study of the Letter of Ammon, and another on the Letters and Discourses of Pakhumius and his successors. To the former he allows but little value, outside of the details it gives on the cenobitic institutions. The Letters are of three kinds, those of the *Codex Regularum* of Benedict of Aniane, which our author holds to be genuine, as against M. Amélineau; the Coptic ones, which he pronounces to be of little importance, and the "*Doctrina de Institutione Monachorum*," a trustworthy document which seems to have escaped the attention of M. Amélineau.

The sources for the Shenootian cenobitism are threefold,—the various panegyrics of Shenoute, chiefly by his successor and disciple, Visa, the so-called Eulogy of Abba Bgool, and the letters and discourses of both Shenoute and Visa. The Panegyrics of Shenoute by Visa have reached us in three manuscripts—Theban (T), Memphitic (M), and Arabic (Ar). Of T we have nothing but short fragments. M and Ar are complete. They are all closely akin to one another, M and Ar being derived from T. M is not a compendium, as Amélineau says. Ar was probably made on a Theban original, but the writer must have also had the Memphitic before his eyes. Besides, as in the case of Pakhumius' life, he drew on other documents and his own imagination. Such documents were the *Didachē* of the Twelve Apostles, or rather those older documents on which the author of the *Didachē* himself drew; Holy Scripture; the works of Shenoute himself; letters, orations, etc. Those Panegyrics are highly legendary, full of visions, miracles, prodigies, but poor in facts. Hence it is clear that the author aimed chiefly at glorifying Shenoute, more rarely at edifying the monks and enforcing the observance of the monastic regulations. Even in T we find traces of this same tendency. In other words, with the exception of what refers to monastic institutions, the historical value of the Panegyrics is about nil. It is strange, says Abbé Ladeuze, that Amélineau, after having expatiated on the legendary character of the Panegyrics of Shenoute, should treat them elsewhere as though they related real facts or at least crafty dealings of Shenoute to make his disciples believe in his supernatural power!

The so-called Eulogy of Abba Bgool certainly does not deserve that title. It refers to Shenoute himself; but it is too fragmentary to say

who was the author, or what its nature was. Still, it contains historical facts concerning the origin of the Shenootian congregation exposed in plain and trustworthy style. As for the letters and discourses of Shenoute and Visa, they are genuine, beyond doubt, and form the best source for the history of the Shenootian cenobitism. Like the so-called *Eulogy of Abba Bgool*, they are extant in Theban only.

After this lengthy but useful discussion of his sources and their historical value, Abbé Ladeuze enters on his subject. He holds that Pakhumius was the true originator of cenobitism. He retraces as satisfactorily as his sources allow him, the origin and evolution of cenobitic life under Pakhumius and his successors; then the nature and extent of the Shenootian reform, where he shows that if that reform was not more successful, it was because it tried to do away with the very principles that had made the Pakhumian cenobitism a success. This part which our author calls the external history of cenobitism he concludes with a special chapter on the chronology of his subject. In the third part Ladeuze treats of the organization and rules or internal history of the Pakhumian and Shenootian monasteries.

Having disagreed so thoroughly with Amélineau and Grützmacher on the nature and value of his sources, Abbé Ladeuze cannot fail to continue to do so when he reaches his subject proper. Thus, he proves against Grützmacher that there is no reason to suppose that Pakhumius was first a member of the pagan community of Serapis. He credits Pakhumius with the origin of the cenobitic life. He disagrees entirely with Amélineau as to the reasons that prompted Pakhumius to pass from the anachoretic to the cenobitic monasticism. He does not believe that the Therapeutæ whom Amélineau confounds with the Essenes, influenced Pakhumius, directly or indirectly; that Pakhumius was ordained against his will (p. 185, n. 2); that Theodore, Pakhumius' favorite disciple, was an ambitious man, violent and hypocritical. He refuses to grant to Shenoute and his reform the same importance as does Amélineau, who holds the Shenootian monk as the standard of cenobitic life in "official Thebaid." On the other hand he does not believe Shenoute was as black as painted by Amélineau. He believes that Shenoute was more ignored than unknown to the Western hagiographer. He believes that Pakhumius was born in 292, not in 288, and died in 346, not in 348; that Shenoute died in 452 not in 451. The same divergence of view continues in the third part of his dissertation. Ladeuze does not think that the so-called rule of the Angel is the primitive rule of Pakhumius; he even fails to find a second edition of that rule either in Coptic or in Ethiopic. He cannot see in the monastic

habit an adaptation of the dress of the Egyptian priests. He does not admit of a three-year novitiate; he does not believe that the rule of Pakhumius was calculated to prevent the free development of moral faculties, nor that Pakhumius was an "esprit lourd, dur et étroit."

If, when he describes the monastic institutions of the Shenootian communities, Abbé Ladeuze does not disagree with Amélineau, it is because the points he touches have not been commented upon by that writer. As for the appendix on the chastity of the Egyptian monks, our author has not much trouble to show that Amélineau's accusations are nothing but an uninterrupted flow of *a priori* suppositions, misinterpretations, mistranslations, misconstructions, incoherencies and inconsistencies. The alleged documents on which Amélineau props his thesis, are against him in every case. Any fair-minded reader, if he only be gifted with the most elementary critical sense, will find nothing in them but what is most edifying, that is, the desire on the part of the superiors to inculcate in the minds of their community a horror of the sin of impurity, even of the slightest description. That the language of this rule is not more euphemistic simply shows that the conventionalism of their time was different from ours. It is a question of ethnography rather than of ethics. The fact that the superiors did not hesitate to mention in blunt terms the most grievous faults, nor the Coptic writers to commit this mention to writing, is on the contrary a proof that the very few allusions we find contain all that came within their knowledge. Not once do they insinuate that the fact related is not true; no more do they agree that it indicates anything like a general state of things.

Such is, in its main lines, the dissertation of Abbé Ladeuze. So many and so far-reaching were the false theories he met on his way that his book is rather a refutation of the errors concerning the Pakhumian and Shenootian cenobitism than an *étude* of the same. Where he does not refute Amélineau, he refutes others, like Revillout, but principally Basset and Grützmacher, both of whom—the latter more particularly—tread in Amélineau's erratic footprints. The result of this is a certain lack of proportion in the work. This is a minor defect, after all, that a different title might have suppressed.

One important fact comes out in the course of these studies, viz., that the work so far done on the subject in the light of Oriental sources must simply be done over again. So great is the lack of criticism displayed by Amélineau that his theories and conclusions ought to be entirely ignored. The texts ought to be taken in hand just as if they had never been commented upon. More than that, they ought to be reedited and retranslated. For Amélineau's printing of them is no edition at all; he never attempts to correct a faulty text from parallel texts in the same

or in other recensions; even for the Panegyrics of Shenoute, of which he claims to have compared four different copies, he does not take the trouble to establish a philological text. Very often both the Coptic and Arabic texts are manifestly wrong; a "sic!" placed here and there, if nothing else, might guide the student in his work and give him the clue of a solution. Frequently the student cannot say whether he has to deal with an oversight of Amélineau, a misprint, or a really faulty text. This very important defect might have been, to some extent, remedied by a faithful translation. But the translation of Amélineau is anything but faithful. In some cases he ignores not only isolated words, but whole propositions and sentences. In many cases his rendering is altogether wrong; in others it is both wrong and incomprehensible, and offers no sense at all. Our author himself has more than once remarked this defect, and in cases of considerable importance for his subject (e. g. pp. 145, 195, 312, 313). In many cases of no less, if not of greater, importance, he confidently accepts the wrong or uncertain rendering of Amélineau. Thus (p. 168) Ladeuze, following Amélineau, makes Pakhumius say that the anchorite "ne s'élancera pas vers la vie éternelle par la pureté des ascèses qu'il fait," while the text really says: "Cependant il (Dieu) ne le privera pas de la vie éternelle à cause etc." Ladeuze did not see that by accepting the rendering of Amélineau he gave him a weapon against himself. He might well have selected Amélineau's translation of both the Coptic and Arabic texts of this very discourse of Pakhumius as an example of his slovenly manner of translating. On p. 349 (note 1) Ladeuze implicitly accepts the interpretation of Amélineau "to sin like a man—to commit the sin of impurity." Now that expression occurs frequently in both Coptic and Greek, in places where there can be no suspicion of immorality. It means, in fact, not "comme homme,"=like a man, but simply "en tant qu' homme"=being a man. That expression is used not to show the fault, but, on the contrary, to minimize it, and in the particular case to enhance the severity of the punishment, by way of contrast. On p. 322 Ladeuze accepts again Amélineau's rendering, "Qu'on les mette à la porte," understanding naturally enough "expulsion." Here Amélineau makes the Coptic writer speak French. The text says: "à la *porterie*," which, as Zoega well understood, indicates the *atrium* of the convent. That whole passage, besides, is obscure in Coptic, and from Amélineau's translation one sees clearly that he did not understand it. A queer grammar, indeed, would result from our acceptance of Amélineau's translations. Another passage certainly mistranslated and yet quoted and accepted by Ladeuze, is on p. 325, note 3. Again (p. 320), Ladeuze quotes from Amélineau's translation: "Soyons riches en les choses que

nous apprenons par coeur, que celui qui n'en apprendra pas davantage, n'apprenne pas moins de onze parties du Psautier." The text says: "n'apprenne pas moins de dix parties et une partie.'" Strange manner, in didactic writing, of saying "eleven parts!" If we read farther we see that the rule constantly speaks of so many "Psalms and one part," from which it appears evident that Amélineau has either badly copied his original, as is often the case, or that he has not perceived that "part" had been by oversight written once for "psalm". The point deserves certainly some study, and it would have been well for Ladeuze, independently of the philological question, to call the attention of his readers to the difficulty. Another false rendering apparently accepted by our author is the one referred to in n. 8, p. 318. Worse still is the translation quoted, p. 244, n. 4. There is not the slightest doubt that we should translate: "Puis les saints Antoine, Macaire, et cet homme parfait, Pakhôme, m'ont livré leurs enfants pour que je les juge de l'estrade ou, etc.," instead of, "M'ont Confié leurs enfants pour leur prêcher la foi dans la chaire où, etc."

These few instances, in my opinion, suffice to show that Ladeuze has given Amélineau credit for a great deal more philological skill than he really possesses. In fact there are few pages in his Coptic or Arabic texts that Amélineau renders faithfully,—which makes me believe that had Ladeuze first revised the Coptic and Arabic translations he might not only have avoided some important mistakes but discovered moreover, in those texts, much new and useful material for his study on Egyptian cenobitic life. Naturally that does not entirely impair the value of his work. For if he had done no more than expose the manner of *historical* criticism adopted by Amélineau in his writings it would still remain true that he has made a great step towards putting the Egyptian cenobitism in its proper light, such especially as is shed upon it by the new documents that the languages of the Orient are offering us. H. H.

The Eve of the Reformation: Studies in the Religious Life and Thought of the English People in the period preceding the Rejection of the Roman Jurisdiction by Henry VIII, by Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., O. S. B. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1900, 8°, pp. 443.

When Boehmer decided the vocation of Joannes Janssen to be the popularizing of knowledge concerning the actual conditions of the German people just before and after the Reformation, he began a movement that was destined to spread beyond the limits of the strictly Teutonic lands. Here, indeed, Pastor, Michael, Ehses, and many others,—individuals,

schools, societies,—have taken up the good work of collecting the facts of the social, political, industrial, commercial, artistic and literary life of Europe as it was lived, up to the outbreak of the Reformation. Theology and philosophy have had their syntheses—why should not history, too, have one? Thus shall we gain an immovable corner-stone of fact and sure appreciation on which to raise, slowly it may be, an edifice of religious unity. Perhaps the influence of the Rolls Series and the State Papers of England, as well as the numerous local and special societies that for many decades have been harvesting the remnants of mediæval evidences, has been equally great in developing the school of which Mr. Edmund Bishop, Father Gasquet, Dom Cuthbert, and scholarly writers in the *Tablet*, are members as brilliant as they are authoritative and inspiring. Not that English Catholics have ever wanted for capable writers of history—Tierney, Dodd, Oliver, Lingard, and other men of repute are there to answer for the mental honesty and bluff candor that are as native in Englishmen as a certain “*peinlich*” love of detail is to the German, or the charm of style and measure to the Frenchman.

Father Gasquet continues the traditions of his race. Within a decade he has given us quasi-final chapters on Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, on the Origin of the Book of Common Prayer, on the episode of the “Black Death.” Essays in the Benedictine “Downside Review” on the equipments of ancient monastic libraries, on the pre-Reformation English Bible, on Religious Instruction in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have made his name dear to those who venerate the old Catholic past of England. The volume before us is conceived in the same analytical and cautious spirit, being made up of documentary studies, that move all in the same direction, but after the manner of a careful chess-player. The rubrics of the various chapters reveal sufficiently the scope of the author. They are The Revival of Letters in England, The Two Jurisdictions, England and the Pope, Clergy and Laity, Erasmus, The Lutheran Invasion, The Printed English Bible, Teaching and Preaching, Parish Life in Catholic England, Pre-Reformation Guild Life, Mediæval Wills, Charities and Obits, Pilgrimages and Relics.

The limits of a book-notice preclude any intimate examination of the great mass of information,—much of it new, all of it highly instructive,—that these chapters offer. Nor can we forestall the author by outlining conclusions which he is not yet ready to draw, or at least to formulate in scientific terms. Nevertheless, it can only edify and console many who are too busy to follow these studies in person, if the temper of this important publication be set before them. In a very modest “Introduction” Father Gasquet calls attention to the current

or popular view of the beginnings of the Reformation held by most Protestants.

..... "To some, it appears that the Church, on the eve of the Reformation, had long lost its hold on the intelligence and affection of the English people. Discontented with the powers claimed by the ecclesiastical authority, and secretly disaffected to much of the mediæval teaching of religious truth and to many of the traditional religious ordinances, the laity were, it is suggested, only too eager to seize upon the first opportunity of emancipating themselves from a thralldom which in practice had become intolerable. An increase of knowledge, too, it is supposed, had inevitably led men to view as false and superstitious many of the practices of religion which had been acquiesced in and followed without doubt or question in earlier and more simple days. Men, with the increasing light, had come to see, in the support given to these practices by the clergy, a determination to keep people at large in ignorance, and to make capital out of many of these objectionable features of mediæval worship.

"Moreover, such writers assume that in reality there was little or no practical religion among the mass of the people for some considerable time before the outbreak of the religious difficulties in the sixteenth century. According to their reading of the facts, the nation, as such, had long lost its interest in the religion of its forefathers. Receiving no instruction in faith and morals worthy of the name, they had been allowed by the neglect of the clergy to grow up in ignorance of the teachings, and in complete neglect of the duties, of their religion. Ecclesiastics generally, secular as well as religious, had, it is suggested, forfeited the respect and esteem of the laity by their evil and mercenary lives; whilst, imagining that the surest way to preserve the remnants of their former power was to keep the people ignorant, they had opposed the literary revival of the fifteenth century by every means at their command. In a word, the picture of the pre-Reformation Church ordinarily drawn for us is that of a system honeycombed with disaffection and unbelief, the natural and necessary outcome of an attempt to maintain at all hazards an effete ecclesiastical organisation, which clung with the tenacity of despair to doctrines and observances which the world at large had ceased to accept as true, or to observe as any part of its reasonable service."

But in the face of the vast and deep researches of late decades, there is, to say the least, room and reason for a new statement of the elements of English life at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. What men have done for the natural sciences, for experimental psychology, for the history of commerce, industry, the sciences in general, education, must also be good for general history, and notably for ecclesiastical history, where the "odium theologicum" is ever a distorting influence. To begin with, the "State Papers" of the reign of Henry VIII open up a wide field, mostly fallow,—and no conscien-

tious "magistrate of history" will now utter judgment until he has grasped the meaning of this awful "dossier." How true this is will be apparent to all who have read the volumes of Mr. J. Brewer and Mr. James Gardiner, men who rank in the first order of impartial and objective critics.

. "Rolls, records, and documents of all kinds exist in public and private archives, which are not included in these State Papers, but which are equally necessary for the formation of a sound and reliable opinion on the whole story. Besides this vast mass of material, the entire literature of the period demands careful examination, as it must clearly throw great light on the tone and temper of men's minds, and reveal the origin and growth of popular views and opinions.

"Writers, such as Burnet, for example, and others, have indeed presented their readers with the story of the Reformation as a whole, and have not hesitated to set out at length, and with assurance, the causes which led up to that event. Whether true or false, they have made their synthesis, and taking a comprehensive view of the entire subject, they have rendered their story more plausible by the unity of idea it was designed to illustrate and confirm. The real value of such a synthesis, however, must of course entirely depend on the data upon which it rests. The opening up of new sources of information and the examination of old sources in the critical spirit now demanded in all historical investigations have fully proved, however, not merely this or that fact to be wrong, but that whole lines of argument are without justification, and general deductions without reasonable basis. In other words, the old synthesis has been founded upon false facts and false inferences."

No one denies that in the fifteenth century the Catholic Church felt the need of reform. One must have dealt long and lovingly with the documents of the time, the "human documents" of saints and reformers, to know how ever-present was that need. One must know, too, how rapidly events moved in the fifteenth century, events of the first magnitude in the history of mankind,—how the worlds of commerce, thought, and nature were at once and immeasurably enlarged before the mediæval man, lay or ecclesiastic, was educated to his new surroundings, or even knew what they really were. Men still believed in a *Terre de Jouvence*, an *El Dorado*, the Phoenix, the Purgatory of St. Patrick. How much harder to shift the administrative system of that most complicated of social mechanisms—the Church of Rome? The Council of Trent itself was the first to acknowledge by its decrees and measures, the absolute, indispensable need of reform.

. "The need had long been acknowledged by the best and most devoted sons of the Church. There were those, whom M. Eugène Müntz has designated the "morose cardinals," who saw whither things

were tending, and strove to the utmost of their power to avert the impending catastrophe. As Janssen has pointed out, in the middle of the fifteenth century, for instance, Nicholas of Cusa initiated reforms in Germany, with the approval—if not by the positive injunctions—of the Pope. It was, however, a true reform, a reform founded on the principle ‘not of destruction, but of purification and renewal.’ Holding that ‘it was not for men to change what was holy; but for the holy to change man,’ he began by reforming himself and preaching by example. He restored discipline and eagerly welcomed the revival of learning and the invention of printing as the most powerful auxiliaries of true religion. His projects of general ecclesiastical reforms presented to Pius II. are admirable. Without wishing to touch the organization of the Church, he desired full and drastic measures of ‘reformation in head and members.’ But all this was entirely different from the spirit and aim of those who attacked the Church under the leadership of Luther and his followers. Their object was not the reform and purification of abuses, but the destruction and overthrow of the existing religious system. Before, say, 1517 or even 1521, no one at this period ever dreamt of wishing to change the basis of the Christian religion, as it was then understood. The most earnest and zealous sons of the Church never hesitated to attack this or that abuse, and to point out this or that spot, desiring to make the edifice of God’s Church, as they understood it, more solid, more useful, and more like Christ’s ideal. They never dreamt that their work could undermine the edifice, much less were their aims directed to pulling down the walls and digging up the foundations; such a possibility was altogether foreign to their conception of the essential constitution of Christ’s Church. To suggest that men like Colet, More, and Erasmus had any leaning to, or sympathy with, ‘the Reformation’ as we know it, is, in view of what they have written, absolutely false and misleading.”

On the other hand, nothing could be more un-historical than the concept of Luther changing the face of European society and calling by his magic genius light from darkness. He is himself evidence (Opera ed. Frankfort, tom. x. p. 56, cited by Janssen) that the most brilliant of all Christian ages was the one at whose close he was born.

“Any one reading the chronicles,” he writes, “will find that since the birth of Christ there is nothing that can compare with what has happened in our world during the last hundred years. Never in any country have people seen so much building, so much cultivation of the soil. Never has such good drink, such abundant and delicate food been within the reach of so many. Dress has become so rich that it cannot in this respect be improved. Who has ever heard of commerce such as we see it to-day? It circles the globe; it embraces the whole world! Painting, engraving—all the arts—have progressed and are still improving. More than all, we have men so capable and so learned, that their wit penetrates everything in such a way, that nowadays a youth of twenty knows more than twenty doctors did in days gone by.”

If the culture of the arts be any index of a free and open spirit, of a temper of progress and refinement, of an appreciation of all that is good and serviceable in nature for man, of an attitude of idealism, of generosity and magnificence, of a rich and manifold activity in the middle classes, then cinquecento England was but little, if any, behind the peoples of the Continent.

. "There never was a period in which such life and energy was displayed in the building and adornment of churches of all kinds as on the very eve of the Reformation. Not in one part of the country only, nor in regard only to the greater churches, was this characteristic activity shown, but throughout the length and breadth of England the walls of our great cathedrals and minsters, and well-nigh those of every little parish church in the land, still bear their testimony to what was done out of love for God's house during the period in question by the English people. Moreover, by the aid of the existing accounts and inventories it can be proved to demonstration that it was a work which then, more than at any other period of our national existence, appealed to the people at large and was carried out by them. No longer, as in earlier times, was the building and beautifying of God's house left in this period to some great noble benefactor or rich landowner. During the fifteenth century the people were themselves concerned with the work, initiated it, found the means to carry it out, and superintended it in all its details.

"The same may be said of art. The work of adorning the walls of churches with paintings and frescoes, the work of filling in the tracery of the windows with pictured glass, the work of setting up, and carving, and painting, and decorating; the making of screens, and stalls, and altars, all during this period, and right up to the eve of the change, was in every sense popular. It was the people who carried out these works, and evidently for the sole reason because they loved to beautify their churches, which were, in a way now somewhat difficult to realise, the centre no less of their lives than of their religion. Popular art grows, and only grows luxuriantly, upon a religious soil; and under the inspiration of a popular enthusiasm the parish churches of England became, if we may judge from the evidence of wills, accounts, and inventories which still survive, not merely sanctuaries, but veritable picture galleries, teaching the poor and unlettered the history and doctrine of their religion. Nor were the pictures themselves the miserable daubs which some have suggested. The stained-glass windows were not only multiplied in the churches of England during this period, but by those best able to judge, the time between 1480 and 1520 has been regarded as the golden age of the art; and as regards the frescoes and decorations themselves, there is evidence of the existence in England of a high proficiency, both in design and execution, before the Reformation."

One more paragraph, of special value, because it touches on the history of music,—of all the arts the most thoroughly ecclesiastical, being a pure creation of the Church, and in nowise a remnant of pagan antiquity, like painting and sculpture. Not a few will be surprised to know that

English Catholics were on the royal road to great discoveries in music, and that the painful disturbances which interrupted the religious and social life of England also threw her out of the procession of Flemish, French, Italian and German maestri who have endowed mankind with an immortal song.

..... "It was the age, too, of organ-making and bell-founding, and there is hardly a record of any parish church at this time which does not show considerable sums of money spent upon these. From the middle of the fifteenth century to the period described as "the great pillage," music, too, had made great progress in England, and the renown of the English school had spread over Europe. Musical compositions had multiplied in a wonderful way, and before the close of the fifteenth century "prick song," or part music, is very frequently found in the inventories of our English parish churches. In fact, it has been recently shown that much of the music of the boasted school of ecclesiastical music to which the English Reformation had been thought to have given birth, is, in reality, music adapted to the new English services from Latin originals, which had been inspired by the ancient offices of the Church. Most of the "prick song" masses and other musical compositions were destroyed in the wholesale destruction which accompanied the religious changes, but sufficient remains to show that the English pre-Reformation school of music was second to none in Europe. The reputation of some of its chief masters, like Dunstable, Tallis, and Bird, had spread to other countries, and their works had been used and studied, even in that land of song, Italy."

In view of these judgments, amply borne out by the studies that make up the bulk of the book, one can not but subscribe to the words with which Father Gasquet closes these introductory remarks:

..... "A dispassionate consideration of the period preceding the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century will, it can hardly be doubted, lead the inquirer to conclude that it was not in any sense an age of stagnation, discontent, and darkness. Letters, art, architecture, painting, and music, under the distinct patronage of the Church, had made great and steady progress before the advent of the new ideas. Moreover, those who will examine the old parish records cannot fail to see that up to the very eve of the changes, the old religion had not lost its hold upon the minds and affections of the people at large. And one thing is absolutely clear, that it was not the Reformation movement which brought to the world in its train the blessings of education, and the arts of civilisation. What it did for all these is written plainly enough in the history of that period of change and destruction."

Any approval the writer could give is infinitely outweighed by the dispassionate summary of Mr. James Gardiner in a late issue of "The

New Era." He declares that the following propositions may now be looked on as placed beyond doubt by the labors of Father Gasquet:

First. That learning was not discouraged by the Church in the era before the Reformation, and least of all in England.

Second. That art was not on the decline, but quite the contrary.

Third. That religious instruction was not neglected.

Fourth. That English translations of the Bible were not prohibited, except on the ground that they were erroneous and heretical.¹

Fifth. That there was no disaffection among the people towards the spiritual headship of the Pope until Henry's quarrel with Rome.

T. J. S.

Fragmente Vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den *Sacra Parallela*, herausgegeben von Karl Holl, Leipzig. J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1899, 8°, pp. xxxix + 241.

The "*Sacra Parallela*" is an extensive Florilegium in Greek that contains sentences or excerpts from the Bible, the Fathers, and from profane writers on various matters of faith and discipline. It has been frequently attributed to St. John Damascene (d. 735-754) under the above title (*τὰ ἐκ τῶν παρὰλληλῶν*) and may be read in one of its several recensions in Migne (PG. XCV, 1039-1558; XCVI, 9-442). Its three books on God, Man, Virtue and Vice, no longer extant in their original form, underwent contraction into one book; that, too, was variously worked over. Nor is it admitted by all as certain that the work, in any of its traditional forms, really belongs to the Damascene. It even seems certain that those sections of the book common to all its forms belong to an earlier age.

In size this work surpassed all similar efforts at an encyclopædic theology for popular use—its quotations were counted by thousands and included long fragments of sermons. Owing to this, it easily fell into parts or particular recensions, summaries, abbreviations, and the like. Three good manuscripts of the first book have reached us, but shorn of whole chapters, and those chapters that are given are themselves much reduced. The second book has also come down in manuscript, but still more thoroughly abbreviated. Of the third book no manuscript has reached us—only, in "The Bee" (*Melissa*) of a certain eleventh-century Greek Antonius (Migne CXXXVI, 765-1124) this third book was incorporated, but so that its outlines can be recognized. Nevertheless, here, too, the material was reduced; in addition the text of Antonius is so corrupt that the third book of the "*Parallela*" can be more easily recon-

¹ Cf. Rev. John W. Sullivan, in the "*Ave Maria*," June, 1898.

structed from other sources. Besides this manuscript tradition of the original, there are later editions or "recensions" of the material, of which that known as "the Vatican recension" is printed in Migne. These editions scarcely did more than modify the form and abbreviate the content of the huge and shapeless work. As this "dictionary" of ascetical material was much used, it underwent other modifications according to the taste or scope of those who compiled from it,—and so the tradition of the original text of the "Parallela" became still more troubled, if not hopeless.

It must be clear that a Florilegium of patristic citations, so worked over in the course of time, cannot be a first-class witness to the authenticity of its own materials; when we add that even the original, whatever it was and whenever written, was not free from errors, neither in the text nor in the titles and attributions, we are led to the conclusion that careful research is needed in order to verify the authenticity of the patristic quotations found in the "Parallela."

To restore the original Damascene text of the Ante-Nicene Fathers that are quoted in the "Parallela" is the task which Licentiate Holl has set himself. On the authority chiefly of the manuscripts, he believes, against Loofs, that the Damascene is really the author of the "Parallela," and that his principal "source" was a certain "Maximus," perhaps the famous Martyr (662) in the Monothelite persecutions,¹ and author, among other works, of certain "*κεφάλαια θεολογικά*" or collection of sentences and excerpts of a patristic nature. In the prolegomena to his work Holl defends both these positions against the attacks of Loofs and against the objections of philologists like Wendland and Cohn, with a genuine Teutonic earnestness and detail. His conclusions (pp. xxxiv-xxxv) seem likely to stand.

Among the Ante-Nicene authors quoted by the *Parallela* are Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athenodorus, Methodius, Peter of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea (inclusive of Eusebius Alexandrinus), *Doctrina Petri*. For each, Holl collects the quotations ascribed to him in the "lemmata" or superscriptions of the "Parallela," and then proceeds to separate the texts that really belong to the author's genuine writings from those that are doubtful or spurious or whose provenance cannot be located. In this manner he studies 501 quotations, with constant comparative reference to a series of fourteen manuscripts that represent the tradition of the "Parallela," and to the special titles or attributions under which these quotations invariably stand. There is added to the book an index con-

¹ Cf. Wachamuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien*, Berlin, 1882.

taining the initial words of all the quotations, and referring to the pages where they may be found. For many quotations a modest critical apparatus of variants is given at the foot of each page. The volume is issued as the second number of the fifth volume of the new series of the "Texte und Untersuchungen" and represents one phase of the conscientious labors that are being undergone in order to arrive at a perfect text of the Greek writers,—the great toil of this particular study aiming only at reproducing as nearly as possible the Greek texts that lay before John Damascene or "Maximus" when they were compiling these "dictionaries of pious and useful sayings from the Bible, the Fathers, and the Ancients." It is the same utility that we find in the "Bibliotheca" of Photius, or that our successors would find in any volume of "Elegant English Extracts," if we could imagine our literature to fall some day into the confusion that has been the literary fate of the Greeks and the Romans. In conclusion, it is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration for the iron energy, the conscientious and scientific method, the careful and painstaking execution, the real sacrifice and self-renouncement, the mental and bodily application that such a work implies. We can no longer say the Benedictines are dead; they live again—only they have been driven from St. Denis and toil now by the Spree and the Pleisse.

T. J. S.

Commentarius in Exodum et Leviticum, auctore Francisco de Hummelauer, S. J. Parisiis, P. Lethielleux, 1897. pp. 548.

This is one of the latest additions to the well known "*Cursus*" of the German Jesuits; like the others, it testifies to the painstaking labor and erudition of its author. But it is difficult to determine just how much of the result is of lasting value. Enlightened Catholic views on the Pentateuch are in a divided and transitional state, and a Catholic commentary on any of the five books, especially one written, as is Father Hummelauer's, from a distinctly conservative standpoint, may need much revision a decade or two hence. The "*Cursus*," learned and seemingly exhaustive as it is, does not contain the last word on this subject.

In this work Father Hummelauer gives but a passing notice to the critical system regarding the composition of the Hexateuch. That Moses wrote the Five Books is for him a *res adjudicata*. He assumes, rather than proves it, leaving the salvation of the Mosaic origin to the care of tradition, and to whatever support it may receive in the body of the commentary. In other words, the commentary is not critical; an authorship is assumed before the documents are discussed, and not vice versa. For the learned writer does not recognize differences of style

and distinct legal codes in Exodus and Leviticus; but since Moses must have written the Pentateuch, these differentiations belong to documents anterior to Moses, which he brought together and merged into his work. So the Torah shows a growth, but a growth which ends with Moses. Instead of being the one who laid the foundation of the Law, he was the builder who, under divine inspiration, finished and roofed the edifice.

The author very sensibly refuses to see in many of the minute and curious prescriptions of the sacred codes enactments coming originally and directly from Heaven. "Indeed," he says, "why should the all-perfect, all-powerful God forbid so severely and repeatedly the tender flesh of kids to be cooked in the generous fat of the mother? Why should He have commanded from high heaven that a slave, who refused his liberty in the sabbatical year, should have his ears pierced? Why should He forbid the owner to gather the stalks and grapes left after the harvest and vintage? and the horse and the ox to plow together? Why should He make the law for the circumcision of trees? Everything becomes plain and intelligible, if we suppose that these and other like rites were of old observed by the chosen stock to signify good and holy things. These rites were therefore *customs*, and it was not unworthy of God to confirm such pious usages by an express law." Indeed, the commentator makes the Mosaic codes embrace all the human laws in force in the patriarchal age. These, purified, amended, and supplemented, God ratified through the great Lawgiver, thus making them divine.

In the introductory part of the present volume, Father Hummelauer utters the views on the pre-Mosaic religion of the Israelites, which he has emphasized and developed in a later work.¹ According to this teaching, Moses found a long-established priesthood and ritual among the Hebrews. The pre-Mosaic priests were stripped of their office and the latter given to Aaron and the tribes of Levi, because of their disobedience in not entering into the cloud on Mt. Sinai, to listen to the voice of Jahve (Ex. 19, 22). Of this transfer, says Hummelauer the sacred history makes no express mention for reasons of prudence. But with all due respect to the reverend exegete, whether a pre-Mosaic priesthood were called upon to enter the cloud or not, there is an historical mist from which they have never emerged. This is a region of speculation and subjectiveness, and Father Hummelauer is unwarrantably positive in the premises. He has built an elaborate fabric on a very slight foundation.

Cresson, Pa.

G. V. R.

¹ Das Vormosaische Priesterthum in Israel. Freiburg: Herder, 1899.

"Nochmals der Biblische Schöpfungsbericht." Biblische Studien, III Band. 2 Heft. Fr. von Hummelauer, S. J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 8vo, pp. 132. Price, 75 cents.

The author of this little brochure is an exegete of repute and justly esteemed for his learned Commentaries on Sacred Scripture. The theme which he here handles he has had much at heart, and by years of meditation upon it he has developed in it all its parts. He has already treated it in several previous publications. That it is a favorite topic with him is evident from his whole method of treatment, which is thorough, learned, fresh, and vigorous. In fact, every thing in the work is excellent, except the thesis, and it is not the fault of the learned author if he has not succeeded in making that good. The work has already been translated into French by M. l' Abbé Eck.¹

The work is divided into three parts. In the first part the author gives a word-for-word and verse-for-verse interpretation of the text, without any reference to the conclusions of profane science or to the various and conflicting theories which have been devised as a solution of the difficult problem of creation.

In the second part he gives an interesting exposition of the many attempts, more or less futile, at a concordance between the supposed sense of the text of Scripture and the supposed results of modern science. In view of the endless variety of opinions advanced in recent times to explain the account of Creation in Genesis, the author remarks that they seem to have a share in the blessing originally pronounced by God on plants and animals, "to increase and multiply and fill the earth."

In the third part the author forthwith proceeds to "increase" that number by one more theory,—his own. This, when expounded in full, can be compared to nothing but a separate creation of a new species, so distinct as to be quite unlike anything in heaven, or on earth, or under the earth. It is appropriately called the "Visionary Theory."

It is, in substance, as follows: The first chapter of Genesis, containing the account of Creation, is strictly historical; but as Adam was created only on the sixth day, he could not have been, in the ordinary sense of the term, an eye-witness to what took place on the preceding five days. It remains, therefore, that the only competent witness to the act of creation is God, whose testimony was given to man, not *viva voce*, but in a vision, during which the whole process of second Creation was unfolded in a series of tableaux. That the divine testimony was thus given, and not by word of mouth, is evident from the dramatic style in which it is set forth in Genesis. A strange feature of this theory is that

¹ "Le Récit de la Création." Paris: Lethielleux.

the vision in question was imparted directly, not to Moses, the supposed author of the Book, but to Adam, and by him transmitted by oral tradition down through the ages till it reached Moses, who consigned it to writing in Genesis. And even to Adam the vision was given immediately on his creation, while in an ecstatic state, and before he had time to become conscious of his own existence.

Father Hummelauer rejects all other recent theories as the result of fear. They have all been advanced out of regard for the results of modern science, especially of geology. The advocates of those theories would probably reply that they are the result of love for the truth. Both Augustine and Thomas warn us, when treating such topics, not to run counter to the generally received conclusions of science, lest it appear that Scripture be opposed to the truth. Moreover, it is well understood that the Catholic exegete may make use of profane knowledge in order to avoid a false interpretation of the Sacred Text. For this purpose he studies history, chronology, geography, and archæology, all of which may be at least negative guides, and may enable him, if not to find the true sense, at least to avoid a false sense. To disregard all knowledge of nature in interpreting Scripture is to suppose that the real sense of Scripture may be opposed to the true and well-ascertained results of science.

Nevertheless, we would recommend this little volume to the attention of our readers. The theory advanced by the learned writer may not be proved to be true; it may even be false. But one can not read this dissertation without gaining a clear knowledge of the weak points in the foundation on which rest many of the rival theories. At the same time, the shortcomings of this last of all theories appear as numerous and as glaring as any of them. It is, perhaps, as difficult to demonstrate the falsity of this visionary theory as it is to prove its truth. Many will reject it as "not proven." In any case it adds to the number of more or less tenable hypotheses on the subject.

C. P. G.

Florilegium Latinum: Translations into Latin Verse from Pre-Victorian Poets, edited by Francis St. John Thackeray, M. A., F. S. A., and Edward Daniel Stone, M. A. John Lane, The Bodley Head, London and New York. 1899. Pp. xvi+244.

"Perfection of graceful expression and correctness of style,"—such are the impellent motives put forth by the scholarly editors of this anthology of Latin translations from the poets of the Greeks, the French, the Germans, and, principally, the English. Surely, it needs some "*antiqua pietas*" to offer to our modern world a volume of verses done out of the English of Ben Jonson, Shakspeare, Milton, Cowley,

Herrick, Landor, Wordsworth, Scott, Moore and others into the tongue of the Romans. Shade of Ovid! When thou didst sing thy "Tristia" in Gothic rhyme amid the horrors of an Hyperborean exile, did it ever occur to thee that the children of those barbarians would one day return the compliment? The utility of Latin versification, as a mental discipline, ought never to have been called in doubt. It may be, perhaps is, abused, but remains none the less a normal and efficient means of compelling the attention of youth to the content of thought, the sequence of ideas, the weighing, comparison and selection of words and phrases. In a word, it helps to develop reflection and judgment in an age when they are yet weak and incipient. It is a healthy "tyrannia," a kind of strait-jacket imposed upon youth, whereby it is forced to work along certain channels, is inhibited from browsing on the wild and fenceless prairies of fancy. In a maturer age, Latin versification enables the scholar to live with the great ancients, as Dante did with his "maestro e duca," to square the solid worth and universal aptness of our thought and experience by the "*Erlebnisse*" of men whom the commonalty of our kind have accepted as an immortal and infallible senate in all that pertains to taste and good sense in the things of the mind. With them is the "*usus et norma loquendi*," and apart from them there can be no orderly evolution of the graces of diction. Freaks and monstrosities, yes! but no large and deep and beneficent flow of thought moving through society as a great river through broad savannahs, a thing of beauty, of joy, of utility. Both blind and ungrateful are they who would remove from our teaching of youth the invaluable influence of the "classics." The triumphant Christian spared them as Ataulf spared Romania, and for somewhat similar reasons. The wherefore of all this has been admirably set forth in the "Report of the Committee of Ten."

MM. Thackeray and Stone present a charming list of elegant Latin renderings of ancient writers, beginning with Homer, Eschylus, and Euripides, and including a fragment of the lately-found Bacchylides and some verses from the Anthology. From the writers of France there is an elegant rendering of the "Avril" of Remy Belleau (1528-1577). Of course, nothing can equal the tender delicate grace of the original, its faint sweet music, as of church chimes heard from afar in the mellow sunset, as of sheep-bells tinkling through the odorous air that envelops the quiet fold.

Avril, l'honneur et des bois
et des mois:
Avril, la douce espérance
des fruits qui, sous le coton
du bouton,
nourrissent leur jeune enfance;

Avril, l' honneur des prez verts,
 jaunes, pers,
 qui d' une humeur bigarrée
 émaillent de mille fleurs
 de couleurs
 leur parure diaprée;

Avril, la grace et le ris
 de Cypris,
 le flair et la douce haleine;
 Avril, le parfum des dieux,
 qui, des cieux,
 sentent l' odeur de la plaine;

c' est toy, courtois et gentil,
 qui d' exil
 retires ces passagères,
 ces arondilles qui vont,
 et qui sont
 du printemps les messagères.

Mr. John Bury, of Trinity College, Dublin, turns these inimitably delicate *concetti* into Latin lines, as follows:

Mensis gloria mensium,
 Aprilis, nemorum pulcher honor venis,
 idem spes bona fructuum
 quos nutrix teneros clausa calyx fovet.

larga tu varias manu
 pratorum faciem mille coloribus:
 flavis, puniceis, nigris
 tu ridens decoras omnia floribus.

in labris genitus deae
 ridentis Veneris tu sapis halitum;
 arridetque recens odor
 camporum Superis te redolentium.

tu tandem revocas domo
 longinqua reduces blandus hirundines,
 quarum vox bona nuntiat
 "optata en facies veris adest novi."

These verses are correct, and to the writer's taste recall in a large and dignified way the Catullan note, the treatment of Nature as something set, objective, enamelled, cast in unchangeable lines. How little there is in them of the quaint and magical "fêerie" of Belleau's

musical verse that seems to drop from some pastoral pipe, from the lips of some Corinne tripping a-field to milk her kine beneath an aged apple tree all white and red with the first sweet blossoms of the spring! And here we touch an inborn weakness of all neo-Latin poetry, original or translation,—out of it speaks the voice of a dead world. We are not Latins, but the children of Germans, Kelts, Slavs,—and we respond quickly and easily only to the poetry of romance and sentiment, a poetry whose ideas are foreign, nay, repugnant to the Latin genius.

Not the least profound change in the society of the Caesars was that which was worked on the hearts of those men who joined, in ever-increasing numbers, the ranks of the "Nazarenes," the "Galilaeans." In countless little associations over the world of Greece and Rome the story of Jesus Christ opened up a hidden vein of tenderness, a "fount of tears." Soon this temperament became common enough among all the Latin races. With it they learned a new un-Roman life of the affections¹

"in the community of conviction and hope, in the community of suffering, between the high-born and the slave, when they met together at the place of execution, in the bloodstained amphitheatre, in the crowded prison-house, made musical with the sweet solemnities of gratitude and praise, with the loving and high-hearted farewells of resignation and patience; in those marvellous combinations of majesty and tenderness, so rugged, yet so piercing and so pathetic, the Latin hymns, in those unequalled expressions in the severest and briefest words, of the deepest needs of the soul, and of all the ties which bind men to God and to one another, the Latin Collects; in the ever repeated psalter, in the *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, in the canticles of morning and evening, and the hour of rest and death, in the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, in the 'new song' of the awful *Te Deum*

Deep as the grave, high as the Eternal Throne."

The torturing sense of sin, the sweet human companionship with Jesus, the new and large concept of mankind as one brotherhood in the family of the Divine Father, of Christ, of the "Ecclesia Dei," these great fundamental ideas dominated all later times, broke up the slumbering deeps of antique human nature, revolutionized life, gave birth to a love stronger than death, made death itself both beautiful and joyful. Now, the fibre of the Roman tongue is transmuted; now, men can sing a *Gloria in Excelsis*, an *Exultet*, an *O Roma Nobilis*! a *Hora Novissima*. Now, the fitting language of the soul is some splendid dithyramb. Now, the sign of a mighty hope flames fixedly in the skies, and on earth are set

¹ Dean Church, "Christianity and the Latin Races," in his "Gifts of Civilization," p. 206.

loose those divine currents whose mystic floods will one day pour into the "Canticle of the Sun" and the *Divina Commedia*. I quote again from one who has set before us this process with incredible accuracy:

"From the stately grace, the 'supreme eloquence,' from the martial and senatorial majesty of the Imperial power (Vergil), you come, in Dante, on severity, indeed, and loftiness of word and picture and rhythm, but you find the poem pervaded and instinct with human affections of every kind; the soul is free, and every shade of its feelings, its desires, its emotions, finds its expressive note; they pass from high to low, from deep to bright, through a scale of infinite range and changefulness; you are astonished to find words of feeling which you thought peculiar and unobserved in yourself noted by the poet's all-embracing sympathy. But this is no part of the Latin poet's experience, at least of his public outfit; such longings, such anxieties, such despair, such indignation, such gracious sweetness, such fire of holy wrath, such fire of Divine love, familiar to our modern world, to our modern poetry, are strange to Vergil. Nay, in his day, to the greatest masters of the human soul, to the noblest interpreters of its ideals, they had not yet been born" (op. cit., p. 211).

Have we not here the limitation of all classic metre, Latin and Greek? Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his Panegyric on Origen, and the Cappadocians, notably Basil in his homily on the reading of the Gentile writers, saw it long since and expressed it well. With them the letters of ethnicism are forever an *imperium clausum* of good taste, perfect diction, measure and dignity of style, harmony of interfitting parts that move ever to an organic unity. These ancients hold forever a mortmain on the science of "form."

Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt causas melius.

Every attempt to utterly throw off their yoke has ended in literary anarchy,—the influence of the Latin and the Greek classics is the needed corrective to all our fantastic individualism of thinking and writing, from out of which rises not one *opus* that is likely to compel the attention and submission of the future. The reservoir has broken the bounds that kept it narrow but made its waters deep and wholesome; now they are tossing in a various flood, sure to leave only unsightly pools and a pestilential atmosphere.

Such works as this are not usually bought by the multitude; all the more reason why the enterprise of Mr. John Lane, of the "Bodley Head," friend of poets and the poetically-minded, should be encouraged. The stylistic charm, the usually clear and flowing language of the translators, professors of Oxford, Cambridge, and the Grammar Schools of England, the original beauty and aptness of the selected *morceaux*, the

careful execution of the metres adopted, make the work particularly desirable for all who love elegant Latin verse,—and what scholar does not count it among his sweetest “otia”? Let us hope that there is no cause for the timid note of Mr. Stone in his poetical preface to this work—

“est furor; at quem non juvat insanire? vagemur
sic temere, aut cursum praecipiat, aves.
quis scit an una suum fontem prope Nympha moretur,
quis scit an extremum Panos avena sonet?”

T. J. S.

Pascal. *L'Homme—L'Oeuvre—L'Influence*, par Victor Giraud, Professeur de littérature française à l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse) 2ème Édition. Paris: A. Fontemoing. 1899. 8°, pp. 252.

In the work of M. Giraud, professor of French literature in the Catholic University of Fribourg, we have a valuable guide to the study of the character and writings of one of the greatest of humankind, if the criterion of greatness be the highest use of the highest mental endowment. Pascal seems to haunt the modern world of letters, as though it recognized in him a spirit and a consciousness analogous to its own; as though he were some “revenant” capable of solving, on the basis of the average lay mind, the solemn and disquieting problems of religion and science, reason and revelation, conduct and law, order and individualism. A new edition of all his works, seven editions of the “Pensées” within two years, lengthy chapters in histories of French literature, special courses on his writings and doctrines in the principal schools of Paris, a host of articles and feuillets,—all this shows a serious concern in the French mind for an understanding of Pascal.

Blaise Pascal (June 19, 1623—August 19, 1662) the “great demi-god of French prose,” was born at Clermont-Ferrand, in the centre of the Auvergnat land, and he never belied in his conduct or his works the sombre and austere genius of this heart of Keltdom. M. Giraud recalls his kinship with the Breton soul; he might have said that Irish Columbanus of Bobbio is a true prototype of the man in whom geometry and passion fought for the upper hand. Child of a family of lawyer-nobles, descendant of great lay functionaries of a kingdom that was rapidly, under their shaping hands, consolidating into an absolute despotism, the young Pascal was brought up in an atmosphere of the most advanced intellectualism charged at the same time with a most sincere personal piety. This uppertendom of learned France corresponded to the best Florentine society of the Medici, to the days of Brunelleschi, of Leo Baptista Alberti, and later, of Galileo. Nor did Pascal ever belie his

early training,—physics, mathematics, ingenious practical inventions, the whole range of experimental science as then conceived, solicit his mind almost to the end. Archimedes doubled with Plato, or Plato doubled with Newton, would give us some idea of the interests that attracted this most extraordinary product of the philosophical genius of France. For Pascal is “Gaulois” to the finger tips; he is a Frenchman to the last tendril of his being. He is a creation of that “douce terre de France” which gave to the world the Gothic architecture in its original and only pure models, wherein the exactest calculations of support and resistance are clothed with the most superb imagery of style, wherein mathematical reason and romantic fancy celebrate a union at once the most mystic and the most real that the mind of man can conceive. In him a certain classic perfection and “eternity” of form and movement, the calm and grand “allure” of Euclid, are combined with the intensest moral passions of stoicism, while above them both there flames a new spirit, the spirit of Christian Love, fed by many a secret rill from Boethius to Thomas a Kempis. *Norunt initiati*. That mighty, world-shaping dissatisfaction of the Kelt, so nobly painted by Henri Martin, and by Renan in his essay on the Poetry of the Keltic Races, burned very deep in the soul of Pascal. To the fine and piercing eye of his soul Christ was very near, tangible, and with every succeeding day, despite human vacillation, he drew closer to that Divine Person, whose service he accepted quite in the spirit of a Saint Louis. Pascal understood the self-abandonment of the Christian as something absolute, whole, without reserve or *arrière-pensée*. In him shines out, *en plein siècle de Mazarin*, the fervorous asceticism of the Christian idea, the hatred and contempt of the *saeculum* and all compromises with it. His genius has nothing of the calm life-wisdom of the Greek, the resultant of moral forces that in the eyes of “reason” balance one another, and command a Socratic *ἐπιχέια*. On the contrary, the groundwork of his soul is stoicism. The ethical element, suffused with the imagery and history of the Old Testament, absorbed from Seneca and Epictetus, encouraged by the reading of Montaigne, Charron, Du Vair; perhaps, too, emphasized by his temporary relationship with the Petronian gentlemen of his day, de Roannoz, Miton, Méré,—such was the keynote of all the thought and activity of Pascal.

Men have wondered whether, if he lived to-day, he would be Renan or Lamennais; M. Giraud rightly points out that had he lived longer he would more likely have resembled or surpassed Bossuet. Both the ultra-political viewpoint of the Sage of Lachesnaie and the sugary agnosticism of Renan were deeply abhorrent to the spirit of Pascal. He was a sincere Catholic, rather rude and personal after the manner

of his ancient and pious family. He did appeal, it is true, from the decisions of Rome to the "Tribunal of Jesus;" but allowance must be made for the first heat of disappointment, when the success of personal enemies blinds the eye of the soul to the "eternal verity" that lies in the exercise of divinely given authority. This same Pascal overcame himself daily, a monastic soul, along the highway of life; he wrote the unequalled "Mystère de Jésus;" he wrote the "Prière pour le bon usage des maladies;" he went through the ineffable agony and the equally ineffable exaltation of that famous night of November 23, 1654, out of which his soul came assured of salvation, holding "un décret nominatif de Dieu." This man would have sought the Holy Grail. He is of the race of Old-Irish Fursey of Peronne, whose vision inspired Dante; he is of the spiritual lineage of the mighty Florentine who had perhaps himself gone through some similar vigil of horror and ecstasy when he describes (Inf. I, 21)

"la notte ch'io passai con tanta pietà."

He sees the hand of God in accidents and unexpected healings; his life is morally blameless; his spirit has never been scorched by doubt or infidelity; his death was a very saintly one, marked by the exercise of every Christian virtue belonging to his estate and circumstances. Let any one read, to be convinced, the admirable "Vie de Blaise Pascal" by his sister Marguerite.

In the world of letters Pascal stands out as the first great master of modern French style. He is the first great "écrivain de race." When he died, in 1662, the average age of Molière, La Fontaine, Bossuet, Boileau and Racine was about twenty. Neither St. Francis de Sales, nor Malherbe, nor Arnauld had furnished the perfect exemplar of expression that the peculiar "Gaulois" temperament now needed. Such a weapon could only be forged in the white heat of consuming passions, when men are ready to cast into the furnace whatever they hold dear, if so be they may forge the blade of victory. Currents that had long been seething beneath the surface of the society of France broke out about the middle of the seventeenth century, the currents that commingled in the phenomenon of Jansenism. Tendencies, ideals, sympathies, antipathies, that had hitherto wandered about somewhat aimlessly, flew at once, by a dominating instinct, to their natural rallying centres; soon it was Jansenism against the Society of Jesus. In a brief notice of a book one cannot even outline with justice and charity the phases of this domestic trouble whose consequences have been appalling, since it shattered the religious heart of France, carried over into Catholicism the fatal embers of "Fronde" and "Ligue," and turned the natural war with

Protestantism into an unnatural domestic warfare. Pascal, already devoted to the teachings of the Bishop of Ypres, of Arnould, of Saint Cyran, and himself an associate of Port Royal, was called on to go forth and do battle for his own. An insignificant event furnished the occasion for his famous (19) "*Lettres Provinciales*," in which he attacked the Jesuit doctrine on the nature and operation of God's grace, but especially their laxity of moral teaching and discipline.¹

For a general appreciation of the whole situation the reader may be referred to the work of M. Giraud (pp. 85-100). Countless historians and critics have pored over these pages of Pascal, so that we may believe that to-day a fair and impartial judgment is within sight.² Like the "*bella diplomatica*," with the disappearance of the old juridical and political framework of society, they offer henceforth a chiefly literary interest.

In the "*Provinciales*" Pascal adopted the best speech of well-bred and scholarly society, stripped of archaism and neology emancipated

¹ The full title of the book is: "*Lettres de Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ses amis et aux RR. PP. Jesuites sur la morale et la politique de ces Pères*." They were first published, separately, from Jan. 23, 1656, to March 24, 1657: as a whole, at Amsterdam, 1657. The best edition is that of Faugère, in the "*Grands Écrivains de France*" (vols. 1-2) 1887-95. An English translation appeared in 1880 (Cambridge and London), by John de Soyres, "*The Provincial Letters of Pascal*."

² As a specimen, it may be well to offer the reader a paragraph or two from the judicious pages of M. Gustave Lanson, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, Paris, 1895, pp. 455-456.

"Il y a un point où les adversaires de Pascal avaient raison : c'est quand ils l'accusaient de rire des choses saintes. Je n'ai pas besoin de dire que Pascal riait seulement des jésuites, et qu'il respectait la religion autant qu'aucun de ses adversaires, en la comprenant mieux. Cependant ceux-ci avaient plus raison qu'ils ne croyaient eux-mêmes. Pascal a frayé la voie à Voltaire; et voici comment. Une des réponses qu'on lui opposa notait le "ton cavalier" de sa polémique; disons l'accent laïque. C'est un homme du monde qui parle aux gens du monde: une raison qui se communique à la raison de tous. Voilà le danger. Il est le même que lorsque les Réformateurs avaient convié le peuple à examiner les Écritures; ils ne pensaient pas non plus travailler au profit de l'irréligion. Pascal croit servir la vérité du Christ; il l'affaiblit. Car il la livre aux discussions des profanes. Il tire hors de l'École et de l'Eglise les matières théologiques; il propose à la raison laïque de décider sur tel dogme, telle doctrine, entre tels et tels théologiens. D'autres appliqueront la même méthode à tout le dogme, et poseront la question entre la raison elle-même et la foi. Pascal énumère les sottises des casuistes, et les confond par l'extravagance qu'y découvrent le sens commun; d'autres étaleront les sottises des Pères, les sottises de la Bible, et ruineront la religion en l'opposant au sens commun. Pascal a fait tort à la religion, parce que toutes les polémiques violentes où les théologiens la donnent en spectacle au public sont mauvaises pour elle; et il lui a fait tort plus qu'un autre, parce qu'il a employé à traiter des problèmes théologiques des armes toutes laïques, les seuls moyens et la seule autorité de la raison.

"Mais c'est cela même qui fit le succès du livre, et qui en fait encore aujourd'hui la beauté supérieure. Ne parlant qu'à la raison, il a fondé solidement ses arguments sur des bases éternelles, sur les principes essentiels de la moralité et de l'intelligence humaines, sur notre impérissable sens du vrai et du bien; il a dû pour cela sonder ces questions théologiques qu'il débattait, jusqu'à ce qu'il eût découvert le fond solide des lieux communs où la vie morale de l'homme est nécessairement comprise. Là ce pamphlet est demeuré un des livres que lira toujours quiconque, chrétien ou non, cherchera sa règle de vie: il a réalisé cette loi des grandes œuvres

from the unnatural yoke of a strict latinism. Descartes had found a new tongue for metaphysics; the holy Bishop of Annecy had created one for the needs of a mystical religion; the author of "Astrée" had built a stage for that peculiar French "sociabilité des intelligences." No one had yet appeared to offer to the *people* of France the proper and peculiar idiom of their race for the new treatment of problems as old as they were deep and universal. In this work, the result of almost excessive labor, Pascal furnished France with the suitable instrument for her speech. Here are proportion, measure, and balance, but perfectly distributed, so that the charm is like that of a faultless song or rhythm. Here, too, are irony in every degree and form, personal dramatic touches that lend a convincing realism, winged words and phrases that ravish conviction. Here is no mere "*pictura verborum*." One must *read* the "Provinciales;" thus spoke Etienne Pascal, père, and Marguerite and Jacqueline; thus spoke Arnauld and Nicole and Saint-Cyran and Quesnel. Above all, there goes pulsing forever through the "Provinciales" that fiery heat of conviction, but of conviction concerning the primal conditions of Christian life, that has lent immortality to many a less artistic creation. For Pascal is a supreme artist in words, from a time when faith, the indispensable condition of all art, still commanded in the provinces she had created. From this viewpoint the content of his work is of less importance than the "eternity" which he stamped upon it, the absolute flawlessness of grace and dignity that hangs about it as a veil. It is only a "torso" after all, but like the "torso" carved by Michael Angelo, it imprisons an inimitable and unmistakable proof of genius.

We have left ourselves no space to touch upon the "Pensées" of Pascal, that glorious rosary of reflections strung together from the treasures of philosophy, experience, insight, genius, love, religion, and offered to humanity as some little evidence of splendid gifts and saintly uses of them.

d'art, de dépasser les circonstances contingentes qui lui ont donné l'être, et de revêtir un intérêt absolu, universel.

.....

"Mais ce qu'il y a de plus admirable dans l'œuvre, c'en est la simplicité, l'*objectivité*: toute la personne de l'auteur s'efface de l'œuvre en la construisant; elle est toute ramassée dans l'expression, absente volontairement de la matière. Tout est subordonné à la démonstration que l'écrivain veut faire: il n'applique son rare génie qu'à choisir les meilleurs moyens de l'opérer. Tout, ainsi, est argument, et tout est efficace, véhémence et raillerie, logique abstraite et dramatique imagination. Pour les règles, l'auteur n'en reçoit que de son sujet: et dans le mépris de la rhétorique il trouve le plus juste emploi et le *maximum* de puissance de tous les moyens de la rhétorique, qui, chez lui, sont reçus de la nature des choses, qui partout sont les formes propres et nécessaires, partout aussi les formes simples et naturelles. Aussi, du coup, l'éloquence française égale-t-elle la perfection souple et la sublimité aisée de l'éloquence attique: Démosthène est comparable, point du tout supérieur à Pascal."

The book of M. Giraud is less a formal treatise on Pascal than a directory or manual for the study of the great writer. It is purposely left in the shape of notes adapted for the use of the professor or special student. This enables the author to condense within brief limits a notable fulness of viewpoints, appreciations, conclusions, and suggestions that appeal to the busy reader or student. The modern "literature" of Pascal is quite up to date for abundance, choice, and variety. To all lovers of French literature the book ought to be welcome as well as to all who are interested in the lives of men of genius, among whom Pascal belongs by more than one admitted title.

T. J. S.

Sainte Geneviève (423-512), par Henri Lesêtre. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1900. 8°, pp. 198.

Saint Nicolas I (588-867), par Jules Roy. Ibid. pp. 173.

1. Whatever brings out the social action of the Catholic Church belongs to the best kind of Apologetics that we can offer to the modern world. Hence the life of Sainte Genevieve of Paris, by the Abbé Lesêtre, Curé of the Church of St. Etienne-du-Mont, has a special and immediate interest. This noble woman stands at the parting of the ways between the old Græco-Roman world and the Middle Ages. She represents the last chivalrous attachment of Gaul to the decaying Western Empire, and she belongs, by services rendered, in the ranks of great bishops like Agnanus of Orleans, Lupus of Troyes, Germanus of Auxerre. According to her earliest life, written by a cleric of Paris early in the sixth century, within some eighteen years of her death, she was a special protégée of Germanus. Her heroism in rousing the drooping spirits of the men of Lutetia when Attila threatened the city in 451; her courage and ingenuity when pagan Clovis besieged it a generation later; her action as counsel and directress of Clotilde; her love for the poor and lowly that lives on in the fame of miracles performed; her absolute devotion to her townsmen through nearly a century of life,—are the principal topics of this pleasing volume.

Geneviève (Genovefa) is the original Sister of Charity, the prototype of thousands of holy women who have served society in all purity of heart and fullness of self-sacrifice, because of the love their Master, Jesus, bore to all, and especially to the poor and abandoned. Herself without special vows, she was ever at the disposition of individual sufferers, and of the broken, dilapidated state that eked out a miserable life

from the battle of Soissons to the battle of Tolbiac. No wonder that legend, just and loving, has made her the patron of France.

Since her time, many a great female heart has beaten strongly for love of the elder daughter of the Church,—Radegundis, Bathildis, Colette, Jean de Valois, Blanche of Castille, Joan of Arc, Jeanne de Chantal. To all of them Geneviève was model and forerunner. The historian finds this virginal figure deeply interesting. Her life covers the wild and stormy century in which Goth, Hun, and Frank overthrew civilization, and made barbarism triumphant. Yet through it all the higher culture Christian and spiritual, lived on, in souls like that of Geneviève. She was contemporary of St. Patrick, of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, of Leo the Great, of Pulcheria and Placidia, of all the stirring events whose mere recital yet moves the souls of men, like a tale of

“Old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago.”

The Abbé Lesêtre has told most entertainingly the history of the Church and Abbey and Congregation of the Canons of St. Geneviève; the creation in the Middle Ages of St. Etienne du-Mont as a filial church of the great abbey, within the emplacement once given by Merovingian kings; the rebuilding or transformation of the mediæval abbey-church into the new Sainte Geneviève that in the Revolution became the Pantheon; the vicissitudes of the latter, alternately the house of God and the last home of those whom the France of the moment chooses to honor; the thrilling story of the desecration of the good virgin's ashes and their scattering in the Seine. As her life offers a summary of the moving history of the fifth century, so her “cultus” offers a perfect retrospect, the sunshine and the shadow, of the life of the Church of France in the fourteen centuries that have passed.

The authenticity of the original “*Vita Genovefae*” was denied by Wattenbach and by Krusch; but Duchesne in the “*Bulletin Critique*” (1897, pp. 473–476) and Kohler in the “*Revue Historique*” (1898, pp. 287–326) have amply vindicated the substantial authenticity of the sixty or seventy paragraphs that compose it. This volume of Abbé Lesêtre, being intended for edification, is somewhat “padded” with useful knowledge that does not always pertain directly to the story, creating thus more than one “*hors d'œuvre*.” Is not the authenticity of the “*Testamentum Remigii*” very doubtful? Mr. Lesêtre quotes it without a tremor, though excellent critics reject it as spurious or forged.

2. The pontificate of Nicholas I (858–867), was an epoch-making one for the Roman Church. A strong hand was needed to prevent its authority from perishing in the West between the corrupt, brutal and

disorderly successors of the great Karl and the worldly nobles who too often held the principal sees of France and Germany. In his ten years of rule Nicholas brought the principal ecclesiastics of Europe, like Hincmar of Rheims and John of Ravenna, to a sense of their rank and proper responsibilities in the Church; if it was done with some rudeness and severity, it must be confessed that anarchy was upon the ecclesiastical world since the death of Charlemagne, and that no greater evil could befall Europe in this period than a further weakening of the only great moral force known to the people since the Fall of the Western Empire. Nicholas stood for justice,—his defence of the patriarch Ignatius and his condemnation of Photius; his protection of the unhappy Theutberga; his conflict with the powerful and stubborn Hincmar of Rheims; his absolution of Rothad of Soissons, amply prove his courage and his strength of character. He fell upon evil times politically. The Michaels, the Lothaires, and Ludwigs of the day were unfit, morally, to be mentioned in the same breath with this great and just soul, in whom awoke and acted all the long-dormant elements of the pontifical power. It was he who saved the moral law from perishing by his insistence on the decrees and canons and impediments in the matter of marriage, by his splendid instruction to the Bulgarians just emerging from barbarism and soon to fall under the formalism of Oriental Christianity, by his letter to the emperor Michael, than which few papal letters are more beautiful or majestic. To judge rightly any great human agent in history we must go back to his time, and live it over with him, as far as may be. From this view-point it is not hard to see why Nicholas insists sharply on his right to judge major causes, and especially those that affect bishops,—the latter were falling under so many little popes like Hincmar and John of Ravenna, themselves easily the creatures of king or emperor. While the pseudo-Isidoran Decretals arose in his time, they were certainly not forged at Rome, nor by any one connected with that See; neither do they form the basis of the action of Nicholas against Michael and Photius. In the precedents of several centuries Nicholas had authority enough to justify his actions, even if he did not habitually appeal to the unbroken tradition of St. Peter and his successors as the chief juridical basis of his decisions. It is for his elucidations of these latter points that M. Roy is most to be commended; for the rest, his work is rather a series of notes and considerations than an organic "Life." His temperament is the scientific one,—suffice it to say that he attaches himself as disciple to the Abbé Duchesne, notably in his latest work on the beginnings of the Pontifical State. Though the works of Father Lapôtre, S. J., are quoted in the appendix as read and used by him,

M. Roy says nothing of the very notable thesis of this writer concerning Anastasius, the "bibliothecarius" of the Roman See. Neither does he give us any insight into the movement which lifted Nicholas to the throne, nor into the external workings of his policy in France, Germany and the East. The book is, in general, very much *déroulé*, and unfinished in form and argument.

T. J. S.

The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Etc.

By John Lingard, D. D. Second edition. Thomas Baker: London. 1899. 2 vols., 8°, pp. 432, 386.

This little classic of the Catholic theological antiquities of England is offered to us by Mr. Baker as a reprint from the second edition in which Dr. Lingard himself carefully revised and modified his original "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church" (1806). The mere enumeration of the chapter-headings shows how valuable the book still remains: "Conversion of the Britons and Saxons, Succession and Duties of Bishops, Church Government, Anglo-Saxon Clergy, Anglo-Saxon Monks, Devotion to the Church, Religious Worship, Religious Practices (three chapters), Literature, Decline of Piety and Learning, Reform by St. Dunstan, Foreign Missions." Numerous notes or "excursus" lend special value to each volume. Since the days of Dr. Lingard many a worthy volume has been written on the early Church history of England. Kemble has collected the charters of the Anglo-Saxons; every document of that old vernacular has been studied as under a microscope; its prose and its poetry are known to all scholars; Stubbs and Haddan have published its earliest "dossier"; Bright has gone over the time of Bede and his contemporaries with an iron industry and a Teutonic minuteness; Plummer has given us an invaluable new edition of Bede's "Church History of the Anglo-Saxon People;" other antiquities, social, legal, ecclesiastical, artistic, have been collected and classified to such an extent that only gleanings are henceforth possible,—yet we come back to Lingard with fresh interest and confidence. He is an inimitable "raconteur" of history whose love of truth is equal to his knowledge of the facts and his skill in portraying. We would like to see this edition of Lingard's "Antiquities" in the hands of every young theologian. It is extremely cheap, bound in solid cloth, and in a handy portable form. No one can calculate its influence, for the writer put into it something of his own sterling faith and good sense, something of his manly and candid love of the truth.

T. J. S.

Studies in Literature. By Maurice Francis Egan, LL.D., Professor of English Language and Literature in the Catholic University of America. B. Herder, St. Louis, 1899.

The most important of this series of studies, and a most valuable contribution to scientific metrical criticism, is the paper on "The Ode Structure of Coventry Patmore," in which catalectic unrhymed verse is analyzed and its possibilities in the hands of the poets of the next century indicated. Coventry Patmore himself tried to suggest laws for this naturally pleasing metre of cadences, sounds and pauses which has defied all known rules. With the knowledge he had gained in the practice of verse he set about the construction of his odes. He succeeded in handing down only vague, general principles. His omission seems to be that he did not study scientifically the verse of the great masters in order to perfect his system before he applied it experimentally in his odes. Besides, he took a more limited view than Professor Egan holds to be necessary. Sidney Lanier, in his "Science of English Verse," made the mistake of trying to fit the laws of music proper to verse music. With the end firmly in his mind he was often,—being essentially a musician,—careless of the means and strained points to suit his prearranged theory.

Professor Egan does not make the mistake of attempting to formulate rules for the construction of a verse, which, though old, is mysteriously beautiful; and, like the most beautiful things of every art, is difficult to analyze. He points out very clearly all that has been discovered, but he does not stop there; he suggests the fields to be covered by future workers. "The difference exactly between verse and music," he says, "can be tested only by physics." He predicts the gradual unfolding of these laws for the coming writers. This highly compressed paper is a careful condensation of what may be made the subject of volumes of research and experiment.

The other studies are well known to the readers of the *BULLETIN*, being also reprints from its pages. All of them are thorough in their criticism, bright, vivacious, and extremely literary in their style,—a combination rare among critical writers of Dr. Egan's ability. The best thing that can be said of them is that, while somewhat in advance of the most modern of modern criticism, they are stable and firm, and do not go into the regions of uncertainty to formulate theories without regard to the laws of hypothesis. Messrs. B. Herder's German books are so careful in form, that we regret the typographical errors in this otherwise admirable volume.

C. P. N.

Daily Thoughts for Priests. By Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S. S., D. D.
Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1899. 12°, pp. 202.

Those who have had the pleasure of reading Father Hogan's excellent work entitled "Clerical Studies" will naturally turn with interest to the dainty little volume which has just come from his pen. Unpretentious as it is, it will not fail to meet their happiest anticipations. Addressed like the former work, expressly to priests, it aims to meet a want that has long been felt by the clergy in this country, namely, a series of compact, thoughtful, and invigorating meditations, especially adapted to the needs of the active priest on the mission. The fifty short meditations comprised in the present volume are eminently outlined to this end. Of the large variety of subjects chosen, many are novel and all judicious. Discarding the conventional threefold division, with its stiff formalities, the author has adopted a free, natural development of each subject, which appeals to the soul by its directness, its earnest piety, and its sound, practical wisdom. By this freshness of treatment as well as by the use of choicer idiomatic English, the author has proved what has hitherto been doubted by many, that a book of meditations can be solidly pious without, at the same time, being exceedingly dull. In publishing this beautiful work of devotion, the author has conferred a great benefit on the English-speaking priesthood.

C. P. A.

The Empire of the South. Frank Presbrey. Published by the Southern Railway Co. 1899. pp. 183.

This handsome volume is more, both in form and in matter, than a tourist's guide. It contains, as the sub-title indicates, "an exposition of the present resources and development of the South." That this section of our country has been, during the last three decades, the scene of a remarkable transformation, is pretty generally known. But comparatively few of those who live beyond the borders of the Southland fully realize the progress that has been made; while too many, even of the traveling public, are apt to form their impressions from such glimpses as the car window affords. The more complete information which is here offered, gives a deeper significance to what has been called, for various reasons, "the New South."

Thirty pages are devoted to a general view of the advance along various lines—industrial, agricultural, and commercial. Facts and figures justify the optimistic tone that pervades the book, and numerous engravings illustrate the text. Each of the Southern States is then described in a special article, with reference to its peculiar products and advan-

tages; so that even a cursory glance at these pages conveys the idea of variety both in natural features and in business activity.

What gives the actual condition of the South its interest and importance is, more than anything else, the rapid growth of its manufactures. During the ten years—1880-90—there was a gain of 156 per cent. in the capital invested, and a gain of 100 per cent. in the value of the manufactured products. With plenty of raw material in the fields and an increasing output of coal and iron from the mines, the future for Southern industry is bright. One very obvious effect is the expansion of the railway system. Twenty-five thousand miles of road have been built since 1880, and new lines are projected in all directions. The Southern Railway forms a network which has gradually covered the most prosperous sections of the interior, and which, since the publication of this volume, has reached the seaboard over its own line to Savannah.

This advance in material prosperity has not weakened the interest that the people of the South have always taken in educational matters. How the older institutions struggled on after the disastrous effects of war, and how provision was made, in colleges and schools, for the education of all classes, may not be generally understood. But, in view of the fact that during the past thirty years over 500 millions of dollars have been expended for educational purposes, one may confidently look forward to an equally judicious employment of the wealth the South is now acquiring.

The entire development of these States is, from another point of view, suggestive. It means, of course, a certain drift of capital and labor from other sections of the country; but it also means the creation of common interests, and it may lead the way to the easier solution of those problems which, in the face of sectional interests, offer the greatest difficulty. At any rate, as preliminary to the discussion of such problems, the information furnished by this volume is, in the highest degree helpful.

E. A. P.

A General History of the Christian Era, for Catholic Colleges and Reading Circles and for Self-Instruction, vol. III. *The Social Revolution*. By H. Guggenheimer, S. J. B. Herder, St. Louis, 1899. 8°, pp. 425.

In three books—*Causes of the Social Revolution*, *The French Revolution*, *The European Revolution*—Father Guggenheimer treats of the profound changes worked in modern society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The great political events of the eighteenth century, that inaugurate the new conditions, are exposed in an orderly and

happy way,—the Hanoverian Succession, the New Russia, the New Prussia, the Seven Years' War, the Disappearance of Poland, the rise of the United States, the religious, doctrinal, political, and social causes that led to the French Revolution. The events of the French Revolution itself, the meteoric career of Napoleon, and the story of Catholic Emancipation fill the second book. The third is given up to the various phases of the making of modern Europe, the mid-century revolutions, and the "Cabinet" Revolutions of the next twenty or thirty years. A third and fourth chapter treat of the Civil War in the United States, and of "Our Own Times."

The volume is almost entirely devoted to the external political history of the period, and treats the subject-matter of Church History only so far as it is a part of the great public movement of modern life. The other phases of the external life of the Church, and the whole province of her inner life are, doubtless, reserved for other volumes. The work is gotten up with much taste, and the subdivisions, paragraphing, catch-words, and type, affect very favorably the eye, and render the use of the volume pleasing, and even attractive. Each subdivision of a chapter has a selection of useful authorities—special works, review articles, etc.—destined to arouse the curiosity of the serious student, and lead him deeper into the study of the subject.

When we reflect on the dearth of useful modern manuals of Church History, and the increasing demand for such on the part of the clergy and laity, we can only praise the enterprise of the author, and wish the work an extensive sale in colleges, academies, and convents. Its spirit is a calm and objective one; without subscribing to every judgment of the writer, one may say that he has produced a sober and judicious review of the making of our actual political world. As such we commend it to those who have the duty of forming the minds of youth to substantially right and religious views of the vicissitudes that mark the flow of time for the last two hundred years.

T. J. S.

Vie de Monseigneur Dupont des Loges (1804–1886) par l'Abbé Félix Klein, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Ch. Ponsiélgue, Paris, 1899, 8°, pp. 500.

The life of the late bishop of Metz fills out the greater part of the nineteenth century. This child of a Christian Breton family of lawyer-nobles seemed called from his youth to the service of God. His "cursus honorum" was the usual one of the French clergyman of this century,—education at St. Sulpice, "vicaire," "chanoine," "grand-vicaire," and finally bishop of Metz (1842). As a student, he was the contemporary at Paris of men like Dupanloup and Maret, and of several of our American

ecclesiastics who afterwards reached the mitre, Purcell of Cincinnati, Verot of St. Augustine, Charbonnel of Toronto. From the letters of his director, his seminary friends, and from domestic correspondence the Abbé Klein has woven a very touching and instructive portrait of the seminary life of the young Breton ecclesiastic, not the least of the good bishops to the credit of St. Sulpice in this century. Apropos of this company of teaching ecclesiastics, the author cites the merited tributes of outsiders like St. Simon and Renan, and of their own most brilliant disciples like Pie and Dupanloup. Clearly they have not degenerated from their first estate when Fenélon could say of them that he knew nothing more apostolic than Saint Sulpice. Liberman, Lacordaire, Lamennais, Dupanloup, Pie, Hamon,—these are names that symbolize as many currents of ecclesiastical activity in nineteenth century France. Dupont des Loges belonged rather to the conservative and traditional school; the first years of his episcopal activity gave evidence that he believed a bishop's chief occupation to be the internal development of his mission. Pious works, the religious life, the creation of a suitable "Little Seminary," occupied much of his time. Very praiseworthy was his establishment of a "Caisse de Retraite" for his aged and infirm priests, and the pages (104–105) devoted to it may be read with edification by all who are concerned for the honor and respectability of those ecclesiastics who can no longer utilize for their living their single source of revenue,—their health. Under the monarchy of July and the Second Empire Bishop Dupont des Loges observed a cautious and prudent attitude, from which he departed only when the right and duty of Christian teaching were in question. He took part in the stirring events of the Vatican Council, and had the misfortune to see the siege of Metz, the capitulation, the Treaty of Frankfort, and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. He remained a Frenchman to the end,—very dramatic is the scene in the Reichstag of Berlin (1874) when the French bishop, elected deputy, and dressed in the full court-dress of his order, presented his protestation against the final incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine. He was a true Breton, faithful to the "*religion des souvenirs*"; he showed it two decades later, when he refused the decoration that Emperor Wilhelm sent him through Baron von Mantuffel, the humane and politic governor of the Reichsland. This act touched the heart of France and honored the venerable bishop more than any other act of his long career.

Abbé Klein belongs, indeed, to the "craft." He is a man of letters, as this volume well shows. He has condensed within five hundred pages the documents, public and private, of a very long episcopate, lived out in the heart of Europe, and in the centre of that territory which for a thousand years has been the "Dark and Bloody Land" of Western

Europe. From this extensive "dossier" he has selected the traits which best paint his subject at every given period, and he has done this with a moderation that is its own reward,—for it enabled him to leave undescribed no interesting feature of the bishop of Metz. Scattered here and there through the volume are appreciations and "excursus" of the Abbé Klein himself; they do honor to his heart and his head,—in a mere biography he has understood how to carry on a certain line of effective "preschement," and to make his subject speak from the tomb the lessons of his long and beneficent career. The men of the New World do well to read these lives of European ecclesiastics, in order to imitate their virtues; in order, also, to catch something of the unchanging discipline of the "*Ecclesia Dei*" from the descendants of those who saved it from collapsing at the hands of inimical statesmen; likewise, to be thankful for that internal and external liberty by which we do not need to obtain the good will of the "*garde des sceaux*" for our episcopal nominations, or quarrel with the "*préfet*" for authority to ring the big or little bells of our cathedrals.

T. J. S.

The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, sometimes called the Council of Bethlehem, holden under Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1672. Translated from the Greek with an appendix containing the Confession published with the name of Cyril Lucar condemned by the Synod, and with notes by J. N. W. B. Robertson. London: Thomas Baker. 1899. 8°, pp. 215.

The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church, from the Version of Peter Mogila, faithfully translated into English, edited with preface by J. J. Overbeck, D. D., and with introductory notice by J. N. W. B. Robertson. London: Thomas Baker. 1899. 8°, pp. 162.

Certainly we owe a debt of gratitude to the translators, editors, and publisher of these curious documents out of the seventeenth century. In our busy secularized age they recall one of the most instructive phases of the great struggle of the Reformation,—the persistent attempt to win the approval of the Greek Church, and thereby of the antiquity for which it stands. In the sixteenth century the Lutheran universities of Wittenberg and Tuebingen, in the persons of Melancthon, Gerlach, Crusius, Oliander and Andræa, made serious efforts in this direction. As against Rome both parties could unite, but not in doctrine. The "*solafides*" and the sacramental heresies of the Reformers were two monumental obstacles,—the Greek monks and people would never accept

them. In the seventeenth century things took another turn; the "Union" is urged from within the Greek Church, while the forces of English and Continental Protestantism act as allies, well-wishers, and "fournisseurs." The scene is at Constantinople under the eye of the Grand Turk, and the actors include the ambassadors of France, England, Holland, Sweden, the Jesuit missionaries, Greek bishops and priests. The motives are very mixed, political, religious, national, racial. The events move swiftly and dramatically. Treachery, corruption, bribery, deception, ambition, pride, revenge,—every passion of the great game of power has its hour and its man, and the Janissaries let down the curtain upon the pale and world-wearied face of a dead priest tossing in the swift black waters of the Bosphorus.

This priest was Cyril Lucaris (1572–1638), born in the then Venetian island of Crete, very highly gifted, imbued from childhood with the dislike of Rome peculiar to the Venetian Greeks, for a while a school-master at Wilna until the union of the Ruthenians (1595) made his presence useless in Poland, then (1602) Patriarch of Alexandria, and (1621) Patriarch of Constantinople.

In his youth he had studied at Venice and Padua; had later travelled into Switzerland, where he spent several years in Geneva in the company of Calvinistic theologians, whose persons and doctrines were ever after very dear to him. Scarcely had he obtained, in the usual way of bribery or simony, perhaps even murder, the ancient seat of Greek Church authority, when he proceeded to undo the faith of ages and to foist upon the Greeks the teaching of Calvin and the Genevans. Expelled almost at once, he purchased his return in 1624. For years he had been in close personal relations of correspondence with the Reformers of England, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. The Protestant ambassadors to the Sublime Porte were his financial helpers,¹ their home theologians his counsellors, while he found in the stupid and unreasoning Greek fear of and hatred for Rome a convenient leverage for his plans.

In 1629 he prepared a Latin "*Confessio Fidei*," quite Calvinistic in doctrine. In 1631 he published the same in Greek; and both were printed in Geneva (1633) with his express permission.² Cyril was an

¹ It is well known that Cyril presented to Sir Thomas Roe, to be delivered to King James I, the famous "*Codex Alexandrinus*." It did not, however, reach London until after the King's death, under Charles I.

² The genuinity of this Latin document has been denied. It is his, nevertheless, for he confesses it in Aymon (p. 249). The documents of these so troublous decades for the Greek Church may be found, in varying degrees of completeness, in the "*Turcograecia*" of Crusius; the "*Acta et Scripta*," of the Theologians of Wittenberg (1584); the "*Monuments authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*" of the apostate Aymon, to be corrected by the reply of Renaudot (Paris. 1709); the great work of Leo Allatius "*De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione*,"

"impossible" Greek, faithless, perjured. He did more than any Mark of Ephesus to dam the tide of national conversion to the only lasting and saving, because original and divine, unity, that of the See of Peter. From the publication of his "Confessio," he lived on another decade, alternately governing the Church of Constantinople and expelled from it by his own, or by the avaricious and cunning Turk, until in 1638, he was first exiled and then strangled by order of the Sultan and his body cast into the Bosphorus.

The native repugnance of the Greeks to the specific doctrines of Protestantism, aided by the influences of France and the Jesuits, brought about at once a solemn condemnation and repudiation of the teachings of Cyril by the heads of the Greek Church. This was done by home synods at Constantinople, and indirectly, but very efficaciously, by the Catechism or "Orthodox Confession" of Peter Mogila (Russian) Metropolitan of Kieff (1640, 1643), a work accepted at once by all the Greeks of the Schism, and that belongs now to the authoritative "*Libri Symbolici*" of their faith. It holds with them a position not unlike our Canisius-Catechism, perhaps even like that of the Council of Trent, for it was solemnly approved at the Synod of Jassy, and in 1643 by all four Greek Patriarchs of the Schism. Under the three general rubrics of Faith, Charity, and Hope, it treats of the substance of Christian belief. Under "Faith" are expounded, by question and answer, the twelve articles of the Nicene Creed, each article being much subdivided, and giving room for an exposition of doctrine that fills some eighty octavo pages. The section of "Hope" treats of the Lord's Prayer and of the (Nine) Beatitudes.¹ Very beautiful are the pages (113-121) devoted to the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. They read like paragraphs from Chrysostom or Basil, and explain the longing of the Roman Church for the healing of a schism that renders almost sterile the noble Christian sentiments of so many millions. The third part, "Charity," is devoted to the love of God and our neighbor. In this part the Catechism treats of Faith, Hope, and Charity as the great basic virtues of Christian life, of Prayer, Fasting, and Almsgiving, of the Cardinal Virtues,—Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance,—of sin and its kinds, and finally of the Ten Commandments. The (nine) Precepts of the Church are found on page 68.

libri III. Col. Agrippa, 1648-1694 the tenth volume of Hardouin's Councils. The whole period has been admirably reviewed by Hefele, apropos of the foundation (1842) of a Protestant bishopric of Jerusalem. "History of the Attempts to Convert to Protestantism the Greek Church," in the *Quartalschrift* of Tuebingen (1843), reprinted in his "Beitrage zur KG. Archaeologie, und Liturgik," Tuebingen, 1864, pp. 444-490. The person and story of Cyril are described pp. 463-474. Since then Pichler has written a monograph, "Cyril Lukaris und Seine Zeit, Munich, 1862.

¹Matthew, V. 8-11.

The translation of this Catechism is from the hand of Philip Lovel (1772), a convert to Greek Orthodoxy, and it is significant of the mental temper of the Anglican editor that he defends the Catechism from the Protestant charge of "agreement with expressions and doctrine of the Council of Trent," by recalling to Anglican and Protestant divines generally "what a large portion of Orthodox teaching the Latin Church had preserved, and how the common fight of the Greek and Latin Churches against the inroad of Protestantism into the East and West could but welcome the points of contact between the two Churches." On pp. 55, 58, 79, the reader will find the characteristic Greek defence of their denials of Purgatory and the "Filioque," the use of "purest leavened bread" for the Holy Sacrifice. For the rest, the exposition of the ancient doctrine of the Church concerning the Eucharist is admirably compact and consoling (pp. 79-82). On pp. 65-67, is the stubborn Greek contention for Jerusalem as the "Mother and Princess of all other Churches; forasmuch as the Gospel was spread from her over the whole world (although, indeed, in aftertimes, the *Emperors gave the Precedency to Old and New Rome*, for the honor of the Empire, which they became the seats of, etc.)." It is a great pity that suitable indexes of names and doctrines were not prepared for a work likely to be of much use to theologians and Church historians.

In Poland and Russia the evil deeds of Cyril Lucaris worked on; not even the "Orthodox Confession" rooted out the influence of his printing-press and his life. It was clearly for the interest of the Roman Church and the Greek schismatic churches that the deposit of faith should not be still more diminished; hence the influence of France was for much in the events that brought about the Greek Synod of Jerusalem in 1672, under Dositheus, patriarch of that see.¹ It is sometimes called the Synod of Bethlehem, because it was held on the occasion of the re-dedication of the old Constantinian Basilica of the Nativity, built over the Crib of Our Lord. Its Acts were entered by Dositheus himself in the Codex of the Patriarchate, and a copy sent to King Louis XIV. They were translated into Latin by a Benedictine of St. Maur. Hardouin published them (XI, 179-214) both in Greek and Latin; the text and translation may also be found in Kimmel (*Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*. Jena, 1850, Vol. I).

¹ The discussion between Nicole and Arnauld on the one side and the ministers Claude and Jurieu on the other, concerning the Eucharist, in which both sides appealed to the testimony of the Greek Church, was an immediate motive for the convocation of the Synod and the rejection of Cyril's "Confessio," which, indeed, had been already formally condemned in 1688, even by his own creature and protégé, Metrophanes Critopulus, whom he had educated at Oxford and in Germany, and who was, in time, one of his successors in the See of Alexandria.

They begin with an attempt to save the personal orthodoxy of Cyril (pp. 20-54) by excerpts from his sermons, which only show him to be a consummate hypocrite, fit to sit in the "Latrocinium" of Ephesus; for his own genuine "Confessio Fidei" is printed, pp. 185-215, and reveals his true convictions as Calvinistic in the extreme. Doubtless it is from this source that comes the persistent statement that the Greek Church does not believe in the Transubstantiation.¹ Then follow three apologetical

¹ In the hope of being useful to those who need a refutation of this falsehood, we reprint the doctrine of this Greek Council concerning the Eucharist. It forms the seventeenth Decree.

"We believe the All-holy Mystery of the Sacred Eucharist, which we have enumerated above, fourth in order, to be that which our Lord delivered in the night wherein He gave Himself up for the life of the world. For taking bread, and blessing, He gave to His Holy Disciples and Apostles, saying: 'Take, eat ye; This is My Body.' And taking the chalice, and giving thanks, He said: 'Drink ye all of It; This is My Blood, which for you is being poured out, for the remission of sins.'

"In the celebration whereof we believe the Lord Jesus Christ to be present, not typically, nor figuratively, nor by superabundant grace, as in the other Mysteries, nor by a bare presence, as some of the Fathers have said concerning Baptism, or by impanation, so that the Divinity of the Word is united to the set forth bread of the Eucharist hypostatically, as the followers of Luther most ignorantly and wretchedly suppose, but truly and really, so that after the consecration of the bread and of the wine, the bread is transmuted, transubstantiated, converted and transformed into the true Body Itself of the Lord, Which was born in Bethlehem of the ever-Virgin, was baptised in the Jordan, suffered, was buried, rose again, was received up, sitteth at the right hand of the God and Father, and is to come again in the clouds of Heaven; and the wine is converted and transubstantiated into the true Blood Itself of the Lord, Which, as He hung upon the Cross was poured out for the life of the world.

"Further [we believe] that after the consecration of the bread and of the wine, there no longer remaineth the substance of the bread and of the wine, but the Body Itself and the Blood of the Lord, under the species and form of bread and wine; that is to say, under the accidents of the bread.

"Further, that the all-pure Body Itself, and Blood of the Lord is imparted, and entereth into the mouths and stomachs of the communicants, whether pious or impious. Nevertheless, they convey to the pious and worthy remission of sins and life eternal; but to the impious and unworthy involve condemnation and eternal punishment.

"Further, that the Body and Blood of the Lord are severed and divided by the hands and teeth, though in accident only, that is, in the accidents of the bread and of the wine, under which they are visible and tangible, we do acknowledge; but in themselves to remain entirely unsevered and undivided. Wherefore the Catholic Church also saith: 'Broken and distributed is He That is broken, yet not severed; Which is ever eaten, yet never consumed, but sanctifying those that partake,' that is worthily.

"Further, that in every part, or the smallest division of the transmuted bread and wine there is not a part of the Body and Blood of the Lord—for to say so were blasphemous and wicked—but the entire whole Lord Christ substantially, that is, with His Soul and Divinity, or perfect God and perfect man. So that though there may be many celebrations in the world at one and the same hour, there are not many Christs, or Bodies of Christ, but it is one and the same Christ that is truly and really present; and His one Body and His Blood is in all the several Churches of the Faithful; and this not because the Body of the Lord that is in the Heavens descendeth upon the Altars; but because the bread of the Prothesis set forth in all the several Churches, being changed and transubstantiated, becometh, and is, after consecration, one and the same with That in the Heavens. For it is one Body of the Lord in many places, and not many; and, therefore, this Mystery is the greatest, and is spoken of as wonderful, and comprehensible by faith only, and not by the soph-

chapters in which Cyril is practically abandoned as a deceitful and utterly godless man "who lied against the Church, the Holy Spirit, and his own conscience (pp. 57-58) and hence no Saint, but "a wretch, and having no part with Christ" (p. 77). In the nineteen decrees and four "Questions" or short treatises that make up the "Acts" of the Synod, all the anti-Catholic doctrines of Cyril's "Confessio" are rejected at length and with much feeling. They are signed (March 16) "in the holy city of Jerusalem by Dositheus, and the Metropolitans of Petra, "Holy Nazareth," Ptolemais, "Holy Bethlehem," Gaza, Lydda, and Neapolis, together with many Hiero-Monks, Archimandrites, Hegemons, Protosyncelli, Hiero-Deacons, Oeconomi, Ecclesiarchs, Logothetes, quite a picture, whose figures could be put back at Constantinople under some Basil or Nicephorus, without notable anachronism, so enduring are the lines of Greek discipline and belief. And yet the utter secularization of the influential part of the Eastern Church was scarcely one generation away. After eighteen years of vacancy of the See of Moscow, Peter the Great created, in 1720, the "Holy Legislative Synod" and imposed on the Russian world the most formidable human bureau of oppression and

istries of man's wisdom; whose vain and foolish curiosity in divine things our pious and God-delivered religion rejecteth.

"Further, that the Body Itself of the Lord and the Blood That are in the Mystery of the Eucharist ought to be honoured in the highest manner, and adored with lauria. For one is the adoration of the Holy Trinity, and of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

"Further, that it is a true and propitiatory Sacrifice offered for all Orthodox, living and dead; and for the benefit of all, as is set forth expressly in the prayers of the Mystery delivered to the Church by the Apostles, in accordance with the command they received of the Lord.

"Further, that before Its use, immediately after the consecration, and after Its use, —for that is reserved in the Sacred P xes for the communion of those that are about to depart [i. e. the dying] is the true Body of the Lord, and not in the least different therefrom; so that before Its use after the consecration, in Its use, and after Its use, It is in all respects the true Body of the Lord.

"Further, we believe that by the word 'transubstantiation' the manner is not explained, by which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord,—for that is altogether incomprehensible and impossible, except by God Himself, and those who imagine to do so are involved in ignorance and impiety—but that the bread and the wine are after the consecration, not typically, nor figuratively, nor by superabundant grace, nor by the communication or the presence of the Divinity alone of the Only-begotten, transmuted into the Body and Blood of the Lord; neither is any accident of the bread, or of the wine, by any conversion or alteration, changed into any accident of the Body and Blood of Christ, but truly, and really, and substantially, doth the bread become the true Body Itself of the Lord, and the wine the Blood Itself of the Lord, as is said above

"Further, that this Mystery of the Sacred Eucharist can be performed by none other, except only by an Orthodox Priest, who hath received his priesthood from an Orthodox and Canonical Bishop, in accordance with the teaching of the Eastern Church. This is compendiously the doctrine, and true confession, and most ancient tradition of the Catholic Church concerning this Mystery; which must not be departed from in any way by such as would be Orthodox, and who reject the novelties and profane vanities of heretics; but necessarily the tradition of the institution must be kept whole and unimpaired. For those that transgress the Catholic Church of Christ rejecteth and anathematise." Robertson, op. cit., pp. 148-150.

degradation that any Church ever fell a slave to. The Synod of Jerusalem is the last great gathering of the Greek bishops of the Schism that does them honor as ecclesiastics of conscience and candor.

Cyril Lucaris was a man of more than ordinary gifts. By education and travel, by opportunity and position, he was called to bring his people at least a step or two on the road to that unity whose loss is the greatest misfortune to them and to the modern world. In his "Essays on Some Influences of Christianity on Natural Character," Dean Church regretfully deprecates "the long division between Western and Eastern Christendom, which beginning in a rift, the consequences of which no one foresaw, and which all were, therefore, too careless or too selfish to close when it might have been closed, has widened in the course of ages into a yawning gulf, which nothing that human judgment can suggest will ever fill up, and which, besides its direct quarrels and misfortunes, has brought with it a train of ever-deepening prejudices and antipathies, of which those who feel them often know not the real source." So much the greater are the spiritual responsibilities of those to whom is committed the guidance of these peoples, with all their "corporate toughness and prejudice," their "almost Judaic hardness and formalism and rigidity of thought" that develop an intensely local form of religion. With a subtle historico-dogmatic sense Dante placed in Malebolge itself the great schismatics of the world (*Inf.* xxviii, 31-36):

"Vedi come storpiato è Maometto,
Dinanzi a me sen va piangendo Ali
Fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto:
E tutti gli altri che tu vedi qui,
Seminator di scandalo e de scisma
Fur vivi; e però son fessi così."

What a pity that men like Mark of Ephesus and Cyril Lucaris should have filled great Oriental sees at those psychological moments that demanded a Bessarion, an Allatius, a Josaphat!

T. J. S.

Renaissance Masters: The Art of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, Correggio, and Botticelli. By George B. Rose. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 8°, 1899.

Mr. Rose is devoted to the art of the Italian Renaissance; it is this enthusiasm for his subject, this charm of style, this intimate knowledge of the pictures he loves, that will make the reader, versed in the history of the period, forget the glittering historical generalities in some

of the paragraphs of the Introduction. He understands that the keynote of the Middle Ages was aspiration, and nobody has yet better exposed the essential qualities of Greek and Italian art. In a few words he tells us why it must always have been difficult to know the difference between the classical Greek masters, while the Renaissance artists cannot be confounded. He recognizes and makes plain the qualities of the distinctly different aspirations. Of Titian, what could be so well said as this (p. 125)? "He is sensuous, but never gross. He remains always an aristocrat to his finger tips. Amongst the commonplace and vulgar types that cover the walls of our modern salons, his women would reign as queens. He painted them for the great of the earth." * * * Mr. Rose may not be conscious of it, but his beloved painter is evidently Botticelli. He admits that Botticelli loved the conceits and artificialities of his time; he declares that he was the most poetical of all painters, "with a quaint sweet poetry that we love sometimes beyond its merits." "It is difficult" Mr. Rose says, "to see how Burne-Jones could have existed had he never seen the 'Madonna Incoronata,' the 'Spring,' and the 'Birth of Venus,' or how Rossetti could have painted those wonderfully dainty and gracious pictures of his had he never beheld the 'Nativity.'" To the scientific acquirements of daVinci, Mr. Rose does justice. While we are charmed by the freshness and joy of this delightful book, we feel that it is the freshness of an inspired eye, and of a mind that has analyzed in order to make beauty better known.

E.

NOTES AND COMMENT.

Fifth International Scientific Congress of Catholics.—Dr. George Hüfer, president of the Congress, announces the holding of the fifth triennial meeting at Munich, September 24-28, 1900. The previous four meetings were held at Paris (1888, 1891), Brussels (1894), Fribourg (1897). Like the preceding Congresses, that of Munich will be divided into sections,—ten are announced in the preliminary circular: 1. "Science of Religion." 2. "Philosophy and Psycho-Physics." 3. "Juridical, Economical, and Social Sciences." 4. "History, Ecclesiastical and Profane." 5. "History of Art and Civilization." 6. "Oriental Languages and Antiquities." 7. "Philology, Archæology, and Epigraphy." 8. "Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry." 9. "Astronomy, Geography, and Geology." 10. "Biology, Anthropology, and Medicine." The following six languages are allowed both in the dissertations offered and in the public debates: Latin, English, Spanish, French, Italian and German. In the future, the *compte-rendu* of each Congress will contain only a succinct analysis of the dissertations presented, thereby reducing the cost of printing, and making the subscription to the Congress only five francs (one dollar). These Congresses enjoy the approval of the Holy See, and invite triennially the best Catholic talent in Europe for the noble purposes of mental encouragement and the intercommunication of methods, means, and principles of scientific study and research. The European subscribers are always fairly numerous,—not so with American Catholics. We hope that this year our country will be represented by a large list of sympathizers. Information may be had from Very Rev. J. A. Zahm, D. D., C. S. C., University of Notre Dame, Ind., or from Dr. Edward L. Greene, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

2. Archaeological Institute of America.—The Archæological Institute of America held its general meeting for 1899 at Yale University, New Haven, December 27-29. This association has for object to awaken and further a scientific interest in the monuments of the past—Greek, Roman, Oriental, American, Pre-Historic. Its publication, the *American Journal of Archæology* is admirably conducted, and keeps the reader *au courant* of the best archæological work abroad and at home.

3. American Historical Association.—The American Historical Association met at Boston, in fifteenth annual meeting, December 27-29, 1899. Its scope includes General History, though actually it is mostly topics of

American History that occupy the attention of the working members. The organ of the association is *The American Historical Review*, a scholarly periodical begun in 1895, and edited in a liberal and impartial spirit.

4. Report (1898) of American Historical Association.—We have received the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1898, published at the Government Printing Office (Washington D. C.) Among the papers presented at the New Haven meeting of last year there are several of much interest. The Inaugural Address by the venerable Professor Fisher on "The Function of the Historian as a Judge of Historic Persons" is well worth reading. So, too, is the careful "Examination of Peter's Blue Laws," by W. F. Prince; the article on "Historical Manuscripts in the Library of Congress," by Herbert Friedenwald; the study of "A Forgotten Danger to the American Colonies," by Frank Strong, in which is related an effort of Cromwell to colonize Ireland and the West India Islands from the New England settlements. The Report of the "Historical Manuscripts Commission" of the Association contains indications of valuable historical manuscripts on State, city, and university libraries and archives, also of some in private hands. A most valuable document is the partially-completed "Guide" (pp. 611-700) to the items relating to American History, to be found in the seventeen folios and sixty-three octavos of the "Royal (English) Commission on Historical Manuscripts," established in 1869. The Report also contains the important Report of the Committee of Seven on the Teaching of History in the Schools (pp. 427-518), which we hope to discuss in another issue.

5. Irish Texts Society.—We welcome the appearance of the first volume of the publications of the "Irish Texts Society," an enterprise that has sprung up in the wake of the recent agitation for the preservation of the Irish language. We wish the work of the Society success and a more permanent activity than has blessed all previous attempts to get the old Irish literature before the world in some accurate "corpus." The first text printed is the "Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway," edited, with translations and notes, by Douglas Hyde, President of the Society, and published by David Nutt, 270-71 Strand, London. In a preface to the book, Mr. F. York Powell, the famous savant in Scandinavian lore, says: "If in the next twenty-five years, with far more copious and interesting and more valuable material, we can do for Irish literature, new and old, what the Early English Text Society has been able to do for old and mediæval English in the last twenty-five years, we shall not have existed in vain. We have also the

encouraging examples of the Scandinavian Text Societies and the Anciens Textes Français. The good work done in a few volumes by the too-shortlived Ossianic Society and by the Irish Archæological Societies is too well known."

6. Catholic Truth Society.—From this association we have received request to call the attention of our readers to the good work it is doing in spreading a knowledge of Catholic truth and dispelling false opinions; we cheerfully do so. It has published already more than thirty pamphlets, all of them timely and many of them valuable. The headquarters of the work is in the Flood Building, San Francisco.

- **7. Archaeological Report (1897-98) of the Egypt Exploration Fund.**—In this quarto pamphlet of seventy pages the reader may follow intelligently the scientific explorations carried on in Egypt by the association known as the "Egypt Exploration Fund." Excavations of temples and graves, studies in Egyptian Archæology and Hieroglyphic, the finds in Græco-Roman Egypt, the movement in Coptic studies,—such are the chief rubrics under which the editor, Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, M. A., groups his summary indications. The student of Church History, and of Greek and Roman Literature, will always find it profitable to peruse this or a similar publication, since Egypt is forever offering new material for these sciences.

8. Philosophy at the Fribourg Congress.—The *Compte Rendu* of the Congress held at Fribourg, Switzerland, in August, 1897, has just been published. The proceedings of the Third Section—Philosophical Sciences—fill an octavo volume of 719 pages. There is a brief report of each of the eight sessions; then follow the papers, printed in full, and, at the end of the volume, there is a summary in French of the papers published in English and German. The report states that over fifty contributions had been received by this section; the Committee, however, foreseeing that not all these papers could be read and discussed within the allotted time, gave the preference to those which were presented by the authors in person. The result is that only thirty-six papers appear in the printed proceedings. Of this number, 18 are French, 8 German, 5 Latin, 2 English, 2 Italian, and 1 Spanish.

The classification according to subjects is not so easy. While every branch of philosophy was touched upon, metaphysics, psychology and the history of philosophy predominated. Ethics and epistemology were less conspicuous than they should have been, and experimental psychology was altogether overlooked. The most significant feature of the discussions was the endeavor to make them as actual as possible. The principles of scholasticism, especially of St. Thomas, were emphasized; but they were

also brought into touch with the data of modern science and the tendencies of modern speculation. Free scope was given to difference of opinion and criticism was encouraged. This exchange of views on many subjects and the impetus given to co-operative effort on the part of Catholic philosophers, may fairly be accounted the best results of the Congress.

It is to be hoped that the experience gained at Fribourg will prove helpful to those who have charge of the meeting to be held next summer at Munich. Fewer papers and fuller discussion of each should be the first rule. It might also facilitate matters if this section were subdivided, and cognate subjects arranged in something like logical order. It is reported that in the future the *Compte Rendu* will present merely a synopsis of each contribution. If such abstracts could be prepared and distributed at the opening of the Congress, the discussions might produce better results. The admission of English as one of the "official languages" of the Congress is an important step in advance. It should increase the membership in America and Great Britain, and make the contributions in English more numerous than they have been hitherto.

ARCHBISHOP KEANE'S COLLECTING TOUR.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University, held on the 11th of October last, Archbishop Keane presented a letter sent to him by Cardinal Rampolla at the end of June, conveying to him the Holy Father's special Apostolic Benediction upon the work which he was about to begin of collecting funds for the completion of the endowment of the University. The Directors requested His Eminence, the Cardinal Chancellor, to communicate this letter to the Bishops of the United States, and to ask from them a cordial welcome for Archbishop Keane, and their co-operation in the onerous task which he was about to commence.

After two introductory discourses in Washington, the work was regularly begun by a sermon in the Cathedral of Baltimore, which the Cardinal himself followed with words of strong and earnest commendation to the people of his diocese of the appeal just made for the University. This was followed up by personal visits to several of the wealthy Catholics of Baltimore. Immediate results were not asked for nor expected, as the Archbishop will be engaged in this work for the next two years, and is only anxious to secure the accomplishment of the work before the end of that period.

From Baltimore he proceeded to Philadelphia, where he in like manner preached in the Cathedral and in one of the principal parish churches. Here, also, he devoted two weeks to personal appeals to wealthy Catholics. Thence he proceeded to Boston, Springfield, and Providence, preaching in the cathedrals of these various cities, and presenting the claims of the University to the generous sympathy of the Catholics of the United States. Everywhere the Bishops co-operated with him most earnestly; everywhere, likewise, the expression of public sympathy in the cause was loud and strong, and assurances have been given by the individuals approached which make the satisfactory result of this great effort quite certain.

It is not an easy task that has been undertaken. In order to complete the endowment of the University, even in its present degree of development, the sum of seven hundred thousand dollars will be necessary. This is the direct object of the present effort. Beyond that again lies the vast expense of the possible, and even necessary, development of every department of the University; and if one wishes to

understand what that implies, one has but to glance at the financial statements of the great universities throughout the country and the very large sums which are constantly reported as donated to them for their equipment and enlargement.

By invitation of the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York, Archbishop Keane will preach in the Cathedral of that city on January 14th, and will labor there and in the other episcopal cities of the State during a month or more. He will then go westward, and continue his efforts until the month of June.

We are not ready to make announcements as to special contributions or net results. One fact, however, is worthy of special mention: The work in Boston has taken shape in an endeavor to raise fifty thousand dollars for the endowment of an Archbishop Williams Chair. The idea has been received with great favor, and the completion of the endowment before the next meeting of the Board of Trustees almost certain. It is an example which, it is trusted, will be imitated in other parts of the country. There are many noble names connected with the history of the Church in this country which could in no better way be handed down to perpetual remembrance.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Right Rev. Rector preached at the dedication of St. Thomas' Church, Ann Arbor, Mich., November 26, on the Necessity of Dogma in Religion; the following Sunday, December 3, he preached at the re-opening of St. Aloysius' Church, Washington, D. C., on Positive Religion a Necessity. December 28 he was invited to deliver the address at the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Father Mathew Society in Cambridge, one of the first societies established by Father Mathew on his visit to Cambridge and one of the few societies maintaining its existence since that time. His subject was, The Apostolate of Father Mathew.

Assistant Treasurer of the University.—At the recent meeting of the Board of Directors the Very Rev. Vice-Rector, Dr. Garrigan, was appointed Assistant Treasurer of the University.

Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University, laid the corner-stone of Trinity College on December 8th at 3 P. M., in the presence of a select assemblage. Mother Julia, Provincial of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, Sister Mary Euphrasia, and lady members of the Auxiliary Board were present on the occasion.

Tenth Anniversary of the Opening of the University.—The tenth anniversary of the opening of classes in Caldwell Hall in 1889 was celebrated on November 13th. The day was proclaimed a holiday by the Rector and Academic Senate. At 9.30 Solemn High Mass was celebrated by the Rt. Rev. Rector; Rev. John W. Melody, S. T. L., of Chicago, Deacon; Rev. Patrick T. Healy, S. T. L., of New York, Sub-Deacon, and Rev. Victor F. Ducat, S. T. L., of Detroit, Master of Ceremonies. The music of the Mass was under the direction of Rev. Placidus B. Fuerst, O. S. B., organist of the University. At the end of the Mass the Rt. Rev. Rector delivered a discourse, in which he alluded to the opening of the classes. Three of the original professors, he recalled, were still with us, the Very Rev. Dr. Bouquillon, Rev. Dr. Hyvernât, and Dr. Stoddard. Of the first board of administration, the Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University, was still at his post. A grateful tribute was paid by him to the Most Rev. Archbishop Keane, the first Rector of the University, and the gratitude of the University strongly emphasized, because of his devotedness and generosity in com-

ing from Rome to aid in completing the endowment of the University. At 7.30 P. M. a reception was tendered the Rector by the University Club at their rooms in McMahon Hall.

Feast of the University.—The feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8th, was observed as the "Feast of the University." Rt. Rev. Bishop Donahue, of Wheeling, W. Va., celebrated Pontifical Mass, and Rev. William T. Russell, S. T. L. ('91), delivered the usual discourse.

Keane Hall.—The following officers have charge of Keane Hall for this year: Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, ex-officio president of the Board; Rev. Dr. Kerby and Dr. Charles P. Neill appointed by the Rt. Rev. Rector, and Messrs. Rockhill and Kelly chosen by the students.

Mass for Benefactors.—The annual Mass for the souls of our departed benefactors was celebrated November 6th, with all due solemnity, in the presence of professors and students.

Special Endowment of the Gaelic Chair.—The University has received from the estate of Miss Moran of Baltimore the sum of \$10,000, left in her will for the encouragement of the study of Gaelic.

The University Club.—The University Club was reorganized October 30. At the meeting held for that purpose the Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan gave a short history of the club, and the work it proposed to do. Some thirty students were admitted to membership. The following officers were elected: Rev. John Webster Melody, S. T. L., of Chicago, president; Mr. John T. Rogers, A. B., of Baltimore, vice-president; Mr. William H. Kelly, A. B., of Staunton, Va., treasurer; Mr. Albert J. Loeffler, A. B., of Pittsburg, secretary; Rev. P. T. Healy, S. T. L., of New York; Mr. James E. King, A. B., of St. Louis, and Mr. Joseph E. McCarthy, A. B., of Waterbury, Conn., executive committee. The Club gave a reception Monday evening, November 13th, which was very well attended.

Rev. Dr. Henebry visited New York in order to preside at the second annual Convention of the Gaelic League of America, held on November 14th, at the Lexington Assembly Rooms. Officers were elected and routine business transacted. At the public meeting held at the same place in the evening, Dr. Henebry, speaking in the Irish tongue, gave an account of the present position of the language question in Ireland.

Rev. Dr. John T. Creagh, Associate Professor of Canon Law, delivered a lecture on the "Ethics of Citizenship," November 9, at Wakefield, Mass. It was the concluding lecture in the series known as "The Sweetser Course."

Lecture by Rev. Dr. Shahan.—On Thursday, December 15, Rev. Dr. Shahan delivered a public lecture in Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, on "The Catholicism of France."

Affiliated Colleges.—The College of the Holy Cross has been incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. The work on the new Marist College is making rapid progress. Already the building is under roof, and together with the Holy Cross College, makes a notable addition to the group of structures that surround the University.

Publications by Professors.—Dr. Maurice Francis Egan has republished in book-form (Herder) under the title of "Essays in Literature," six studies that first appeared in the pages of the BULLETIN. Dr. Charles Warren Stoddard has reprinted (Herder) from the *Ave Maria* his notes of travel, under the caption, "Over the Rocky Mountains to Alaska." Rev. Dr. Shahan has a review of Waterman's "Post-Apostolic Age" in the *American Historical Review* for October, and a literary study on "The Thoughts of Joubert," in the *Ave Maria* for December 30, 1899; also in the present issue of the BULLETIN a study entitled "A New Edition of the Works of Hippolytus." Rev. Dr. Pace publishes in the same number an article entitled, "The Concept of Immortality in the Philosophy of St. Thomas," Rev. Dr. Kerby an article on "The Priesthood and the Social Question," and Rev. Dr. Henebry a study on "Eugene O'Growney and the Revival of Gaelic." Dr. E. B. Briggs published, in the *Catholic World* (Nov., 1899), an article entitled "The Consent of the Governed."

Writings of Our Students.—The following articles, from the pens of students of the University, have come to our notice: In the BULLETIN for January, Rev. Eneas B. Goodwin has a study on the "Poetry of Israel." In the *Catholic World* for October, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., S. T. L., has a study on "How We Abuse Religion," and another in the same periodical, for November, under the caption of "Nature Worship a Christian Sentiment." In the same number Rev. William L. Sullivan, C. S. P., S. T. L., treats of "The Future of the Christian Religion."

Second Conference of Catholic College Representatives.—A schedule of topics was adopted and the Right Reverend Chairman, Mgr. Conaty, was authorized to correspond with college representatives, inviting them to prepare papers upon these topics. The following is the complete schedule.

I. Uniformity of Conditions for Entrance to Freshman Class.—Rev. L. A. Delurey, O. S. A., President of Villanova College.

II. Relative Merits of Courses in Catholic and Non-Catholic Colleges for A. B. Degrees.—Rev. T. Brosnahan, S. J., Professor of Ethics, Woodstock College.

III. Elective System of Studies.—Rev. James E. Burns, C. S. C., Professor of Chemistry, Notre Dame University.

IV. Religious Instruction in College.—Very Rev. Patrick S. McHale, C. M., President of Niagara University.

V. Teaching of Modern Languages.—Rev. John P. Carroll, D. D., President of St. Joseph's College, Dubuque.

VI. Development of Character in Students.—Rev. M. P. Dowling, S. J., President of Creighton University, Omaha, Neb.

It was decided to hold the next Conference at Chicago. St. James' School Hall has been placed at the disposal of the Conference, and the sessions will be held there on Wednesday and Thursday of Easter Week, April 18th and 19th.

CHEMICAL DEPARTMENT.

Since the opening of the present scholastic year, the library of the Chemical Department has been considerably augmented by the addition of complete sets of several of the most noted chemical periodicals. These were donations from some of the clergymen of the archdiocese of Boston, and their accession enables the chemical library of the University to rank as one of the most perfect of its kind. The research student has now within easy reach nearly all the references given in the larger treatises and dictionaries of the science, and can consult, in their own words, the writings of the great workers who have taken part in the development of chemistry. The series recently acquired are the following:

Erdmann's *Journal für Praktische Chemie*, complete from the beginning in 1834. 160 volumes, the gift of Rev. P. J. Daly, pastor of St. Francis de Sales' Church, Boston, Mass.

Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Chemie, from the beginning in 1822. 83 volumes, donated by Rev. John Flatley, pastor of St. Peter's Church, Cambridge, Mass.

Chemisches Central-Blatt, complete from the beginning in 1830. From Rev. M. T. McManus, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Lawrence, Mass.

Bulletin de la Société Chimique de Paris, from the beginning in 1858. Presented by Rev. Thomas Scully, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Cambridgeport, Mass.

The Chemical Gazette and News. 97 volumes, from the beginning in 1842. From Rev. W. P. McQuaid, pastor of St. James' Church, Boston, Mass.

Zeitschrift für Analytische Chemie, Zeitschrift für Physiologische Chemie and Zeitschrift für Angewandte Chemie, complete in each case, 71 volumes in all, presented by Rev. Peter Ronan, of Boston, Mass.

Monatshefte für Chemie, Allgemeines Journal der Chemie, and Journal für die Chemie und Physik; 106 volumes, the gift of Rev. James Keegan, of Woburn, Mass.

Other priests of the archdiocese of Boston have expressed their interest in the University and their encouragement of the work of the Chemical Department by donating subscriptions to the current chemical periodicals, as follows:

Zeitschrift für Physikalische Chemie, Rev. Dr. O'Callaghan.

Journal of the Chemical Society (London), Rev. James O'Doherty.

Bulletin de la Société Chimique de Paris, and Zeitschrift für Physiologische Chemie, Rev. William Orr.

Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft, and Monatshefte für Chemie, Rev. Richard Neagle.

Journal für Praktische Chemie, and Revue Générale de Chimie Pure et Appliquée, Rev. L. J. Morris.

Zeitschrift für Anorganische Chemie, Rev. C. T. McGrath.

Annales de Chimie et de Physique, Rev. James P. F. Kelly.

Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry, Rev. J. J. Keegan.

Chemisches Central-Blatt, Rev. D. J. O'Farrel.

Zeitschrift für Analytische Chemie, Rev. W. J. Powers.

Liebig's Annalen der Chemie, Rev. J. J. Graham.

The Chemical News, Rev. John J. Coan.

Bulletin de la Société Industrielle de Mulhouse, and Journal de Pharmacie et de Chimie, Rev. John H. Lyons.

Journal of the American Chemical Society, Rev. B. F. Killilea.

Chemiker Zeitung, Rev. Chas. F. Donahoe.

Elektrochemische Zeitschrift, Rev. M. C. Gilbride.

Recueil des Travaux Chimique des Pays-Bas, Rev. M. E. Twomey.

Nearly all of the above subscriptions have been going on since the opening of the Chemical Department, in 1895, and form a valuable annual addition to the library of 47 volumes.

JOSEPH A. RILEY, S. M.

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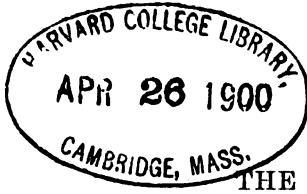
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No. 2.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.*, c. 6.

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THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY.¹

The preceding two lectures in this course have treated of the general nature of society, and of social institutions. To-day we are to discuss a more limited concept, and to study more in detail a particular aspect of society and a particular class of social institutions.

We may take as our starting point this generic definition of society:—An aggregation of individuals, held together by the pursuit of a common aim.

The common aims that create a society may be many, or there may be but one. Without going into the discussion of what is the fundamental fact that explains all human society, we can easily cite several aims, any *one* of which, we would readily agree, could serve as a reasonable working hypothesis to account for the existence of organized society. We can understand, for example, how men would come together into permanent groups, and live an associated life, for the mere pleasure derived from intellectual intercourse; or, for the better protection of individual life, property, and rights; or, for the larger command over the necessities and comforts of life, that results from combined labor and exchange of products.

As a matter of fact, we find that to-day in society, in its larger aspect, all of these ends are consciously sought; and that in the pursuit of each particular end the individuals in society, or, we may say, society itself, exerts certain activities.

¹ Lecture delivered in the Public Course, March 14, 1900.

At first glance these activities seem countless in number and kind, unrelated, and without system or order. To illustrate this, we have only to glance for a moment at the life of one of our great cities as we know it to-day. Everywhere we see activity, eager, restless, even feverish,—everywhere, hurrying, jostling, multitudes of men, some rushing one way, some another. Each of these hurrying creatures is bent on joining some group of his fellows; and if we follow them successively to their destinations, we find the groups they are joining engaged in every conceivable form of activity. One group, in a bank or a counting-house, is busily engaged in taking in and giving out metal discs and paper strips, and making entries in huge books; while another group is sitting about a table in a club, drinking queer mixtures, sucking smoke out of burning weeds, and talking in the intervals. Further on in a council chamber, or a senate, a sedate group is listening—weariedly, perhaps—to some one talking about taxes, or constitutions; and near by, in a theatre, another group may be found watching, intently, the manœuvres of a few people on a stage, or listening to a piano recital,—or, perhaps, even to a lecture. In a large depot, we find a group intent only on the loading and moving of railroad trains; and another group, in blue suits and brass buttons, with knapsacks and rifles, quietly waiting to be transported to another spot, where they are to shoot down as many of their fellow men as possible. Countless other groups are found scattered about in drawing rooms, sipping tea and talking furiously; and still other groups, amidst the whirr and clatter of machinery, are busily engaged in factories in making various articles to satisfy human wants.

I might go on through an almost endless list, but these few instances will suggest to us how diverse are social activities, and how little they seem to follow any fixed law. A little analysis, however, will enable us to classify all social activities under a very few categories. All the seemingly diverse activities of the groups just enumerated, for example, may be brought under three heads.

Many of these groups were in one way or another seeking the pleasure that comes from social intercourse. The club, the saloon, the theatre, the afternoon tea, are all institutions

set up to attain that end ; and the corresponding activities may be classified under the one head, *social*.¹

Other groups were in various ways seeking to carry on that form of organization adopted by the larger social group to which they belonged, for the better protection of life, property and rights. Senates, councils, and armies, are some of the institutions set up to attain that end ; and the activities they represent may be classified under the one head, *political*.

Other groups, again, were laboring to create and distribute the necessities and comforts of life. The counting-house, the bank, the railroad, and the factory, are institutions set up to further this aim ; and these activities may be classified under the one head, *economic*.

Since we can classify these activities, we can concentrate our attention on any one class, to the exclusion of the others. We can thus view society under different aspects ; and, in this sense, we can speak of political society or of economic society. In each case we may have under survey identically the same group of individuals. Together they may form a single unity, one objective thing ; but we can, none the less, view that single objective whole under different aspects, corresponding to the different ends it seeks to attain. We can study the institutions set up to attain this or that particular end, as forming in themselves a complete unified system ; and we can thus speak of the political structure of society, or of its economic structure.

If, therefore, we abstract from all other social phenomena, and fix our attention on that form of social organization, and those institutions in existence at any given time, as the result of the progressive effort of society to use the most efficient means to attain its economic ends, we shall have before us the economic structure of society at that period.

In this and the following lecture in this course we shall discuss some of the economic aspects of society ; and in the concluding one, some of its political aspects.

The most cursory glance at society in its economic aspect, reveals to us its organic nature. Whether we consider it with

¹ The use of the term *social* in this narrower sense is misleading, but sociology has not yet given us any other term to supply its place. *Social* activities, in the wider sense, embrace every form of group activity. The term is thus generic. But we have to use the term again in a specific sense, to denote the residuum of activities not included under the specific terms, *economic*, *political*, etc.

respect to the immensity, the complexity, or the delicacy of its structure, the social organism is one of the most wonderful works of creation. So wonderful indeed is it, that one of our astronomers, a man familiar with the grandeur of the heavens, has borne this testimony :—"I have studied a great many things, both in the heavens and on the earth, but nowhere have I found anything more marvellous than the social organism."

Perhaps the best means of analysing and understanding the existing economic social structure is to trace out its origin and development, thus leading up through smaller and simpler forms to the immense and complex form we know to-day.

Before there was any economic society, in a large sense, there were economic wants, and men exerted activities to satisfy them. Primitive man found himself confronted from the beginning with the universal wants, of food, of clothing, and of shelter. Antecedent to any social organization, he had to put forth his own unaided efforts to satisfy these wants. His intelligence soon pointed out to him that by co-operating with his fellows he could more easily satisfy his needs, and economic society resulted.

The particular form of co-operation that lies at the basis of all economic society, is what we term division of labor. When the race first appears on the threshold of history, division of labor has already taken place within the family group. The family thus presents the first form of economic organization. It is the primordial social group in which we can discern a rudimentary economic structure ; and for a time it remains the largest economic group we can distinguish.

A group of families may be found united into a tribe, acting together for purposes of common defense or aggression, recognizing the authority of a single chief, and thus constituting a rudimentary political society. But so long as each family lives its economic life independently of the others, so long as co-operation in satisfying economic wants is confined to the family group, the larger political group, *the tribe*, has no economic structure. It does not constitute an economic society. Each family by itself constitutes a small economic society. The political group is, thus, larger than the economic group. The political society is made up of a number of separate and

independent economic societies. Before the larger group, the tribe, can be said to have an economic structure, co-operation in satisfying economic wants must cross family lines.

When the crossing of family lines does occur, we find it due to a further extension of the principle of division of labor ; and by a wider and wider extension of the principle, the tribe, as a whole, begins to present a complex organic economic structure. The beginnings are discernible even in that primitive stage of social evolution, which we term the hunting and fishing stage. The savage hunter, for example, fashions a stone knife, cuts a twig to make his bows and arrows, cuts strips of prepared hide for his bow strings, and armed with his bow and arrows more easily procures his food. All these various operations had for their ultimate object the slaying of game. They were all steps in an elaborated process adopted by an intelligent animal, man, the more effectively to procure his food. To this end, he has availed himself of the resources of nature. Very soon, his intelligence shows him that by co-operating with his fellows, he can render his efforts to satisfy his economic wants still more effective. Some of the tribe prove more skillful at one of the tasks enumerated than at another. One, lacking in the speed and endurance necessary for the hunter, may yet surpass all of his fellows in the fashioning of knives and the making of bows and arrows. He will, in consequence, cease to hunt, and will devote himself to handicraft. He will trade off the bows and arrows that he makes for portions of the hunter's game, and in this way will secure more food in return for a day's work than if he had given his efforts to the chase. And the hunters, being less skillful than he, in handicrafts, will find, in turn, that their bows and arrows have cost them less game than they would have cost, had they themselves desisted from the chase to make these implements. Both parties to the trading are better off under this system of co-operation, through division of labor, than they were under the old system, where each depended entirely on his own exertions to satisfy his wants.

We have now seen the first step in the economic evolution of society. The progress has been due to two factors: the utilization of natural forces, as seen in the use of the stone

knife, bows and arrows ; and the increasing of the labor power of the group through division of labor. The motive that has led to each of these has been self-interest. All the wonderful and complex progress of the ages reduces in the last analysis, to these simple factors ; and in the simple phenomena just described we find the law underlying many of the tremendous social movements of to-day, just as in the falling apple we see the law of the planets.

As the tribe grows, this process of division of labor is still further extended, and each want of the group is satisfied by the labors of a particular individual. One man confines himself to making knives and other stone implements ; another makes only bows and arrows ; another is tanner of hides for the tribe,—and so on through an ever increasing list. As a result of this process the tribe is developing a more and more complex economic structure. It has become an economic unity. The separate individuals have been merged into one organic whole. We can now regard the tribe as a whole as having economic wants ; and the particular workers, or groups of workers, that labor to satisfy the different wants, we can regard as organs that have taken over to themselves the performance of specific functions. Each group, or organ, works to satisfy a single want of all the other groups ; and they in turn supply the satisfaction for all its wants.

When tribes pass from the hunting and fishing stage, to the pastoral and the agricultural stages, the amount of labor required to procure food and clothing is very much lessened. With each step in economic progress the labor of a smaller and smaller number of men suffices to supply their primitive wants, and a larger and larger number are left free to labor for the satisfaction of the newer and higher wants that successively appear. The satisfying of each newly-appearing want is taken over, as before, by a particular group, and new trades spring up one after another.

As this process goes on and on, the economic structure of society grows more and more complex, and growth becomes increasingly organic. We can not stop to trace out in detail the various steps in the development of the social organism. I have tried to indicate to you its genesis, and its principle of

growth ; and I want next to invite your attention to the immensity and complexity of the economic structure as it exists to-day.

In the beginning we saw that the political unity was larger than the economic. The tribe, although a political whole, might yet be without economic structure, embracing, as it did, a number of small independent economic societies. The test by which we determined the limits of an economic society was the extent to which co-operation went. Thus, when division of labor crossed family lines, and exchange of products took place throughout the tribe, the economic society grew to be co-extensive with the political society. But economic co-operation, resulting from division of labor, and exchange of products, has long since crossed national lines, just as it did family lines,—until now, the economic group is larger than any political group, and one economic society has come to embrace a number of smaller political societies. France and Germany, for example, are two distinct political societies. The political rights of the citizens of either country may be abridged or extended to any degree without exerting any corresponding effect on the citizens of the other. But in so far as there is an exchange of products between the two countries, in so far as some of the wants of the Frenchman are supplied by the labor of his German enemy,—who in turn uses many of the products of the labor of the Frenchman,—the two are co-operating for the satisfaction of economic wants. They are, therefore, fellow members of one economic society, and changes in the economic conditions of the one state may be directly felt within the confines of the other.

By the application of this same test we shall find that to-day the whole world forms one immense, complex, economic society, in which racial as well as national lines are obliterated. To realize how true this is, let us glance, only for a moment, at the widely scattered groups of co-operators who have given their labor to satisfy the needs of the single city in which we live. The wheat we consume was raised, perhaps, in Dakota and ground into flour for us in Minnesota. Our meat supply was produced, perhaps, in Montana or Texas, and butchered for us in Illinois. The plantations of the gulf states and the

factories of New England have been worked to provide us cotton goods. And not only has every State and Territory in the Union, probably, sent us something of its products, but other continents and other races have been laid under tribute to satisfy our wants. Englishmen have labored to furnish us woolen cloths, and Frenchmen to send us silks; and German and Italian peasants alike have cultivated their vineyards to send us their wines. The labor on the plantations of Brazil has furnished us coffee, and the Chinese have given us our tea. The deft fingers of Persian and of Turk have woven coverings for the floors of our dwellings. The Kaffir has toiled in the mines of Kimberley, and the Arab has gone down below the waters of the Persian Gulf, that we may decorate ourselves with diamonds and pearls; and the tribesmen of the African jungles have hunted the elephant to give us ivory for our billiard balls.

Thus, to satisfy our wants, from the most important to the most trifling, the labor of the world is required. However exclusive we may choose to be socially, in the narrower sense, however much we may strive to bar out other races from *political* fellowship, we yet remain fellow-members in one vast economic society with Englishman and Frenchman, Italian and German, Persian and Turk, Arab and Kaffir, and on through a list that embraces even the despised Filipino.

Not only has the social organism grown to this wondrous, world-embracing immensity, but its complexity is not less wonderful. We have seen how in the beginning the advantages of division of labor gave rise to trades, and how even the primitive tribe came to have its worker in stone, its tanner of hides, its bow and arrow maker. From that day to our own the same principle has been at work persistently, and every step in economic progress has been marked by the springing up of new trades as a result of more and more minute subdivisions of the older ones.

In a primitive community the smith is the smiter, the wielder of the hammer, the general worker in metals. Later on, the trade of the smith begets a family of trades, and we find the ironsmith, the silversmith, the goldsmith. Then the trade of the ironsmith breaks up into two trades, that of the

blacksmith, who forges the rougher forms of iron, and that of the whitemith, who fashions it into smaller, more delicate, and more finished forms. Later still, we find the trade of the ironsmith broken up into almost as many trades as there are particular forms of iron goods, and one man is a horseshoe maker, another a nail maker, a third a pin maker, and so on through a long list. Finally, coming down to the period just preceding the industrial revolution, when machinery supplanted hand labor, we find the principle carried out to the last degree, and in some trades there are as many different occupations as there are different motions of the hand to be performed. In illustration of this point, let me quote Adam Smith's classical illustration, taken from the trade of pin making. "To take an example, therefore," he says, "from a very trifling manufacture ; but one in which the division of labor has very often been taken notice of, the trade of the pin maker ; a workman not educated to this business (which the division of labor has rendered a distinct trade), nor acquainted with the machinery employed in it (to the invention of which the same division of labor has probably given occasion), could scarce, perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only is the whole work a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head ; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations ; to put it on is a particular business, to whiten the pin is another ; it is even a trade by itself to put them into paper ; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed, and where some of them, consequently, performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they

exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins a day. There are in a pound upward of four thousand pins of a middling size. These ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this particular business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly not the two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth part of what they are at present capable of performing, in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations."

Adam Smith uses this to illustrate the marvellous increase in productive capacity due to the division of labor; but, although I have quoted it at length, I cite it rather to show the extent to which the division of labor had been carried before the introduction of machinery, and to suggest the growing complexity of the social structure.

Under our modern system, with its elaborate processes of machine production, the division of labor has been carried to a degree that renders production so complex as almost to defy analysis. Let us take the simplest illustration, and trace out how many people have co-operated in the making of the single loaf of bread we ate for breakfast. We would at once admit our indebtedness to the baker who made and baked the loaf; to the miller who ground the wheat into flour; and to the farmer who raised the grain. But the baker used an oven and pans. Now ovens and pans are not desired by us for their own sake. They are secondary wants. The labor expended in making them, is labor expended in the production of bread, just as the labor of the primitive hunter in making his stone knife, and his bows and arrows, was labor expended in procuring food. So the bricklayer, and, further back, the brick maker, and the maker of the pans, are all to be enumerated in the list of those whose labor made that loaf of bread for us.

But the pans themselves were made in a larger factory, where there was much machinery; and in the making of each

pan many men co-operated, beginning with the fireman who shovelled coal into the furnaces, and on up to the manager of the works. Each of these, numbering in all, dozens, probably, was, in part, maker of the pan ; and as the pan was only made for the purpose of baking the bread, each of these was a factor in the making of that loaf.

Again, the machinery in the pan factory, from engine and boiler, on through the whole list, was only made for the purpose of making the pan in which to bake the loaf of bread. And so the labor of many men in the different factories that made the machinery, that was used in the factory that made the pans, was labor expended in the making of bread.

The pedigree of that loaf of bread is already growing bewildering ; but we are only at the beginning. In the mill in which the wheat was ground into flour, there were numbers of men from fireman and engineer on up again to foreman and manager, all of whom take part in the flour making, and who thus add themselves to the list of those whose labor went to the making of our loaf of bread. And, again, there is the same background, filled with other groups of men, who made the boilers, engines, and machinery in the flouring mill ; and as their labor was expended in order that the flour might be ground, to make our loaf, their labor too, must be counted as part of the labor spent in making the loaf of bread.

Then too, the farmer who raised the wheat, used plows, and harrows, and reapers, and threshers ; and each of those was made in factories using other machinery ; and so the series runs on and on, until the list of those who coöperated in the planting, raising, and harvesting of that wheat, becomes in turn bewildering. And all these have to be added to the already long list of those who coöperated in the making of the loaf of bread.

The list is far from complete even yet, for I have left out mention of the hundreds and hundreds of men who were engaged by the railroad systems that carried all these things from place to place ; and the other hundreds who built the engines and cars, etc. ; and the hundreds more who built the road itself ; and the miners who mined the iron and the coal, that entered into every process we have mentioned.

It is very true that the result of all this labor was something more than that single loaf of bread we have had under discussion ; but it is equally true that in the making of that loaf all these hundreds of men performed a part.

In the purchase of that loaf of bread we *helped* give employment to all the workers in this long series ; and our purchase of more bread or less bread, our paying a higher or lower price for it are among the factors that determine the remuneration of every worker in the whole list. Nor is this all. Each of these workers was in turn a consumer of many things produced by other workers ; and in proportion as we purchase more or less of his product, will he be able to purchase more or less of their products. Thus a commercial depression, beginning in one part of a country, not only affects those living in that part ; but they, ceasing to buy the products of another section, as they did in their prosperous days, transmit the depression to that section ; and thus in turn, it may be transmitted from section to section or from country to country until it is felt in some degree over the world.

The influence of every act of purchase, therefore, tends to be diminishingly transmitted throughout the whole length and breadth of economic society. This widespread influence may not be appreciable to us in particular acts, but the law is none the less true. Physics has established the law, that every particle of matter attracts every other particle with a force directly as the mass and inversely as the distance. If I toss a ball into the air I may not see any change in the solar system, but it is none the less true that I have exerted an influence that extends throughout the universe, and have rearranged the harmony of its parts. Or, if I walk from one side to another of the ship, I have not, *apparently*, affected it in the slightest ; but, I have, nevertheless, actually shifted its center of gravity, and modified the strain and stress in every part of the system. If five hundred of us, instead of one, had gone from one side to the other, the effect would have been very apparent in the list we gave to the vessel ; and if the shifting of position of one had been *absolutely* without effect, five hundred times " no effect " could not have produced effect.

So too, I may not at first see how the effect of this or that

economic act has been transmitted beyond the man with whom I have last dealt ; but more careful study will show me that its influence has been passed on as surely as was the influence of my tossing the ball, or my changing position on the ship.

Fortunately, it is not possible, for any of us, or all of us combined, to affect *appreciably* the course of the planets, or the harmony of the physical universe ; but, it is possible for one man, by his economic action, to exert an influence that is transmitted *appreciably* over continents, and even the world.

In an earlier part of this discussion, we saw how, as the result of division of labor, the artisans of the tribe labored for the tribe as a whole ; and how each was, in turn, supported by the labor of the whole tribe. From this small beginning has grown that complex organic structure of society we now see. Production has now become almost completely socialized. Few of us any longer produce any of the things we ourselves actually use to satisfy our wants. Each gives all his labor to the producing of some one thing that society as a whole needs,—his whole life and work he gives to serve society and supply its wants ; and society in turn serves him, and supplies him satisfaction for all his needs. The result savors of the marvelous, even of the paradoxical. Every single one of us secures in return for his labor, far more than he alone could produce. We could not in ten life times produce a fraction of the necessities and comforts we enjoy in one.

In illustration of this, we have only to recall the difference in the economic condition of a western frontier family of fifty years ago, and of the family of an average workingman in one of the cities that have sprung up there to-day. The family of the earlier day was dependent largely on its own unaided exertions for the satisfaction of all its wants. Toil, hard and incessant, was the lot of each of its members, until frequently the woman grew as weather-beaten and as horny-handed as the man. In return they had primitive huts, coarse and unvaried food, rough clothing, and scarcely one of the comforts or even decencies of life. In that same country to-day, go into the home of a skilled workingman, a bricklayer for example. He works eight hours in the day, and lays a few thousand bricks. His whole life goes to building homes for others. All economic

society now coöperates to satisfy his wants. His table contains delicate and varied food, produced partly, perhaps, in other lands and climes; he and his family wear clothing of a fineness, that they could not begin to produce; his dwelling is immeasurably superior to that of the pioneer, for architect and scientist have combined to make it beautiful, comfortable, and healthful; costly processes of reproduction are at his command, to adorn his walls with copies of the art of the greatest of all countries and of all ages; huge presses have been erected and set going, that he may have on his shelves the printed pages whereon is preserved the thought of those of every nation and century whom God has endowed most richly; his wife does only the domestic work, and his children have the advantages of schools; he rides to and from his work in conveyances that in speed and comfort surpass the chariots of a king of a century ago. His life is incomparably fuller and richer than was that of the pioneer of an earlier day. The difference between the two is due entirely to social growth. The pioneer, like primitive man, was practically a member of an economic society, that was confined to family limits; whilst the city artisan is a member of a world-embracing economic society, and in return for his daily contributions of a few thousand bricks laid in orderly rows, he enjoys the fruits of the labor of thousands upon thousands of his fellowmen. The two are separated by only fifty years of time, but fifty centuries of economic progress lies between them.

In considering the production of a single loaf of bread, we saw that part of the labor of hundreds of men went into its making. If we reflect that a similar series of workers lies behind all we eat, all we wear, the houses in which we live, and all the comforts we enjoy, we shall realize that the humblest of us, daily, commands the services of thousands upon thousands of his fellowmen; and that each of us has at beck and call an army of servants that would put to blush an Oriental monarch with his retinue of slaves.

In conclusion, then, let me sum up our discussion in a few words. We have seen that the beginnings of economic society came from coöperation in satisfying economic wants. Every extension of this principle of coöperation, so as to enlarge the

number of coöperators, enlarged at the same time the limits of economic society, until, beginning with the family, it has grown to embrace the world. Every extension of the principle, in the way of a greater and greater subdivision of trades, has rendered the resulting social structure more and more complex, more and more organic; until to-day we have a structure so complicated, that its study has been raised to the dignity of a science. And every increase in the size and complexity of the social organism has given to society greater command over the necessities and comforts of life, and has made possible for the individual a richer and a fuller life.

In our discussion thus far we have considered structure and growth chiefly in their relation to production. We have, however, seen that as the social structure grew in size and complexity, the acts of individuals have assumed added importance, and have become of more and more consequence to their fellows. In the following lecture we shall consider structure and growth in their relation to distribution, and shall discuss some of the ethical aspects of the question.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

THE ARGUMENT OF ST. THOMAS FOR IMMORTALITY.¹

The concept of immortality, as we find it in the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, may be summarized in this form :

Death implies the falling away of the bodily elements from their union with that principle of self-activity, co-ordination and identity, which we call the soul. It implies, consequently, the cessation of those vital functions, conscious and unconscious, which are the joint product of soul and body. The soul, however, as a real being, survives, retaining its powers of intellect and will and preserving its individual existence.

It will be admitted, I think, that this view has the merit of consistency. Assuming that the soul is something real, and that it holds within itself the title to reality, we may, without involving ourselves in contradiction, frame a proposition of which the soul so understood is the subject and permanence, in the sense already explained, is the predicate. Immortality is not, on the face of it, absurd. To assert that the soul lives after death is not logically equivalent to asserting that the same thing is, at the same time and in the same signification of the terms, alive and not alive.

Going a step farther, we might say that, so far as experience guides us, it is easier to conceive of a thing as enduring than it is to conceive of its vanishing into nothingness. When an object disappears from the range of our perception, our first impulsive thought about it is that it is still existing somewhere else or somehow else. Likewise, the scientist very properly refuses to believe that any particle of matter, torn or crushed as it may be, is absolutely annihilated, or that any item of energy, through endless permutations, is altogether lost. Although these forms of existence escape our senses, we

¹ The Public Lecture Course of the University, December 18, 1899. The aim of this paper is rather to exhibit the fundamental ideas upon which St. Thomas bases his argument than to present the numerous developments which are found in the *Contra Gentes*, the *Summa Theologica* and the *Quaestiones Disputatae*. Cf. BULLETIN for January.

manage to follow them in thought ; or rather we find it impossible to think of them as lapsing into non-entity. Given, therefore, a real being, the presumption is in favor of its somehow continuing. On the same basis, if the soul is a real substantial thing, it is at least possible that it should continue to exist in some mode or other. The mere fact that it is not seen or felt or heard after death, is not conclusive evidence that it has utterly ceased. This negative testimony of our senses may be subject to correction and perhaps to rebuttal.

It is true, on the other hand, that such correction is not supplied by the imagination. We have no satisfactory way of picturing to ourselves a disembodied spirit ; and all attempts of the fancy in this direction must necessarily result, either in vague and shadowy outlines of phantom and wraith, or in those figments too vivid and grotesque, which are the privilege and solace of untutored minds. But this failure of the imagination cannot be taken as decisive. It is, on the contrary, just what we should expect, if we set out from the assumption that the soul is not a material thing. For then it is beyond the reach of the imagination, even in the present life. That the soul exists, and that it is of such and such a nature, we know only by inference. Its naked, unconditioned essence never appears in consciousness, and the more we rely upon the imagination, either to prove or disprove its reality, the more does misconception give rise to deception.

Hence, our question is not: can we, or how shall we, imagine the soul surviving the body ; but can we prove by reasoning that the soul does survive, and if so, by what sort of reasoning ?

Methods of demonstration, we all know, vary somewhat according to the nature of the problem which it is attempted to solve. The natural sciences have their method, mathematics another, history yet another. When the chemist analyses a compound, his balance will tell him whether any of the elements has disappeared. The astronomer who predicts an eclipse, may or may not see the prediction verified ; but his calculation leaves no room for doubt. The validity of the demonstration and the certainty which it affords, is due, in these and similar cases, to the fundamental idea of nature's

uniformity. Were nature prompted to action by whim and caprice, no reliance could be placed on physical laws, or, more exactly, no such thing as physical law would exist. Uniformity, again, is a characteristic which impresses itself upon our minds by dint of repeated observation ; it means that what we have seen take place on previous occasions will happen on future occasions in which the causal arrangement or the conditions recur in the same way. Now, evidently, if stress be laid on experience as an indispensable feature of proof, the demonstration of the soul's immortality is out of the question during this life. Separation from the body and subsequent survival, if they take place at all, may have been experienced by those who are gone before us ; but for each of us they are at most possibilities.

It seems important to emphasize in this way the absence of strictly experimental evidence, because of the position taken by St. Thomas in regard to the doctrine of pre-existence. His principal objection to this Platonic notion is based on the fact that the soul does not bring into the world the stock of knowledge which it would have acquired had it enjoyed a previous existence. It cannot, therefore, testify as to a survival or a series of survivals which make up its earlier history. It would, perhaps, have made the whole problem of immortality much easier to handle, if St. Thomas had accepted the doctrine of previous states ; for he might then have carried his appeal directly to experience. The soul could have reasoned after this fashion : I have already passed, time after time, through the ordeal of death, and I have, therefore, every right to believe that I shall survive when this present body is dissolved. It would have been an argument drawn from personal experience and based on the uniformity of nature.

But as St. Thomas rejects this view, he is obliged to turn elsewhere for proofs of immortality. The method which he follows consists, in the main, of three steps. He first selects some fact or peculiarity of the soul's activity which can be tested and thus established beyond dispute. Then, secondly, he interprets this fact as a manifestation of the essential nature of the soul, and, finally, he argues that such a being not only can be immortal, but must be immortal.

The phenomena of consciousness, it is now pretty generally admitted, cannot be regarded as the products of material substance, or as forms of material energy. They are, from the highest to the lowest, irreducible. A movement is not a sensation, nor is a sensation identical with movement. If the mechanism of the brain were exposed to our view in all its details, if we could follow the slightest change, physical and chemical, in each cell and in each particle of its substance, we would come no nearer to an explanation of consciousness. The utmost that we could learn would be, that, when such or such a process takes place in the mind, it is accompanied by this or that motion,—perhaps by a whole vortex of motions—in the complex structure of the brain. But the passage from process in the brain to process in the mind would be, as it is in our present imperfect knowledge, unthinkable.

Such statements seem, at first sight, to justify the conclusion that mind is not indebted to matter for its existence, and consequently might continue to exist, even when the brain has ceased. It would not, at any rate, be allowable to infer that the soul is mortal on the principle that the effect terminates when the cause is removed ; for, on this hypothesis, body and soul are not related as cause and effect. Each mental phenomenon is the outcome of others that precede it in consciousness, and each in turn gives rise to new phenomena that are likewise conscious. We might surely conceive this train of processes to stretch out indefinitely, and so discern the evidence for immortality in the very fact that we are conscious beings.

St. Thomas is of a different mind. Whatever, it would seem, belongs to consciousness as such must belong to every grade of consciousness ; what applies to the highest faculties of the mind must apply also to the lowest. Any living thing, provided it have at least the power of sensation, would be on the same level with man, in respect of immortality. The whole animal creation would be immortal. And this is precisely what St. Thomas denies. The soul of the brute, though endowed with consciousness, does not survive the body, because, in each and all of its activities, it depends upon the body. The animal is not a mere machine, nor is its life a species of mechanical energy. It has an internal principle of self-

activity, of co-ordination and of substantial unity ; but this principle perishes with the organism, because existence is vested, so to speak, not in the soul alone, but in the compound of soul and body.

There is one consequence which ought to be noticed here. Men, at all times, have shown a commendable anxiety as to the post-mortem fate of the lower animals, and, in particular, of those which, as the saying goes, have something human about them. One need not go back to the days of Plato, nor out to the land of the savage, to find instances of this solicitude. In our own age and civilization, the problem has been gravely discussed, some persons being brought to the trying dilemma, to-wit, that, if the animals are not immortal there is something unfair about the future life, and, if they are immortal, the life to come will be overcrowded. There are several ways of escaping the horns of this difficulty ; but we may safely argue with St. Thomas, that the difficulty, in reality, does not exist. The mere possession of consciousness is no guarantee that the possessor is immortal.

The same conclusion awaits us when we take into account those interruptions of consciousness with which we are all familiar. In profound sleep, there is not, so far as we can ascertain, any conscious activity. As to the nature and the effects upon the organism, of sleep, physiology has not yet said the last word ; but it is safe to say that, when the sleep curve falls to a certain level, even those forms of mental activity which we call dreams either are totally suspended or are so reduced as to leave no record that memory can quote.

Some of our modern thinkers have been at considerable pains to interpret these very obvious facts. According to one view, we are bound to suppose that the stream of consciousness, though it sink very low, does not absolutely stop ; there is still some faint pulsing of mind, and if we have no recollection of it, so much the worse for our memory. According to another view, the soul actually ceases to exist when we fall asleep, and, in some way that is not yet explained, comes back to existence when we awake. By separate roads and in opposite directions, both theories go round one and the same difficulty. What has been mentioned already as the doctrine of parallel-

ism, works fairly well so long as the two series—the bodily processes and the mental processes—flow on side by side. But, when the conscious series is broken, our trouble begins. Have we not already declared that the brain movement does not produce the conscious process? And if, after an interruption of six or seven hours, the conscious series starts up again, the question is—what starts it? To which we have two answers; the one says boldly—the soul must be created afresh every morning; while the other, more cautious, concludes that we had better not admit a total blotting out of consciousness, even in the deepest sleep.

Whatever be the value of such hypotheses, the logical inference from the facts is quite plain. If consciousness can be suspended, then it stands to reason that, as a mere series of processes or states, it does not necessitate its own continuance either in this life or in any other. But again, if after each suspension, so far as we know, consciousness revives, and if its revival cannot be the effect of an organic process, then the only conclusion that we can reasonably draw is, that the soul is something more than the mental series, that it is a substantial being, which endures though its activities from time to time suffer interruption.

It may, however, be urged, with some plausibility, that this very fluctuation of our conscious life shows the absolute dependence of soul on body. When the organic function sinks to a certain point, or, more concretely, when the blood-supply to the brain is reduced far enough, the conscious processes are suspended; and conversely, when the circulation returns to the normal level, restoring the activity of the brain, the mental activity also reappears. Hence, it would seem to follow that, in the final sleep of death from which the organism does not recover, the life of the soul is forever closed. Granting, therefore, that materialism is wrong, that the mind is not a mere function of the brain, we might still be obliged to regard them as bound together in such a functional relation, that, when one variable, the brain, becomes zero, the other variable, namely, the soul, must likewise and of necessity disappear.

To offset this specious deduction, philosophers have cast about in different directions in search of some quality, or

sign, or characteristic, which might be interpreted as a distinct and incontestable warrant for the soul's ability to survive, in spite of any and all vicissitudes of the bodily life. If such evidence is forthcoming, it will establish a prior claim in favor of immortality, and will settle, at their true value, the facts that are alleged in support of the opposite view.

One line of reasoning that has always carried weight and often produced conviction, is that which rests upon man's desire for immortality. The longing of the human heart to live, the instinctive shrinking from death, the ceaseless struggle for existence, the unwillingness to think that the upward and onward trend of life is to end in a handful of dust, are so many variations of the self-same motif. For pagan and Christian alike, for poet and orator, ruler and priest, this has been a favorite theme. Philosophy, too, on one basis or another, has to reckon with this craving, which it finds implanted in our nature, long before we have any idea of what philosophy means.

Let us glance, then, for a moment at this desire for immortality and try to discern its significance.

Note, in the first place, that it furnishes a groundwork of psychological fact for our reasoning. It is not something that we must simply believe or accept on authority ; it is part of our mental experience—a phenomenon that we can observe in ourselves. Vague it may be at times, but, at certain moments, it asserts itself with surprising force, and always, when death draws nigh, the whole power of consciousness seems to go out in the one longing and resolve to live.

Note, secondly, that we do not get at the full meaning of this desire, when we treat it merely as a conscious process—describing it, analyzing it, as we describe and analyze our passing thoughts, emotions, sensations. It offers, no doubt, an interesting problem to psychology ; but it offers more, and it claims more, by way of explanation. We do not understand it aright until we have recognized in it the expression of our nature, the protestation of our inmost being against final extinction and death.

Hence the efforts that philosophers have made to show that this longing cannot be in vain, to prove that it places man in

some universal order, under some world-controlling law, the working out of which must ensure the satisfaction of this desire. Even Kant, after convincing himself that there is no theoretical ground for the doctrine of a future life, argues that immortality is a postulate of the practical reason. The moral law, he teaches, sets before us certain ideals which we are bound to realize but which we cannot realize in the present conditions of sense-existence. Only in one endless progress towards perfection, can we attain the sovereign good required by the moral law, and such a progress involves the continued existence of the soul.

Not unlike this position is that which quite recently has been taken by thinkers who would hesitate to profess their allegiance to Kant. The guarantee for immortality, they tell us, is found in the law of finality. All nature is a manifestation of purpose; all living things, especially, in their organization and development, conform to ideal ends; evolution itself is essentially the carrying out, on a grander scale, of an all-wise, beneficent design. That desire which we find in ourselves, reveals the ultimate aim of our existence, convinces us that, over and above the special ends for which we strive, there is a supreme purpose of life; and since this purpose, in keeping with the universal law of finality, must reach its fulfillment, life itself must extend beyond the limit set by death—must be immortal.

It may well be admitted that these arguments have a force of their own. Their fundamental ideas were current in philosophy long before the days of Kant, and their value was critically established by speculative reason as well as by practical considerations. That the moral order exists, that nature and life are governed by purpose, St. Thomas taught, in no ambiguous terms. He appeals, also, to this innate craving, whenever he discusses the problem of man's destiny, and he brings it under the general principle that nature does nothing in vain. And yet, it is worthy of remark that St. Thomas puts forward this argument cautiously, with a sort of reserve, as though to intimate that too much stress should not be laid on this particular feature of the soul. The desire for perpetuity is, in his estimation, a sign, a suggestion, a token full of significance;

but its real importance lies, not so much in the fact that it is deep-seated, intense, universal, as in its power of manifesting the real nature of the soul from which it springs. In other words, what chiefly appeals to him in this tendency, is not the relation between the tendency and its term, but rather the relation between the tendency and its origin. Instead of arguing: man desires immortality; such desires must be fulfilled; consequently, man must in some way be immortal; he argues: there is, in the soul, a desire to perpetuate its being, and this desire is evidence that the soul is of such a nature that it must survive the body.

In order to develop and appreciate this reasoning, we may single out, from the concise language of St. Thomas, these different points of view:

First; the tendency to self-preservation is not peculiar to man. In one form or another it dominates everything that exists. Every particle of matter holds out stubbornly against encroaching forces, resists by its cohesion, answers action by re-action, and yields only when overcome by an agency mightier than itself. But this struggle for reality, as we might call it, implies no conscious effort. Neither the atom nor the mass is in any way aware of an impulse that drives it, or of an end that it pursues. The laws which it obeys are enactments that come from intelligence; but they have no meaning for the thing itself.

Second; when consciousness appears, this natural tendency assumes a higher form; it becomes the instinct of self-preservation. The animal is guided by sense-perception in choosing what is helpful and in avoiding what is hurtful. Exertion is the result of craving, and the craving is felt. Thus, feeling and striving consciously, the humblest sentient creature clings at each moment to existence and life. It is only for the moment. Beyond the present utility or the present danger, animal intelligence does not go, and therefore the instinctive desire for existence, so far as the individual is concerned, does not extend to the absolute permanence which means immortality.

Thirdly; the longing and the tendency which we discern in our own minds has this peculiarity about it, that it results

from the conception of existence as absolute and perpetual. We are able to think of ourselves, not only as we are at this instant, and not only as continuing to be through all instants of the future, but as being, apart from the limitations of time and space. Consequently, in us, that vague desire for permanence which is the bent and urging of nature, can be brought to the clear light of consciousness, and so defined, can be elevated to the plane of rational desire.

Consider briefly how much this implies for the character of our mental life and the problem of our destiny. It means the ability to form an idea which is totally different from any product of material energy with which we are acquainted. When we think of existence simply as existence, we purposely eliminate from our thought those conditions under which the object really exists; we do, I might almost say, violence to reality. We cast aside those marks and determinations which locate this or that particular thing and single it out as individual. We disregard the outward form, the size, the position, the properties, even the essential attributes; and, in their stead, we set our concept of being. Protest, if you will, that this is an empty, intangible notion, that it represents nothing that we can picture distinctly and hold firmly in our minds. What concerns us just now, is not so much the value of this idea—its richness or its poverty of meaning—as the nature of the process whereby we get the idea. I will even go farther and say that this lack of value under the one aspect, is precisely what gives it value under the other. What you complain of quite justly is the excessive generality of a concept, for which you can discover no exact counterpart in the real world. You never saw “being”, nor heard it nor laid your hand upon it. Precisely; being, as we conceive it, is the product of the mind’s activity, and the more general the concept is, the more decidedly does it show that the activity which brings it forth is not of one kind with the agencies of the physical world.

Let us carry our analysis to another stage. Between this highly generalized notion—the notion of being—and the actually existing things around us, there is a mediating process; it is the process known as sensation. The mind communicates with the outer world through a complex system of

brain and nerve and terminal organ. Impressions that fall upon eye and ear and skin, are transmitted, by various paths, to a central office ; and we are made conscious of sights and sounds and touches. Regarding the details of this process, we are not yet fully informed. But of this much we are certain : each organ of sense has to do with a particular aspect of the external object, responds, if you prefer the expression, to a special form of physical action—the eye to ether vibrations, the ear to waves in the air, and so on for all the rest. Moreover, as the apparatus of sense develops, both in the individual and in the race, it tends towards a stricter limitation of the work assigned to each organ. In the lowest forms of life, all impressions are received equally over all portions of the organism, whereas, in the highest form, in ourselves, there are distinct organs for each sort of impression. Hence, we may say that sensation is more perfect in proportion as it is more closely limited to a specialized mode of activity ; or, in other words, the less general the senses and their objects become, the better it is for their purpose.

Now, the immediate inference you have probably drawn already. Organic activity, so far as we can study it, displays no capacity for those processes by which the mind rises to the concept of being. On the contrary, the distinctness and vividness which make sensation so satisfactory, are due to their limitations. Hence, we may say that these two great forms of mental action—intellect and sense—are, as concerns the character of their object, in inverse ratio. Sense is more perfect as it is more particular ; intellect is more perfect as its concepts are more general.

This, I say, is the obvious conclusion. But now remember that the soul plays its part in sensory processes no less than in the higher intellectual processes. What happens in the organs and nerves, is no mere mechanical movement, upon which the soul looks down and from which it picks out its general ideas. The soul, St. Thomas teaches, is active all the way through—down to the very ends of each fibre. When, therefore, the mind produces its idea, the production is different, in itself and in its results—*first*, from the mode of existence of real objects in the concrete world ; *second*, from the

behavior of the material organs of sense; *third*, from the activity which the soul itself exerts through those organs.

Significant as these considerations are, they do not exhaust the meaning of that desire for existence which we took as the point of departure in our analysis. For what, after all, does the analysis import, except it be that the soul can turn its gaze upon itself and watch its own doings? The whole truth is not told when it is said: there is, in each human mind, a longing for immortality. What we must say is: each human mind perceives this longing in itself. I perceive it in my mind, and you, when you choose to take notice, perceive it in your mind. Thus, by a process of reflection, as it is called, the mind can regard as objects its own subjective states. It does not import its entire stock of knowledge from the outer world; it has resources of its own, more difficult perhaps of access, but nevertheless within its reach.

We are accustomed to speak of the mind as a mirror, and to say that it reflects external objects, as the glass does. But this figure should not be carried too far. The mind does form in itself representations of other things; but it is not simply a passive mirror. The images which it receives are not absolute copies of the original; the ideas which it conceives are more of its own making, and upon both image and idea it can return, reflecting upon its own reflections.

When we become aware of a process taking place in our minds, when we consider, for instance, our natural desire for immortal life, there arises in consciousness the notion of activity. This also is an abstract idea, second only, in order of generality, to the idea of being. Concerning its origin, philosophers are not agreed. One theory holds that it is derived from our knowledge of transactions in the outer world, and then applied, in a secondary way, to our conscious life. According to another theory, it originates in our knowledge of ourselves, and is projected to things outside; so that we interpret the world in terms derived from our inner experience. In either case, it retains its importance for the question before us. For when we use it in reference to conscious processes, the application is immediate; the idea of activity gets itself realized at once in the feeling of activity. Whereas, when we

apply this concept to what occurs in the brain, we travel by a roundabout path. It is only through a series of inferences that we are led to the point where we can speak confidently of "cerebral activity", and, even then, we are not prepared to state exactly what this activity is. The assertion, in particular, that every process in the mind has a parallel process in the brain, is based on indirect evidence; and the assumption that the mental activity depends essentially upon the brain activity, has still less to offer in its favor.

To the discussion of this point, we must now return, equipped with the various items of information which our analysis of the desire for immortality has yielded. The mind, we have seen, is capable of processes which are just the reverse of what we should expect from a material organ. It is able, on one hand, to transfigure to its own forms the world of real objects, and, on the other, to set out its own subjective states as objects for its reflection. And, finally, it verifies, by immediate intuition of its processes that concept of activity which it applies, by circuitous routes, to the changes that occur in the brain.

What interpretation shall we put upon these facts of consciousness? The very least that we can say is, that the phenomena of mind differ radically from the phenomena of matter. Assuming that they run on in parallel series, we must still admit that the processes in the mental series are not identical in origin and connection with the processes in the other series. But can we content ourselves with this conception of mind as a series? The question has been more than once asked by eminent psychologists: how can a series become aware of itself? How, in other words, shall we account for the fact of reflection, if mind is simply a linking together of mental states? And to these queries we may add one which seems to be pertinent. How, on this supposition, could the idea of a series ever have arisen in the mind? The state or process which is at this moment in consciousness, certainly cannot look beyond itself to future states; and at most, if it is alert enough, it can catch but a glimpse of the state that immediately precedes it. It seems more rational to say that we form the idea of a series because there is something permanent which holds together successive states.

The substance of mind, we are sometimes told, is distinguished from all material things because it is simple, while they are compound. It has no parts, one outside of the other, and therefore no extension, no divisibility. Hence, too, it cannot be broken to pieces or decomposed. And thanks to this simplicity, it survives when the organism decays, it suffers no diminution, it is immortal.

This argument, of course, is attractive. It seems, at first glance, to be the best translation into philosophical conclusions of those facts which are found in consciousness. But it is not the meaning which presents itself most forcefully to St. Thomas. He admits, I need scarcely say, that simplicity is a characteristic of the soul: but, in this respect, the soul is not an exceptional being. All those internal principles which initiate the action of living things—the plant-soul and the brute-soul—are simple and indivisible: yet they are not, on that account, insured against death. They perish, because the organism which supports them is destroyed—as the current that causes the carbon or wire to glow, stops short when the circuit is broken.

Suppose now that the current were able to maintain itself, that it supplied the dynamo with power and the wire with conductivity. In such a state of things, we might easily understand how the electricity would continue, though the dynamo should break down and the wire should burn out.

Somewhat analogous to this is the mode of existence which St. Thomas ascribes to the soul. Not as a simple substance, but as a real being capable of acting in and through itself, capable, therefore, of independent subsistence, the soul is immortal.

Let us examine briefly the several propositions woven into this argument. One declares: that which is capable of independent subsistence, is immortal. This, I think, will be granted, if only we remember that, according to St. Thomas, the subsistence in question implies independence, both from things outside and from any detachable internal principle. Man, though subsistent, is not immortal, because he has in himself the principle of his being—he, as man, is not that principle.

Another proposition : The soul is capable of independent subsistence. What evidence have we for this statement ? The only evidence that can be furnished or demanded—namely, that the soul manifests an activity which proceeds from itself, and not from the organism as a joint factor. We know that sensation, imagination and emotion issue from the soul through the body ; they are organic. But, the very qualities and conditions that adapt the body to these functions, are just the reverse of what is required for such processes as the idea of being, reflection and the perception of self. It is unthinkable that vision should take place without an eye, or hearing without an ear ; and it is equally unthinkable that any material organ, more complex even than the brain, should bring forth an abstract idea.

But, it may be urged, though the brain does not produce the idea, though it does not, to use a hackneyed expression, “secrete thought,” yet, it is an indispensable factor, a *conditio sine qua non* of all mental activity. A thousand facts attest this dependence, and one fact is of more weight than much metaphysics.

This, of course, is the crucial point ; and, while we cannot discuss it fully at present, it is worth while considering it from St. Thomas’ position. Here, then, are the precise terms of the problem. We are certain that in our intellectual processes, the mind is somehow active ; the brain, at any rate, does not do everything. But again, we are informed that the brain activity, considered apart from the conscious activity, is merely a tangle of intricate movements—a labyrinth of particles darting to and fro. And it is evident that movement cannot be transformed into thought. If, therefore, this cerebral activity plays a part, and an important part, in our conscious life, it must be in virtue of some acquired characteristic, which differentiates it from the behavior of merely physical energy ; it must be owing to the efficacy of some principle that is superior to any material agency. Now this principle which permeates, actuates and, in some manner, transforms the matter and the movement of the brain, is, according to St. Thomas, the soul itself. Consequently, the parallel is not between the

soul-activity on one side and a series of mechanical processes on the other ; but between one phase of activity issuing directly from the soul, and another phase of its activity which first, as it were, sinks down into the organic structure, and then emerges at the level of consciousness, as sensation or sensory image.

But, on this basis, it follows that the dependence whereof we speak, is, in the last analysis, a dependence of the soul upon itself. Any function that the brain can put forward to validate its claim as a sharer in the soul's activity, is borrowed from the soul. And therefore, strictly speaking, it is truer to say that the brain depends upon the soul, than to say that the soul depends upon the brain. Whence also it follows that the soul is not only the source of its own peculiar activities, but that it supplies and supports the entire activity and life of the body ; it not only subsists by an inviolable right to reality, but it confers upon the organism the title to real existence.

We are thus brought in view of our final interpretation, in which the various items of the discussion may be summarized.

The natural craving of man for immortality is an unmistakable fact of consciousness. It implies in the soul certain activities, which, in turn, are evidence that the soul is capable of independent existence. When, therefore, the question is submitted : Does the soul survive when, at death, the material organism falls away from it ? The verdict of reason would seem to be this. Judging by what we know of the soul's nature and of its relations to the body, it must survive, must be, in other words, immortal. The longing for life is no illusion ; it is simply the stirring within us of that impulse which the Supreme Intelligence and Will imparts to the soul in making it, like Himself, an intellectual being.

Thereby is manifested the sovereign purpose to which the Universe, in its orderly arrangement, is directed. Each concrete material thing is a limited expression of the Divine Idea. The original which, in God's mind is one, is imitated by a multitude of copies. In our thought, this multitude is again reduced to unity ; so that our thinking, in spite of its imper-

fection, is a closer imitation of the thought of God. But, as every imitation suggests the original, arouses a desire to attain the original, so, the very trend of our minds, in the ceaseless pursuit of knowledge, is really towards the Source of Truth. Immortality, therefore, is more than the fulfillment of our personal desire. It is the completion, in a higher, more perfect life, of the cycle of thought and volition which, issuing from God, returns, through human intelligence, to Him, as the ultimate aim of order in the world.

EDWARD A. PACE.

THE "RECONSTRUCTION" OF CHRISTIANITY.

I.—MR. HYDE'S ESSAY IN RECONSTRUCTION.

The distinguished president of Bowdoin College has recently published a little book full of instruction for all who take an interest, either practical or speculative, in the crisis through which religious thought is passing among those who may be considered the mental descendants of the Reformation.¹ An ever-increasing tendency to dispense with all creed or dogmatic belief, and to supply its place by making the moral element the sole essential of religion is at work everywhere among Christian sects outside the Catholic Church. It is popularly expressed in the saying that what a man believes is of no importance provided he obeys his conscience and leads a moral life. Earnest men, alarmed at the rapidity with which the process of disintegration and destruction has run its course in the religious sphere, are devoting much thought to placing morality on a rock from which it may defy the tide of unbelief and scepticism which is so rapidly sweeping away the shifting sands on which was reared dogmatic Protestantism. When it is presumed that modern science has demonstrated that the miraculous and the supernatural are synonymous with the absurd and the impossible, the only basis of moral values is to be found in a natural theism, which seeks the ultimate sanction of conscience in the will of God. On this plane, undoubtedly, a consistent system of natural religion and natural morality may be evolved. But there are many who, while they reject the supernatural as impossible, yet from a desire to establish some appearance of continuity between their views and historic Protestantism, or from a consciousness of the beauty and efficacy of institutions which belong to dogmatic religion, endeavor to make a place for them in a system based on pure rationalism.

To all of these facts Mr. Hyde bears eloquent witness. He considers that the general acceptance of the doctrine of evo-

¹God's Education of Man, by William De Witt Hyde, Boston, 1899.

lution and the universal diffusion of the results of historical and Biblical criticism have demolished all theological systems.¹ At present "the current creed of Christendom is a chaos of contradiction. Truths and lies, facts and fancies, intuitions and superstitions, essentials and excrescences, all bound in one bundle of tradition, which the honest believer finds hard to swallow whole and which the honest doubter is equally reluctant *in toto* to reject."² "There is," he states, "no accepted body of doctrine, clear cut, well reasoned, consistently and comprehensively thought out, which you can count upon hearing when you enter a Christian church."³ He recognizes that such a state of chaos is naturally repugnant to the human mind. We are steadily impelled by a law of our rational nature to establish some consistency in our beliefs and some rational ground for our practical conduct. There are a great many, dimly conscious that they are holding intellectual principles at variance with religious modes of thought, and religious practices which appeal strongly to their emotional part. In response to this innate craving for consistency, Mr. Hyde would endeavor to find some point of view which will bring harmony out of chaos, and from which the various beliefs of Protestant Christianity, as it exists to-day, which now seem in hopeless disorder and conflict, will appear but the mutually dependent parts of an orderly system. The task which Mr. Hyde undertakes is a reconstruction of Christianity "adjusted to modern scientific and philosophical conceptions." He will "restate in modern terms the essential truths which the ancient doctrines of sin, redemption and sanctification sought to express."⁴ He undertakes to discover "the germ of life in the old and somewhat decrepit body of current tradition," "and from that vital germ we must breed the fair and vigorous body of the faith that is to be." The new faith will, he thinks, be a reproduction of the essential features of the old in fresh vigorous functional relationship.⁵

We have said that Mr. Hyde's book is instructive. But, in saying so we do not mean that Mr. Hyde's views commend

¹Op. cit. p. 46.

²Ib. p. 1.

³Ib. p. 47.

⁴Ib. Introduction, p. iv.

⁵Ib. p. 2.

themselves to reason, or that he has succeeded in making one step toward the goal that he proposed to himself. The interest with which we follow him is not that which is worked by a satisfactory demonstration, but that with which one sees the destruction of a false hypothesis by a *reductio ad absurdum*. The book affords instruction in the same way as information is given to the student of pathology by an organism displaying the workings of a malignant disease which has almost run its course and is overpowering the flickering forces of life as it hastens rapidly to the inevitable catastrophe. In the phase of religious life which Mr. Hyde's book lays open for us, we see the outcome of the two characteristic tenets of the Reformation. One, that is justification by faith alone, has been displaced by its direct contradictory, which makes morality the be-all and the end-all of religion. The other, the principle of private judgment as opposed to authority, pursuing its development under the rigorous laws of logical thought, is extinguishing successively every feature that differentiates Christianity from natural theism. These object-lessons of Mr. Hyde's book we shall endeavor briefly to bring out.

Turning to the table of contents one finds enumerated all the fundamental doctrines of orthodox Christianity:—Christ, the Son of God; The Holy Spirit, the Doctrine of the Trinity; Sin and Atonement; the Function of Dogma; Grace; Vicarious Sacrifice; the Sacrifice and Forgiveness of Christ. Rationalist and orthodox believer will heartily agree that the pages which are to restate these doctrines of supernatural religion in terms of a scientific system which rejects the supernatural, root and branch, either will consist chiefly of verbal inanities or they will reveal an intellect mightier far than any that has ever devoted itself to philosophic meditation. A perusal of the book can hardly fail to convince any careful reader that Mr. Hyde's logical powers of either analysis or synthesis, as far as they are exhibited in it, are as inefficient as his moral earnestness is worthy of commendation and respect. It would be a sheer waste of time to point out that the meaning which Mr. Hyde attaches to these various terms has nothing in common with the one that for centuries they have conveyed to the believer.

But to illustrate the falseness of Mr. Hyde's position, and the impossibility of any "reconstruction of Christianity" on a merely natural and non-miraculous basis, it will be sufficient to show that consistently with his attitude toward the supernatural he cannot attach any real sense at all to the terms which he nominally retains.

Let us take for granted what every theist and every Christian holds to be true, that the Universal Will of God is the ultimate standard of right and wrong, that morality and the whole duty of man consists in keeping his will and conduct in harmony with the Divine Will. We must point out, however, that when Mr. Hyde assumes this as an indisputable truth, in his attempt to restate ancient doctrine in terms of modern evolutionary views, he has to deal with the fact that the great apostle of evolution as applied to the moral life, Mr. Herbert Spencer, eliminates God entirely from the moral problem.

The first and most important subject for consideration is, of course, what we are to hold concerning the Founder of Christianity. Mr. Hyde, rejecting the supernatural, sees in Jesus a man more gifted, with a deeper moral and religious insight than any other, but nowise essentially different from his fellows. He had no miraculous mission, no special and peculiar authority from the great First Cause. His authority as a moral and religious teacher was of the same kind as that which Sir Isaac Newton had to publish his *Principia*, or Mr. Spencer to give the world his *First Principles*—the authority which any man has to impart useful information. Now, antecedently to the birth of Jesus, the consciousness of a universal moral order had emerged in various and frequently grotesque forms. Slowly there arose, chiefly among the Hebrew people, the consciousness that justice and mercy are the true adjustments of the individual to the social environment, the supreme demands of the Divine Will. This insight, of the Hebrew prophets which, Mr. Hyde remarks, tallied with the analysis of the Greek philosophers, was taken up by Jesus and made the central principle of His religion. Besides, Jesus recognizing that the Universal Will must be personal, conceived the

happy thought of designating it by the name of Father. So when Jesus called Himself the Son of God it was a metaphorical expression of the relation in which he as a human creature stood, and in which all human creatures stand to the Universal Source of all reality. Thus far the rationalist will go along amicably with Mr. Hyde. The Christian will waive his right to ask a few pertinent questions as to the how that "modern science," which believes in gradual development from lower to higher forms, can account for the strange fact that an illiterate Jew should have conceived a moral system incomparably more harmonious, beautiful and perfect than can be made from any synthesis of all that is best in ancient philosophy.

But Mr. Hyde's difficulties with the rationalist begin when he proceeds to unfold his views of Christ. "An effective spiritual and social movement must have a human head, a personal Lord, a real Master. Such a Lord and Master the Christian finds in Christ."¹ Again Mr. Hyde writes, "the man or church that presumes to separate the doing of the Will of God from loyalty to the person of Jesus Christ is sure to become as amateurish as the novice in any art or science who ventures to disregard the best that has been done before him and to set up on his own account. For a man or church the measure of devotion and love to Jesus Christ is the accurate and infallible measure of practical power, etc."² Mr. Hyde tells us then, that in order to place our will in due harmony with the Universal Will, we must have a personal love for, and acknowledge as our living Lord and Master, a certain man who passed out of existence nearly two thousand years ago. Now, speaking in the name of the modern "scientific" spirit which rejects the supernatural, we respectfully submit that this is absurd. Personal love and loyalty requires that the object of it should be in existence. We cherish the memory of the dead, we venerate their character and respect their last wishes. If they have been conspicuous teachers we accept their views as long as they are found to be in harmony with our extended knowledge. But modern science has no knowledge of an existence beyond the grave. It has but a smile of contemptuous pity for the man who still acknowledges the empire of superstition

¹Ib. p. 27.

²Ib.

so far as to fancy that there exists any real communication between the living and the dead. Christ was an ethical leader, essentially identical in nature with Socrates for example, or any other of those Greek philosophers whose analysis, to use Mr. Hyde's expression, coincided with the doctrine of Christ. Now Mr. Hyde would hardly admit that a man who should find in the lofty doctrine of the Academy his highest ideal could "unsphere the spirit of Plato" and enter into personal communion with it. Yet to the modern sciences, before whose judgments Mr. Hyde respectfully bows, Jesus is no more an actuality than is Plato. There is a large amount of noble morality to be found in the Avesta. Benevolence towards our fellows, which is the sum total of Christian morality in Mr. Hyde's estimation, is inculcated as frequently as it is in the New Testament. Yet modern scientists, and we may presume Mr. Hyde too, would shrug their shoulders as at another of human vagaries if a Parsee were to talk of personal union with Zoroaster, and loyalty to him as a personal Lord and Master. Yet in what does the position of Jesus radically differ from that of Zoroaster? Both were noble men, but men they were; they died and worms have eaten them. The modern mathematician embodies in his knowledge the principles which Newton and Descartes first brought to light. But he does not talk or think any such absurdity as that an acceptance of their conclusions postulates personal love and loyalty to these departed worthies. The modern artist may derive great assistance from the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo, or the Medicean Venus, without conceiving any personal love for the producers of these immortal works. Certainly it is in the form of the concrete and the personal that moral instruction appeals to us most efficaciously. When we come in contact with other persons we are all subject to influences which are so strongly produced by some that personal magnetism has become a commonplace word. But a lapse of nineteen hundred years prevents such contact between us and Jesus of Nazareth. It might have been eminently proper to some one of his contemporary disciples to speak in the strain which Mr. Hyde adopts, but the nineteenth century is too late a day for such possibilities. The life of Christ brings more vividly before our minds the beauty of

morality ; his realization of his own teachings, adds to them double weight ; and in his conduct we have an admirable ideal to hold before us. "Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime." Patriotism receives a new vigor from the perusal of the story of Winkelried or the history of the army of Valley Forge. Our will to do good to our fellows is stimulated strongly as we read the biographies of Flora Nightingale and John Howard. But this impetus which we experience towards virtue fails to bring us into communication with the gallant Switzer or the Continental army. Flora Nightingale and John Howard can be communed with only at a spiritualistic seance. And our relation to these various illustrious examples of particular virtues is radically the same as our relation to the person who offers us the best example of all the virtues combined. To the consistent rationalist, along with whom Mr. Hyde rejects the supernatural, Mr. Hyde's language belongs to the realm of the imagination, and is a statement of nothing in the terms of modern science.

But Mr. Hyde has in store for us views still more repulsive to the rationalist mind. We are not merely to entertain personal love for and loyalty to this dead man. While fully admitting that this deceased man was nowise essentially different from anybody else, yet because he had a profound apprehension of the moral law, and put his knowledge into practice, Mr. Hyde declares that unless we worship this man as Divine, our belief in the existence of God must perish. He writes : "When Jesus Christ is thus accepted as the historic embodiment of the Will of God it is the most natural thing in the world to identify him with the will which he embodies, and to worship him as divine."¹

"If God be to us," he continues, "not the problematical product of some far-fetched speculation concerning the ultimate origin of the cosmic process, but the manifest presence of a holy will working for the righteousness and blessedness of man, and if Christ be to us the historic bearer and the supreme personal expression, and ultimate spiritual interpreter of that blessed will of God—then to call this man Jesus less than

¹Ib. p. 29.

divine or to quarrel with the title Son of God is to empty the very name of God of all the historic associations and concrete content that gives it worth and makes it worshipful. To deny divinity to Christ is to relegate all divinity whatever to the far-off shadowy realms of metaphysical enquiry. If the flesh and blood of the man whose meat and drink it was to do the Will of God be not divine, then the days of faith in a living God are numbered and the feet of the agnostic are at the door to carry out the corpse."¹ These statements contain a large measure of objective truth. They do credit to Mr. Hyde's heart; and afford a proof of Tertullian's saying "*anima humana naturaliter Christiana*." But while the emotional side prompts them, he can assent to them only by ignoring the protests of his intellect, as long as he holds that the founder of Christianity was a mere human being. In his first chapter he unfolds his grounds for believing in the existence of God: the human mind is compelled to postulate a Universal Reality as the basis of all human relationships; a Universal Intelligence and Will as the necessary postulate of human thought and will. "This absolute Thought and Universal Will is the unescapable reality which the world agrees to call God."² Morality and religion consist in the devout acceptance of the Will of God. As a rationalist I accept this doctrine; I agree furthermore with Mr. Hyde in recognizing Jesus of Nazareth to have been the best exponent—theoretically and practically—of morality, which history has shown. But when Mr. Hyde tells me I can not continue to hold these beliefs, and to act upon them unless I adore this man, and hold his flesh and blood to be divine, I perceive that Mr. Hyde has ceased to use the language of reason. For Mr. Hyde, as long as he adheres to his fundamental position this nominal deification of a man is but meaningless verbiage. Besides, what grounds has he for assuming that Christ is the "supreme and ultimate" interpreter of the Will of God? Uninterrupted development is the watchword of the age; it is the continual process of development, and the advance of science which, in the opinion of Mr. Hyde, and all his school, have exploded the creeds of the past, and rendered

¹Ib. p. 30.²Ib. p. 7.

a "reconstruction of Christianity" imperative, in order that it may have the approbation of our reason. If this is true, then it is absurd to suppose that an uneducated Jew, two thousand years ago, spoke the last word that human intelligence is ever to know concerning the moral evolution of the cosmic process. The Actuality of the Infinite is inexhaustible, and human intelligence, though it may never compass Infinity, must nevertheless continue to ascend to higher peaks of discovery, and gain an ever widening horizon of knowledge, reaching a deeper and deeper insight into human nature and the relations of men to men, and of all to the great First Cause. Where then is there any ground for assuming that one mind has exhausted the most intricate feature of the Infinite problem? The ethics and moral code of Jesus are valid and authoritative to the rationalist just so far forth as our reason approves of them: to assign to them any transcendent objective authority involves the implication that they are not the product of the human mind. In this way does Mr. Hyde continually entangle himself; he concedes the rationalistic axiom that the supernatural is impossible, yet he continually makes assertions that either mean nothing or imply that the character of Christ was more than human. Again what can divinity mean, except as a mere hyperbole, when applied to a man? If a finite moral cause, by acting in harmony with the First Cause, is to be identified with it, why not physical causes which are always by an inexorable necessity in perfect accord with it? And if we thus identify them we have passed the dividing line between Pantheism and Theism. Then logically we must go a step further and admit that all secondary causes are but the manifestations of the Primary, and if so, the distinction of right and wrong has vanished.

Another consideration will illustrate the extravagant character of Mr. Hyde's attempt to speak of Christ in terms of orthodoxy, while standing on a rationalistic platform. While he approves the moral code of Christ as the most reasonable, there are many minds who believe as firmly as he does in the existence of a Supreme Being, and trace the moral law to that Universal Will, yet who take not Christ but some other personage to be the historic exponent of the Divine Will. Now

according to Mr. Hyde's logic these persons would have the same right to confer the title of Son of God upon their historic ideal, as Mr. Hyde has to apply it to Christ. To be consistent, Mr. Hyde should admit that a pious Mahometan ought to call his Prophet the Son of God, and maintain that if the flesh and blood of Mahomet be not divine then the days of faith in a living God are numbered. Mr. Hyde, we judge, would not consider this a possible concession. Besides, is it not the height of the absurd for any one who rejects the supernatural and miraculous to speak of the flesh and blood of a man, which must long since have disappeared in the cosmic process, as if they were actually in existence?

Throughout his entire treatment of his subject Mr. Hyde continues to use language quite intelligible from an orthodox standpoint, but utterly incoherent on the hypothesis that Jesus was only a mere mortal being. The soul is assumed to be in communion with that of the Master. For example,—“the external sacrament of baptism is a welcome assurance against the conflicting witness of the rebellious elements within. The reproduction of the Christ-like example and spirit within him is so slow and partial that he doubts whether he belongs to Christ after all. Then the sacrament of the Lord's Supper brings direct from the instituting will of the Master the assurance that to all who in earnestness and sincerity will do a simple act expressive of their desire to receive Him, to them and so often as they do it, Christ gives Himself anew, with pardon for their sins and fresh strength for the renewal of the struggle.”¹ Now if the rebellious elements within me are asserting themselves so that my will is not conforming to the Universal Will what welcome assurance or source of strength have I in the fact that once upon a time, possibly when I was incapable of giving even a passive consent to the performance, somebody poured a little water on my head to signify that my parents were desirous that I should be instructed in the ethics of Christ? It would be just as reasonable to fancy that a clerk in a merchant's office on finding himself strongly inclined to embezzle some of his employer's money should find a welcome

¹ *Ib.* p. 158.

assurance in the reflection that once he had toddled around the nursery wearing a badge on which was printed "I am a good boy." How, again, can eating a cake and drinking a glass of wine, even though I wish thereby to typify my adhesion to the doctrine of Christ, give me a man who has been dead twenty centuries, with or without forgiveness of sins, or fresh strength for the conflict? If my will is in harmony with the Universal Will, the Omniscient is aware of the fact; if not, the consumption of no amount of cake and wine will establish that harmony. Those ceremonies, or any other such, may serve as a gracious commemoration of a Teacher, they may help as a bond of fraternal union among those who share the same ethical views, and may thereby contribute to the general enthusiasm. The explosion of gunpowder and parades contribute, according to popular opinion, to nourish our patriotism. But even the extensive license for the use of hyperbole conceded to patriotic orators would be exceeded by anyone who should venture to say that George Washington gives himself to us on such occasions. Yet if we reject the supernatural, in deference to modern positivism, then we know just as much about George Washington's continued existence as we do about Christ's; the soul of the one is just as likely to communicate itself to us as the soul of the other. And when shall we find—what Mr. Hyde says we have, without indicating whence we derive them—"the best possible grounds of assurance that every soul that does enter here and now into the divine life of love, into the service of Christ, into the fellowship of the spirit, will not be suffered to drop into nothingness, but will be raised with Christ in the power of the spirit into a blessed immortality."¹ The modern science into which Mr. Hyde feels it imperatively necessary to translate Christianity knows nothing of such assurance, and when it does not deny, shakes its head dubiously at the hypothesis. Is immortality to be taken for granted on the word of Christ? He knew what his reason could discover, since he was but a man, and no more concerning the problem which has haunted the human mind for ages. We look in vain through all his reported discourses for any argument that proves the immortality of the soul. Plato attempted to

¹Ib. p. 44.

demonstrate it, Christ never. He may have believed it, but as a man, he knew no more about it with certainty than, to use an illustration from Mr. Hyde, he knew about the problems of history and criticism in the world to-day. If he were a mere man, then about this question he knew just as much as Voltaire's *Zadig*: "Il en savait ce qu'on en a su dans tous les âges—c'est-à-dire fort peu de chose." If we are to re-state religion in terms of modern science—assuming that modern science has disproved the supernatural—the less we say about immortality the better. When it strikes the note of immortality modern science gives a very discordant sound. And Mr. Hyde has nothing but philosophical reasoning to fall back upon when investigating this topic. It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Hyde through his "reconstruction" of the other great doctrines of Christianity; he pursues the same method everywhere, and everywhere reaches similar results. Vicarious suffering is the opposition and hardship which a social reformer experiences in his endeavor to benefit others. Justification by faith signifies the confidence we feel in a person whose influence over us tends to raise us to a higher moral plane. Grace is the fulfillment of the moral law, not from a sense of obligation, but from a sense of gratitude towards God, or benevolence towards men. "When I do or refrain from doing something, not because the law outside me says I must, but because gratitude and loyalty within me say I ought, then I have passed from bondage to liberty, from law to grace, from dead works to a living faith."¹ Again, Mr. Hyde writes, "all service freely rendered to others without hope of reward is a manifestation of grace."² Grace, then, is something superior to the mere observance of the law of right and wrong, as a law, something transcending mere morality. Yet when exposing the ethical basis of morality and religion, Mr. Hyde makes both consist, in all their perfection, in doing the work of God, because it is the Universal Law; and "the man who has this disposition has God in his life, Christ in his heart, the Holy Spirit in his soul."³ Surely this disposition implies gratitude towards God,

¹ *Ib.* p. 115.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* p. 12.

and benevolence to our fellows; if so, then to draw a sharp distinction between conduct prompted by these motives and observance of the Universal Will, recognized as the law of right and wrong, is a mere stringing together of words which convey no intelligible ideas.

The hollowness of Mr. Hyde's essay towards an outlining of the "reorganized faith of the future (which) will not be such a very different faith from the faith of the fathers" comes out still more palpably in his effort to make a place for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. When we conform our conduct to any law or ideal, we are said to act in the spirit of such law or ideal. A great statesman or eminent lawyer is said to have imbibed the spirit of the Constitution. The expression is intelligible to even the illiterate and is recognized by them to be a mere figure of speech, indicating a particular disposition or attitude of the will. This disposition is something attaching to the individual in the same way as any particular manner in which he carries his body. Now this figure of speech, by the simple device of using two capital letters, Mr. Hyde transforms into the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity and proceeds to speak of it in terms that might have been used by the Fathers of the Council of Nice. For example he writes: "In so far as ordinary men and women do this same will of God, they too become partakers of the Divine Nature and the Spirit of God dwelleth in them. And here again the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, dwelling in devout and humble, though frail and imperfect, human hearts, is not merely *like* God, *similar* to the Divine, but *is* God, *is of the same nature* with the Divine. Approached from this point of view, the divinity of the Holy Spirit is as self-evident and obvious as the divinity of Christ Himself."¹ Again we say that the words of Mr. Hyde in the mouth of an orthodox Christian would express a profound truth. But for him who holds that Christ was a mere man and that only what we can discover and prove by the help of our reason alone is to be accepted in the domain of religion as in that of science, they are what Mr. Herbert Spencer would call symbolic concepts of the

¹ *Ib.* p. 81.

illegitimate order, "altogether vicious and illusive, and in no way distinguishable from pure fictions."

The ancient Romans deified abstract qualities such as Pallor, Constantia, Verecundia : the "reconstructed Christianity" is largely made up of similar features. Besides the ethical basis from which Mr. Hyde started, common to Christianity and purely rational Theism, it contains nothing but a liberal apotheosis of metaphor. A consistent rationalist must regard Mr. Hyde's essay in reconstruction as a futile attempt to obscure Theism, through a darkening of counsel by words without wisdom. The procedure, he will add, is not merely useless, but positively pernicious, since it obscures the sound scientific conception of religion by arraying it in the tawdry rags of extinct superstition. That such a performance could emanate from a man who has accepted the principles of rationalism he would probably regard as an evidence of the tenacity with which anthropomorphism clings to the religious mind. On the other hand if any souls perplexed by the prevalent condition of scepticism and confusion should look to it for some clue to a reconciliation of their Christian faith with the rationalism of to-day they cannot but be reminded of the

" juggling fiends

"That palter to us in a double sense,

"That keep the word of promise to our ear

"And break it to our hope."

Rationalism I know and Christianity I know ; but what art thou ?

II.—THE CAUSE OF DECOMPOSITION.

The widely prevalent movement of to-day to cast aside all dogmatic belief and confine religion to ethical good, is an eloquent comment on the teachings of the Reformation. If two doctrines were to be selected as being common to all the Reformed churches, the first would, of course, be that of the right of private judgment as opposed to authority. The second might be that which affirmed that justification and favor before God depended on faith alone, to the exclusion of moral good works. The latter indeed was strictly a Lutheran tenet ; but

its influence was exerted far outside Lutheranism, and may be traced in the theology and even in the popular hymns of all forms of Protestantism. The latter doctrine struck at what is vital in natural religion ; the former was the implicit rejection of the supernatural.

By the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which Luther defended against Catholic theologians, moral conduct is denied to have any bearing on the relation in which the soul stands to God. Man is pleasing or displeasing to Him, according to Luther, not because he fulfills or violates the moral law but accordingly as he does or does not place all his confidence in the merits of Christ's redemption. He continually draws the strictest line of separation between religion and morality. The moral law is not to be allowed to intrude upon or disturb the conscience. The observance of the moral law is to be no pre-occupation of the regenerated soul that clings steadfastly to Christ. The maintenance of that law he would leave to civil authority as a necessity of temporal order. His famous dictum : *Pecca fortiter et crede fortius* is the formulation of the doctrine in all its naked extravagance. The moral and religious nature of man, in which the tendency to believe in a Supreme Being has always been accompanied with a corresponding belief that this Being is the vigilant guardian of the moral law, was a sufficient guarantee that this extraordinary doctrine should never become widely applied to the conduct of life. But, as a theoretical principle this severance of religion and morality has contributed a great deal to bring about the anti-religious movement in modern ethics which aimed at establishing morality on a basis entirely independent of any belief in God. There has been in our time, with a vast parade of biology, an attempt to demonstrate that the disappearance of all religion might take place without any injury to genuine morality. The proposition is but a corollary of the one that asserts religion to be entirely above and superior to morality. One consolatory conclusion we may draw from the present widespread movement to make the moral life the essential of religion, is that the efforts of the ethical schools of Mill and Spencer have failed in their purpose of convincing the present generation that morality needs not God for a background.

To-day, the successors of the men who maintained against the Catholic Church that morality is no element of religion, are proclaiming that, on the contrary, it is the one eternal essential of all true religion. It is a suggestive spectacle when we see the children endeavoring to stay the ruin and dilapidation of the paternal mansion by making the stone which the father rejected the head of the corner. Thus the whirligig of time brings round its revenge.

The other and the fundamental principle of the Reformation, that of the right of private judgment to the exclusion of authority, is essentially a principle of destruction and disintegration. When it was introduced into a religion professing to have an authoritative creed, that religion contained within itself two elements which could not permanently co-exist. Catholic writers since the days of Bellarmine have been insisting upon this truth. Three hundred years have been required, however, for its practical demonstration. But the chaotic condition of Protestant belief and doctrine to-day, to which Mr. Hyde, among hundreds of others testifies, is a demonstration that he who runs may read. From the first the character of the principle displayed itself by the ever-increasing divisions and sects into which the great Protestant bodies were rent. Variation of belief is a necessary consequence of it. If the judgment of the individual is the ultimate tribunal and authority in religious affairs, then as no two minds are exactly alike the views on religion are practically numberless. If there is agreement between two or more, that agreement comes not in virtue of this principle but in spite of it. Some form of authority and unity was, of course very illogically, retained by each Protestant body; such authority succeeded more or less in holding members together in some kind of loose external union. Legal establishment and social forces gave a prolonged lease of existence to many. But the disintegrating force worked on incessantly within. "The Bible and the Bible alone as the religion of Protestants" long served as a shibboleth; for the Bible was looked upon as the very Word of God. Protestantism has taken the Bible to be the Word of God, on the authority of the Catholic Church, at the same time denying that authority. The position was absurd from the first

day ; but time and circumstance were required to bring out the contradiction. Now the hour and the occasion have come. Modern scepticism denies the inspiration of the Scriptures ; and declares them, on the contrary, to be as purely a production of the human mind as the *Rig - Veda* or *Romeo and Juliet*. Various criteria have been imagined by different sects to prove the divine authorship, but all have been ruled out of court as incapable of offering any reliable testimony. The Divine Author Himself refuses to give any indication that the book is His. Protestantism stands in abject discomfiture before its merciless antagonist. The thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession have equally ceased to have any binding force on those who are nominally supposed to adhere to them. And the officials whose place it is to watch over the faith of ministers and people see the absurdity and futility of making an attempt to enforce uniformity of belief.

The absurdity of pretending any longer, under such circumstances, to have any definite belief at all is becoming so glaring that the more logical thinkers are openly calling for an abandonment of the pretence. In a recent issue of a magazine that till lately was a powerful religious publication we find these observations : "Nowadays that church is most fortunate which has no creed ; next, that church is fortunate which has crowded its creed against the cover and forgotten that it is there. Next come these churches which are slipping out of their bonds."¹ How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! For three hundred years Protestant divines, preachers, historians, writers of every kind never wearied of the theme that the strength, and the blessedness and the glory of Protestantism lay in the fact that it brought the soul into direct communion with God who spoke to it in the Sacred Scriptures. To show their appreciation of the Word of God, their accepted style of speaking of the Bible was such as might have been used, if the material volume were believed to have been a direct emanation from the Divine Substance. And concurrently, every European language was exhausted, for ten generations, to find terms that might, however inadequately,

¹ The Independent, March 8, 1900, p. 616.

depict the wickedness and depravity of the Scarlet Woman, who chained up the Bible, depressed its authority, and thrust herself between the thirsty soul and the living fountain of everlasting truth. Look on that picture and on this! To-day one-half of Protestantism openly declares that the Bible is a merely human and very fallible book. The others are attracting the scorn of every man who appreciates intellectual honesty, as he watches them resort to every kind of evasion and subterfuge to escape the necessity of making any declaration as to what they hold on the question of the authority of the Scriptures. Meantime, while the children of Luther and Calvin are seeking pretexts to disown the language of their fathers, the Roman Pontiff, on the same ground on which his predecessors stood, stands, solitary and not ashamed, the one uncompromising defender of the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

Occasionally we find a writer dwelling on this decline of dogmatic belief as an indication of the innate vitality of Protestantism. Mr. Lecky, for example, considers it a proof of the flexibility of Protestantism that it should have assimilated so well and victoriously with modern rationalism.¹ But when the logical basis of both systems of thought are examined we find them identical—the recognition of the supremacy of reason as the sole test of truth. The struggle has not been between Protestantism and Rationalism, but between the spirit of private judgment and the dogmatic element inside Protestantism; and progress towards harmony is made by the gradual absorption of the latter by the former. Then both are identified, and creeds have vanished, a condition which is fast becoming the universal one among the greater number of nominal Protestants to-day. Rationalism is triumphant; but ancient names are retained, while the religion which they once stood for has departed. There is now in process an imitation of that legal fiction by which when there is no heir to an estate and it is devised to an outsider on condition that he assume the family name, the extinct race is supposed to live on. Protestant historians are at a loss to account for the fact

¹ See *History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*. Vol. I, chaps. II, III, *passim*.

that Protestantism has never gained an inch of ground from Catholicity beyond what it obtained in the original upheaval of the Reformation. Macaulay has drawn attention to this truth in some of his most classic pages. He has expressed his wonder that during the great changes of the eighteenth century no minds should have found a resting place between Catholicity and Infidelity, that "when a Catholic renounces his belief in the real presence, it was a thousand to one that he renounced his belief in the Gospel too; and when reaction took place, with the belief in the Gospel came back belief in the real presence." Mr. Lecky too bears witness to the fact: "whatever is lost of Catholicism is gained by Rationalism; wherever the spirit of Rationalism recedes the spirit of Catholicism advances." We suspect that if Macaulay, who with all his prejudices was an honest historian, were alive to-day the mystery would be solved for him. In any case free-thinkers and Catholics alike have never found any mystery in the matter at all. For they have always seen that there is no logical half-way ground between Catholicity and infidelity. Protestantism, which pretended to be such a halting place, was but a temporary makeshift that could not endure. The philosophy of the phenomenon which perplexed Macaulay is condensed in the reply which an attaché of a foreign embassy in Washington once gave to a Protestant lady. When he told her that he had once been a Catholic but was so no longer, she enquired which of the Protestant churches he had joined. "Ah, Madame," he replied, "I have lost my faith, but I have not lost my reason."

Another question now presents itself, which can be but briefly touched upon at the close of this article. Having abandoned all Christian dogma, many say that provided they hold fast to Christian ethics, and practice the golden rule, they have retained all that is really valuable in Christianity, and may view with unconcern the passing of dogma. Nay, they assert the disappearance of creeds is a positive blessing, since it will bring men together, in a closer bond of brotherhood on the common ground of love to man and love to God. Fling open the churches to all of good will, and throw down the

¹Op. cit. p. 186.

barriers of creeds, which have proved nothing but sources of strife and discord. But the question is: can we give up Christian belief and retain Christian morality?

When Christianity is deprived of all native authority, and is compelled to derive all its claims to respect from the approbation of our reason—and this is done when its Founder is held to be a mere man—how long will its moral code retain its prestige? Evidently just as long as its moral code will remain in harmony with the views prevalent in the dominant portion of society. At present it is recognized as the purest and worthiest. It has undoubtedly an immense influence. But if we would calculate the chances of that influence enduring we must bear in mind that it is a legacy of times when Christianity was looked upon as Divine, when its Founder was not estimated as merely a moral genius loftier than Socrates or Zeno, but as the very Messiah, sent of God to reveal a religion and a morality which unaided human reason never could have discovered. This was the conviction among Catholics and Protestants alike which established the authority of the Christian Ideal. When that faith is relegated to oblivion the Christian standard of morals will be kept as long only as it is in harmony with the popular view. Receiving allegiance not because it addresses itself with any authority from on high to the human mind, but because reason approves it, then when other views prevail, the Christian standard will be relegated, silently perhaps, but surely to the realm of obsolete system which the world has outgrown. The principle of individual judgment bears in precisely the same way on the contents of the practical, or moral sphere as it does on the intellectual; its outcome will be the same, gradual disintegration and destruction. Indeed we see it operating in the same disastrous manner, under our eyes, in the field of Christian ethics. The teaching of Christ as to the nature and obligations imposed upon man in the most sacred of the relations which exist between him and another is deliberately ignored. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the interpretation of the text in the nineteenth chapter of St. Matthew, it will scarcely be denied that the laws of the United States concerning divorce and the widespread tendency to make the marriage contract more and more unstable

is in direct conflict with the teachings of Jesus. Thus in one of its most vital and characteristic features the Christian ideal is already marred, yet there is no cessation of the everlasting flow of cant about following the Master, and leading the Christ life. The voices which are loudest in this strain bear a strong family resemblance to the ancient voices that chanted the praises of Divine inspiration. It is to be feared that if the work of ethical disintegration proceeds at the present rate of activity, considerably less than three hundred years will be needed to leave the Catholic Church the sole champion of the ethics, as she is now left of the inspiration of the Gospel.

There is another entirely gratuitous assumption in the theory that a permanent efficient religion can be constructed by taking natural theism as a basis and rounding it out with Christian ethics. When inspiration and revelation are discredited the only justification of theism lies with philosophy. What hopes are there of any permanent agreement of philosophers as to the existence of God and the nature of man's relation to Him? The answer to this question is given by the history of philosophic speculation from the earliest records of Greek and Indian speculation down to the latest accounts of the transactions of contemporary philosophical circles, and the freshest works from eminent living thinkers. Discord and antagonism, which prevailed in the days of Plato and Epicurus, prevails just as widely in the generation which reads Herbert Spencer and Professor Royce. The followers of Schopenhauer and the followers of Kant are as much opposed to one another, as were the disciples of Plato and the disciples of Epicurus. Even the most finished mental product of exhausted nature and scientific training, the Agnostic, seems to be not quite sure of his own mind. Mr. Spencer tells us that while we are driven to postulate a First Cause, we are forbidden by our reason even to attempt to know anything further about it, or to think that we can comprehend anything about the relation in which we stand to it; and he contrived to evolve a whole system of morality without ever alluding to the existence of a First Cause. Yet Mr. Fiske, who swears in the words of the Master, tells us with no slight touch of intellectual Pharisaism that the peculiar birthright of a mind di-

ciplined in the evolution theory is to recognize that the First Cause is the "eternal source of a Moral Law which is implicated with each action of our lives, and in obedience to which lies our only guaranty of the happiness which is incorruptible."

Nobody cherishes the hope of a millennium that shall see a fundamental agreement among philosophers in their answer to the everlasting Whence? Whither? Why? How? And even if they were to reach an agreement to-morrow, they would still lack the authoritativeness necessary to make these conclusions valid for any portion of mankind. Still more would they be incapable of making their system a general rule of life and a religion. Every religion, from the lowest to the highest, received the allegiance and inspired the devotion of its followers because it was believed, rightly or wrongly, to be of divine origin. The speculations and conclusions of a philosopher may commend themselves to the intellect; but they go a very short way towards influencing the heart. The human soul is so formed that it takes a religion seriously only when it believes that religion to have a divine command, not a metaphysical or logical puzzle behind it.

"Reconstruction" is indeed a pressing necessity. But whence is it to come? Mr. Hyde's is not satisfactory, yet it is just as good as any other that can be made out of the materials provided; for all are equally worthless. Is the saviour of religion to come out of the body which hesitates to condemn Dr. McGiffert? or out of that other which did not hesitate to receive Dr. Briggs? or shall we find it in that trinity of Western bishops so sublimely devoid of the sense of humor that they lately presented the world with an Encyclical

There is but one principle possessing the power of endurance and reconstruction. That is the principle of authority. The present condition of intellectual and religious unrest, arising from a decay of beliefs, and a drifting away from ancient moorings accompanied with a yearning after high ideals, and an eclecticism, which seeks to satisfy the soul by making experiment of every new panacea that is offered, resembles the state of minds in the Roman world before the advent of Christianity. The reconstruction of society and morality began then, not from the Porch or the Academy, but through a fisher-

man of Galilee and a tent-maker from Tarsus, who preached a Saviour who had risen from the tomb. The same power is in the world to-day, the Catholic Church.

Of course there are in abundance prophecies and demonstrations that her efficiency is gone, and her disappearance certain. But the impossibility of her continuance has been demonstrated so many times in her past history that even her opponents are losing faith in such prophecies. Her impending collapse has been announced almost every day for four or five hundred years past. To be sure, each new prophet bases his prediction upon new grounds. The favorite proofs just now are the decay of the Latin races, and the progress of modern science.

Her existence, however, is no more bound up with the prosperity of the Latin races than it was with the stability of the Roman empire. A living organism, not a dead book, or a set of formulae, she continues to adapt herself to a shifting environment. She feels that she can wait with calm the outcome of modern scientific research ; and she notes that a great deal of what yesterday was hailed as scientific fact is to-day discarded as an exploded hypothesis. Whatever proves sound and indisputable in the results of sciences, she knows she will be able to assimilate ; meanwhile a divine instinct will guide her to reject the erroneous and deadly. She will develop her original deposit of faith just in proportion as prevailing errors in speculation or morals demand. To all without and to some, perhaps, within she may appear belated and behind the age. But she seems provokingly conscious that her life and progress must be measured by a standard vaster by far than three-score and ten. Many competitors before have boasted of having outstripped her in the march for human enlightenment. But sooner or later she reaches a point in the journey where they have fallen by the wayside. The historian then records after the date of their birth the date of their disappearance. No man who reads the signs of the times can doubt that she is comparatively near the period when she shall see Protestantism go the way along which she has seen go by so many other forms of belief, whose names now reach our ear as but hollow echoes out of the long-vanished past.

JAMES J. FOX.

THE RESTRICTION OF MARRIAGE.

In his latest work,¹ Mr. Lecky, treating the subject of marriage, points out two considerations which he tells us "in the ethics of the future are likely to have a wholly different place from any that they occupy at present." The first of these is the clear recognition of the duty incumbent on parents to secure for their children not only good education, but the "conditions of a healthy being." The second, akin to the foregoing, is the conviction "that it is a moral offense to bring children into the world with no prospect of being able to support them." Much of the distress and degradation which humanity has known is traceable, says Mr. Lecky, to the neglect by parents of these two obligations.

Before entering upon the discussion of marriage restrictions, to which the considerations mentioned by Mr. Lecky would lead, we will premise that the well-known stricture passed upon a certain unduly ambitious book are applicable, with some slight qualifications, to the ideas, represented by the author of the "Map of Life," as about to fill a new place in the ethics of the future. Like the contents of that book these "considerations," which we are to understand as freighted with so much of good for the future, are both new and true, but what is new in them is not true and what is true is hardly new.

It certainly is true that parents should provide the conditions of a healthy being for their offspring. This is a prescription of the natural law—easily and often overdrawn it must be said—but one that may not be disregarded. Yet we venture to assert that its appreciation is going to occupy in the future no different place in ethics than it has held in the past. Persons about to marry to-day, if not blinded by unbecoming passion, are deeply concerned with the physical condition of those whom they would choose for their life-partners, and we have no reason to infer that this thought enters as a new

¹The Map of Life, 1899, p. 806.

element in the calculations that are now made preparatory to assuming the responsibilities of matrimony. Of course there have been from time to time various ways suggested to secure the qualities of this well-being, both in the parents and in the offspring, but it is in the means, rather than in the end they sought to accomplish, that change can be observed.

The importance to the candidates for marriage of health and vigor of body was realized, we dare say, from the beginning. The ancient lawgiver *Lycurgus*,¹ so *Plutarch* tells us, was so desirous of securing physical excellence in those who were to be the parents of future citizens, that he devised measures looking to the attainment of this good, which in their communistic character are of a piece with most of his other legislation. *Sir Thomas More*² describes a practice that existed among the inhabitants of his *Utopia* by which they hoped to preclude the disappointment and chagrin that must arise upon the discovery in one's marital partner, only when it is too late, of unsuspected physical defects. So too, *Francis Bacon*³ as well as *Thomas Campanella*,⁴ did not fail to picture in the "*New Atlantis*" and "*The City of the Sun*" those requisites of strength and soundness which the youth of both sexes who were to take up the responsibility of marriage should possess in an ideal commonwealth.

Leaving the inviting realms of the Utopias, we find in the real and living society about us the same deep appreciation of the necessity for parents of possessing those qualifications which will best promise to their offspring the blessing of a perfect physical constitution. This appreciation has lately given rise to a general tendency towards legislation of a restrictive character. Indeed, we find that, in the case of a few of our States, laws have been recently framed whose object is to limit marriage to those who are styled the more fit and competent.

Thus in looking over the enactments made by our several commonwealths in the last few years, we see that Connecticut,

¹*The Life of Lycurgus*, by *Plutarch*. In "*Morley's Ideal Commonwealth*." London, 1896. p. 26.

²*Sir Thomas More's "Utopia."* op. cit., p. 181.

³*Francis Bacon, "New Atlantis."* op. cit., p. 199.

⁴*Thomas Campanella, "The City of the Sun."* op. cit., p. 224.

⁵*Legislation by States in "State Library Bulletin,"* issued by the University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y. 1895-1899.

in 1895, passed through its legislature an act by which, "No man or woman, either of whom is epileptic, imbecile or feeble-minded, shall marry or have sexual intercourse when the woman is under forty-five." The legislature of Michigan, last year, provided "that no person who has been afflicted with syphilis or gonorrhœa and has not been cured of the same, shall be capable of contracting marriage." While in the same year "a measure making the passing of a medical examination a prerequisite to obtaining a marriage license passed the North Dakota senate, but failed of enactment." These late provisions of some of our States present a note of relative conservatism, and would debar from marriage only such extreme cases of the unfit that there can hardly arise any objection to them either on the grounds of morality or expediency. We know, however, that there is in many quarters a spirit and tendency more radical on this subject of marriage restriction than finds expression in these laws. This spirit or tendency is entertained and fostered by many members of the medical profession as well as by well-meaning and zealous philanthropists; this it is that would constitute a departure from the ethics of the past and not the simple commendable "consideration" to which Mr. Lecky refers.

So too of that other "new" ethical appreciation—the conviction "that it is a moral offense to bring children into the world with no prospect of being able to support them." We do not hesitate to say that there never was a time when it was generally thought by civilized parents to be no offense to bring children into the world without any prospect of being able to support them. This "consideration" occupies to-day the same place in ethics that it has in the past and shall have in the future. What we must notice, however, is an unhealthy and exaggerated prudence regarding the marital condition entertained too generally by the young of marriageable age. This disquieting concern is not, we regret to say, so much about the sacred obligations incumbent on husband and wife as about the means by which many of these obligations may be shirked or avoided. Hence the "mariage de convenance," in which the most vital and holy of contracts is degraded to the level of the compacts and bargains of the market-place, while the prompt-

ings of pure, ennobling sentiment are stifled as the vain and misleading suggestions of an idle dream. Hence also the failure of a large number of young men and women to marry or to enter upon the married state until late in life—a failure and delay that have caused the depopulation of certain classes in parts of our country and that threaten other consequences which the observant student of society has not been slow to detect and lament. As early as the sixteenth century we hear a theologian¹ censuring in no unmistakable terms those marriages of his time that were contracted solely through social and financial interests, and so apposite is the rebuke to present conditions that it would seem to have been uttered for our own days.

It were well if this prudence of which we speak were exercised only before marriage; but he is dull indeed who is not aware of the immoral and deadly extent to which this foresight and calculation have led those joined together primarily for the propagation of the race to interfere not only with the general laws of nature but with those of their own being. We know on authority that cannot well be doubted that the sin for which Onan of old brought down the wrath and detestation of God is widely practised and even palliated through this fancied regard for the future condition of the family. And in our own country, there has come to be what is significantly known as the “American sin,”² and which, if we are to believe those whom indeed we must heed in these matters, threatens to reproduce in large portions of our society the condition described by the poet Juvenal, when referring to licentious Rome, he wrote:

“Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera licito,
Tantum artes hujus tantum medicamina possunt,
Quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos
Conducit.”³

¹ *Hominum saepe vitium est quod depravata indole pueri nascuntur; nullo conjugum delectu connubio jungimus quibus praeter formam nihil praecipuum est, aut quos una sensus et pecuniae magnitudo commendat. Joannis Marianae—De Rege et Regis institutione, p. 134. Lib. II, cap. I, p. 134.*

² Prior to 1840, the testimony of American physicians is that criminal abortion was not practised very generally, and to but a slight extent by married women; but this condition has since changed. James Foster Scott, M. D., *The Sexual Instinct*, 1889, p. 273.

³ *Satire VI, 591–596.*

Though the restriction of marriage by an enlarged legislative control is urged by some for the reasons of "political economy," to which Malthus first directed attention, it is more especially from certain philanthropists and physicians who see in the marriage of a class they style "degenerates" an unobstructed channel for the transmission of mental, physical and moral ills¹ that the promulgation of such laws finds its greatest encouragement and incentive. It is not necessary that the ills which would debar from marriage should be those only which are the result of immorality. All organic disease that may be passed by heredity to offspring should, according to these reformers, be held as insurmountable impediments to marriage.

To reach the correct solution of this question it is necessary that we go back to the consideration of man's first and imprescriptible rights. Emerson has said that we hear too much to-day of rights and not enough of obligations. In the general treatment of the subject we are studying, the reverse would seem to be the case. For, in their zeal to assert the rights of the offspring, many of our social writers and reformers forget, or, at least, do not sufficiently heed, the indisputable rights of the parent. We are not unmindful, as we shall show farther on, that these latter are modified and limited by the former; but rights they are, nevertheless, and proper order, as well as safe logic, demand that from the recognition of them, as from a firmly established and clearly defined premise, we start in discussing this topic of the restriction of marriage.

The declaration of man's inalienable "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," has come, by dint of repetition, often ill-used or meaningless, to take on the character of a commonplace, and, like all commonplaces, to lose the import and suggestiveness it should in its momentous significance convey. Thus the right to life, which is affirmed to be the first inheritance of every son of man, has a wider sense than at once appears, or is commonly realized. To mean anything at all it must suppose and postulate other rights as its necessary and immediate condition; for it would readily be seen to be "such stuff as dreams are made of,"

¹ See Kate Gannett Wells, in *Charities Review*, Vol. VII, p. 704.

did it not imply and entail the right to health, to our body and our physical members. Blackstone declares this in his commentaries on the laws of England, when he says that the first of the absolute rights of every Englishman "is the legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of his limbs, his body, his health and his reputation."¹ Now one who can lay claim to this legal enjoyment of his body cannot but possess the right to all the nourishment and aliment which must sustain and preserve his physical being and furnish him with all the equipment necessary to his corporeal existence. Nor does such a right stop here. The growth and preservation of the individual life finds its natural sequence in the increase and multiplication of the species, reproduction being the complement, and, in a sense easily understood, the perfection of nutrition. For the commerce of the male and female, by which they conserve and propagate their kind, is but the exuberance, as it were, of the same power that brings them singly to the full stature of their individual growth.

The right to beget his kind is intimately and inseparably bound up therefore with the first of those birthrights with which "every man that cometh into this world is endowed." Nor must it be supposed that the right to generate offspring flows to man from this sovereign prerogative but mediately, and through the right only which he has to his body and its members. This would be narrowing it too much. The life is more than the body, and it is from the former of these rather than from the latter that the right which we are describing must be said to immediately spring and to be developed. This is readily seen when we realize the exalted character of that union between man and woman which renders lawful the act of generation. Such wedlock is not as the pairing of the brute creation. Christian doctrine elevates it far above the sensual character of such an intimacy. It teaches that marriage is oneness of heart before it is oneness of flesh; that it is the blending together in harmony of souls that find in such association the full complement of the thought and feeling, of the inspiration and sentiment, which otherwise were held fast in yearning incompleteness or dwarfed in unsympa-

¹Blackstone's Commentaries. Ninth Edition. Chap. 1, p. 129.

thetic loneliness. The old saying that husband and wife are to each other as halves of a whole is perfectly true. In a profound sense man is the perfection of woman as woman is of man. Shakespeare expresses this beautifully when, describing the proposed union of Lady Blanche with Lewis the Dauphin in "King John," he says :

"He is the half part of a blessed man,
Left to be finished by such as she.
And she a fair divided excellence
Whose fitness of perfection lies in him."

To seek, then, the lasting and congenial company of one who will be the "fountain of life," not only to wearied mind and arid heart, but literally of beings who are to continue, as it were, and extend and enlarge the existence of their parents is to desire that to which there is for every man and woman a title clear and unblemished. St. Thomas Aquinas forcibly points out this right when he says : "Man is not held to obey man, but owes only to God obedience in those things which refer immediately to the body, for the reason that all are by nature equal in matters which relate to bodily sustenance and the generation of offspring. Whence it flows that servants are not under the command of their masters nor children under that of their parents when it is question of contracting marriage, of embracing a life of virginity, or of any act having a like character."¹

From the fact of this intimate connection between the right to propagate the species and that to life itself it follows that any legislation looking to or endeavoring by positive checks to pre-

¹ "Secundum ea quae ad naturam corporis pertinent homo homini obedire non tenetur sed solum Deo, quia omnes homines natura sunt pares, puta in his quae pertinent ad corporis sustentationem et proles generationem. Unde non tenentur nec servi dominis nec filii parentibus obedire de matrimonio contrahendo vel virginitate servanda aut aliquo alio hujusmodi." S. Thos. 2-2, quest. 104, art. 5.

The vow of celibacy which the priests and religious of the Catholic Church take in entering upon their state of life must, as is evident from the foregoing, be absolutely free and voluntary. Cf. Ligouri Theol. Mor. De ordine, vol. VI, cap. II, qu. 808. Moreover, to relinquish an unquestionable right and accept the sacrifice which is entailed in the denial and subjection of the natural appetites of animal nature requires, Catholic doctrine teaches, a special vocation to which particular and necessary graces are attached. It will not be amiss to quote here the Council of Trent which says, Sess. XXV. c. 18 : "Qui coegerint aliquam virginem vel viduam aut aliquamquam cumque mulierem invitam ad ingrediendum monasterium vel ad suscipiendum habitum cujuscumque religionis vel ad emittendam professionem, anathema sit."

vent the natural intercourse of the sexes is not only vicious but futile. The State, it is true, may pass measures for the restriction of marriage to those whom it may judge to be more fit and competent physically and morally, by exacting conditions which would serve as a barrier and deterrent to those about to marry. Yet while it can undoubtedly lessen the number of legitimate weddings and cause a diminution in the number of legitimate births, it cannot prevent the gratification of that appetite which can be righteously indulged only within the bonds of lawful matrimony. As well might the civil authority hope by legal enactment to cut off or reduce the measure of man's physical nutriment, since only when it can eradicate that passion which next to the instinct of self-preservation is the strongest felt by the human race, may it hope to make this kind of legislation effective and salutary.

St. Augustine accuses the Manicheans of forbidding marriage while allowing sexual intercourse and of according to wanton sinners what was denied to chaste and blameless wives.¹ Though undoubtedly it would sternly repudiate any such impious distinction, the law that would hedge marriage about with the radical restrictions advocated by some of our social reformers, would nevertheless be found not only powerless to check immoral practices, but in many cases would be a positive provocation of evils more to be dreaded than the social maladies it sought to prevent. Realizing these consequences there are not wanting a number, especially of the medical profession, who openly advocate the physical mutilation that would render impossible the generative function. Thus a physician of standing² not long since expressed a sentiment by no means isolated or extraordinary when in addressing a medical association he said: "While considering the help that advanced surgery is to give to us, I will refer to a conviction that I have, that life-long salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed." . . . "Whose State," he then asks, "shall be the first to legalize oöphorectomy and orchotomy for the relief and cure of radical depravity?"

¹ *Adversus Faustum Manichæum*, cap. VI, lib. XXX, et *adversus Secundinum Manichæum*, cap. XXI.

² Dr. Kerlin in addressing Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded quoted in "*American Charities*" by Amos G. Warner, p. 188.

We hope that the well-intending physician may long continue to look in vain for such initiative on the part of any State, and fortunately at present such surgical operations, especially that of orchotomy when performed for the end desired, is so abhorrent to the Christian sense, so repellent not only to our ordinary sentiments of delicacy, but of justice and right that any general legislative action of this kind may be regarded as altogether far distant and unlikely. Such physical deformation of the male sex can find place only in the refined ferocity of Oriental barbarity; it can never be countenanced by the morality of a Christian civilization. Oöphorectomy, or ovariectomy as it is generally called, is in its external effects and consequences less repulsive than the operation just referred to, and is far more frequently practised. Yet when resorted to, for the sole purpose of bringing about sterility, it is unquestionably baneful and immoral. It would perhaps be rash to attempt to define all the physical consequences of such an act, yet testimony is not wanting to show that its results are damaging and pernicious, redounding eminently to the detriment of the life, health and beauty of those who would thus trespass upon the exclusive and awful rights of the "Dominator vitae."¹

It were unreasonable to think that Nature, in her wondrous economy, had not placed in the very state of life itself to which she so powerfully impels her children, effective remedies for many evils that if left unchecked would thwart her end and purpose. For just as the impulse to propagate its kind is inherent in every living being and forms one of the chief springs and motives of that ceaseless stress and untiring activity which we witness in the living organic world, so the legitimate gratification of this masterful passion must not infrequently be, in the design of Providence, the healthful sedative, the assuaging balm, to much of troubled unrest or riotous excess. Hence it is that, as physicians tell us, not a few persons who, in the unmarried state, experience physical disorders find in marriage a remedy and cure beyond the reach

¹ The evil effects here referred to are strikingly illustrated in the case of three characters pictured in the well-known novel. "Fécondité." Although this work is in many of its parts characterized by that which has given its author his deservedly evil repute, we cannot but think, with some ecclesiastical writers, that it points a good and important moral.

of drug or physic to afford. The nervous affections which rack the body and agitate the mind are often but the warnings and protests intended by a kind but exacting Nature against a state and condition that should be exchanged for the life and duties of wedlock. Especially is this true of that sex to which Nature looks for the mothers of the race. Henry Drummond has described the mother as being "the last and most elaborately wrought pinnacle of the temple of Nature."¹ And this is profoundly true. No less true is the following which we extract from the same author: "Is it too much to say that the one motive of organic Nature was to make mothers? It is at least certain that this was the chief thing she did. Ask the zoologist what, judging from science alone, Nature aspired to from the first; he could but answer *Mammalia*—mothers. In as real a sense as a factory is meant to turn out locomotives or clocks, the machinery of nature is designed in the last resort to turn out mothers. You will find mothers in lower nature, in every stage of imperfection. . . . And when you get to the top you find that the last great act was but to present to the world a physiologically perfect type. It is a fact which no human mother can regard without awe, which no man can realize without a due reverence for women and a new belief in the higher meaning of Nature, that the goal of the whole plant and animal kingdoms seems to have been the creation of a family which the very naturalist has had to call *Mammalia*."²

To that which she presents as the goal and to which she would direct every member of her living kingdoms, Nature must, as we have already said, give the property of satisfying and perfecting which every end of righteous bent and effort must promise and possess. And so in the labors of maternity no less than in its joys and consolations, woman realizes not only her being's "aims and powers," but the unfailing curative for many of the ills and sufferings to which otherwise she were heir. The curse pronounced upon the banished Eve still remains, it is true; yet along with it comes ever the blessing bequeathed earlier in the morning of crea-

¹ Henry Drummond, "The Ascent of Man," p. 267.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

tion with the command to increase and multiply and which has never been withdrawn. Nor is this blessing to be confined to one sex only. It is shared equally by both. And the sympathetic, abiding companionship found in the bond of marriage, the rightful indulgence of primordial appetites that spring from his animal nature, bring to man a prop and stay not only of intellectual and moral but of physical and material worth. That there is a large leaven of grace even in those unions which fall far short of that blessed state to which our Lord would liken his ineffable oneness with the Church, it would be difficult to deny. The respect and reverence which even the profligate would feel for her whom he would make his wife testify to the regard which the marital relation does not altogether cease to find in the heart of the depraved, and at the same time offer the most propitious soil for the seed which is to bring forth good fruit. Says a quaint anonymous writer quite truly : "There seems to be a spiritual as well as a natural blessing in marriage ; for though the nature of man is so depraved, that in all his choice of things in this world, he makes virtue the least ingredient ; so that in honors, riches, power, friends, and all the rest of the world's inventory, virtue makes not always a figure ; yet in the choice of a wife, 'tis the prime motive. Is she fair, rich, witty, and not virtuous ? Neither the wise nor the rich man will make her his choice. So then, however, though he may not be a possessor of those graces himself, which act the good man, yet having them in a wife, they may, by her example and persuasion, restrain that tendency which ill conversation often infects men with, and by this way a believing, that is, a virtuous wife may (as the Apostle expresseth it in that of children) sanctify or at least civilize an husband."¹

Of course the succour or relief that matrimony holds out to certain disorders is not precisely of the kind that is reducible to a chemical formula or to the hard-and-fast lines of a mathematical definition, but it is, nevertheless, true and efficient. Very often psychical, rather than physical, it is at such times discoverable to the intuitions and perceptions of the former science, while hidden to the searches and analysis of the latter.

¹Marriage Promoted in a discourse of its Ancient and Modern Practice, by a Person of Quality. London, 1690.

Here too, we must not overlook another element of the marriage state that makes for the bettering and uplifting of hearts that were well-nigh proof against the inspiration and lessons of other exalting influences. It is the coming and presence of the child. "A little child will lead them," says the Prophet Isaias, when describing the wondrous power that was to be known and felt in the spiritual kingdom about to arise and to which the peoples of the earth were to repair. We recognize to whom the sacred writer directly refers. Yet cannot the word take on a more universal application and, besides the infant Saviour, with little hand upraised to bless and save the world, fittingly picture also the sway of many a helpless babe over numerous subjects that were recreant to other sceptres and laws. May it not show forth the might of infant hands on hardened hearts and callous souls. For certain it is, that such seductive and alluring power exists, and men hardened in sin, have owned its influence. It has been said that the child is the "tutor for the affections." If this be true—and who is ready to dispute it?—the child must necessarily be tutor for much more, for the affections are the open avenues to all the qualities and faculties of the soul. It must be tutor for unselfishness, for thrift, for industry, for temperance; for if love be queen, these are but her maids in waiting. We read, that on a certain occasion when His disciples pressed upon our Lord to settle the bickerings and disputes arising from their ambitions and jealousies, "Jesus calling unto Him a little child, set him in the midst of them." Thence they were to receive the answer to their contentions, appeals, the silent rebuke to their unseemly strifes. The lesson was not unheeded. So too, "the little child in the midst of them" is still to numbers the gentle, transforming agent for good, the sweet yet effective censor of wrong.

If Nature has in her plenteous store strong defense against the mischief that sin and error would work to the marriage state, she likewise possesses in no small measure positive checks to that formal calculation and design that would think itself all sufficient in the regulation and control of the conditions for marriage. This is aptly illustrated in the irrepressible play and influence of what is generally known as elective affinity. Various and often curious as these affinities between

man and woman are, they are none the less potent and universal. Sir Walter Scott has said, "that it would not perhaps be too much to aver that two-thirds of the marriages around us have been contracted betwixt persons who, judging *a priori*, we should have thought had scarce any charms for each other." The novelist, it is quite evident, refers to those contrasts in which love is said to delight, and which not infrequently are of such a character as to surprise even the observant who by experience have learned to look for the strange and irregular in matters of the heart. This predilection for opposites, though it seems at times but the lightest and idlest of vagaries, must have a clear purpose in the schemes of Nature which cannot be ignored. It would seem to spring from no other source than the purpose of a higher and directing power to provide in marriage the completeness of life and being that comes only when both the parties to this momentous contract find the adjunct that supplies their individual shortcomings and fills up the measure of their insufficiency. It would of course be too much to contend that such far-reaching and philosophic considerations enter clearly defined into every love affair. Safer it would be to say that no such considerations enter into them at all, for

"Love is blind and lovers cannot see
The pretty follies that themselves commit."

Yet the workings of a provident nature are there, and like the deep undertow of ocean, operate unseen, and often disregarded by the thoughtless who heed only the shallow surface-currents that strike the eyes, but which are moved and governed by the silent flow of plan beneath. Hence it is that marriages between parties of the same stamp of mind and turn of character are not as healthful or happy as unions formed between dissimilar or opposite natures. Maudsley gives a case which came under his own charge and was illustrative of this in a striking manner. It was that of a couple who were extremely "energetic and by their joint exertions had built up from the humblest beginnings a large and lucrative business in London. The woman was of an anxious, inconstant, irritable temperament, always actively employed and eager in business.

She died at a good age. The man was sanguine, choleric, and active and died two years after from apoplexy." "Four grown-up members of the family are already insane," says the alienist, "and more will be so."¹ This was, no doubt, a "mariage de convenance," characterized by all the forethought and regard for the future betterment of possible offspring which the most exacting of reformers in these matters would demand. And while the outcome was in the case we have cited particularly unfortunate, it but exaggerates the general quality of the fruit springing from marriages occurring every day around us and which have been brought about by none of that pure love and transporting sentiment which makes "all the world love a lover," but by the cold calculation of a business transaction.

According to Prosper Lucas² love unions are more prolific than those that have been formed from motives of social or financial profit. And so clearly does Nature seem to demand this liberty and spontaneity of choice in the selection of a life partner that the families born of matches contracted solely from motives of material profit are almost inevitably doomed to an early decay and death.

No one can deny that of all the contracts in the world few are more carefully studied, or entered upon with graver considerations of future contingencies than the alliances of noble and aristocratic families. Here the prospects and future position of the child that is expected are scrupulously regarded, the portion that each of the contracting parties will bring to the union and the advantages that will accrue to both are attentively computed. But it is all "a reckoning without the host." And the host must be reckoned with. "The degeneration of the race in noble families," says Moreau of Tours, "has been noted by sundry writers. Pope remarked that the noble air which the English aristocracy ought to have worn was the one thing they did not at all possess; that it was a saying in Spain that when a grandee was announced in a drawing room, you must expect to see a sort of abortion; finally in France anyone who saw the men who constituted

¹ Maudsley, *Pathology of Mind*, p. 110.

² Lucas' *Traité Philosophique et Physiologique de l'Hérédité Naturelle*, quoted in J. F. Nisbet's *Marriage and Heredity*, p. 175.

the higher ranks might suppose that he was in presence of a company of invalids. The Marquis de Mirabeau himself in his *Ami des Hommes* speaks of them as "pygmies or withered and starved plants."¹ And this testimony is not to be exclusively referred to conditions that have passed away. The state of European aristocracy to-day presents hardly a more inviting picture. If we can believe an English periodical published in 1889; there were at that time "more than twenty princes and princesses of the royal family of Europe under medical care for brain affection," and "the number according to the same authority displayed a perilous tendency to increase."² In their passion for exclusiveness these families have forgotten or left unheeded what they knew or could have easily learned from the skilled breeders of dogs and horses, and which all the provision that their wit could devise, or wealth and position command, was powerless to counteract. True, they have sought from time to time, to replenish and fertilize the depleted and impoverished soil of their stock by a union with an "American heiress"; but either because the latter was herself a victim of the same degeneration, or was insufficient to supply the needed vitality, the marriage has been as a rule unattended with beneficent or happy results.

It would be unjust to describe the "mariage de convenance" as something peculiar to foreign lands and peoples. It can, as we have said, be witnessed all about us with none of the circumstances missing that elicit our contempt for it abroad or that ever work to produce serious and far-reaching harm. We are not rash in saying that the disgust which the novelist never fails to excite in us for the character that he represents as seeking an alliance of this kind, or the disfavor and opposition which the playwright can always arouse for the mercenary father who would force his daughter to such a marriage, are but clear expressions of Nature's own attitude towards these matches.

There is another device of nature to which we must refer, when on this subject of heredity and its effects. It is what is called atavism or throwing back, and consists in the reversal to types and features existing anterior to the parent in the ances-

¹ Quoted in Th. Ribot's *Heredity*, p. 374.

² *The Economist*, Feb. 9, 1889. In article on "The Death of the Crown-Prince of Austria."

tral line. It has been said that the education of a child should commence "twenty years before it is born." And this is not putting back the date too far. For if as breeders tell us it takes generations to establish thoroughbred qualities or "points" in a dog or horse, we can very safely conclude that no small measure of time is sufficient for the training and ripe culture that go to make up "Nature's noblemen." The parent, then, while the most important factor in determining the character and disposition of the child, is far from being the only one, and just as the father or mother may be blameless for the evil propensities that fill the soul of their offspring, so too, their vicious habits and weakened structures often fail to check or poison the transmission of purity, and strength, to their children. And, indeed, it is well for humanity that there is this power of the "latent germ" ever asserting itself through the long lines of direct and collateral relationships; for while it must be admitted that, as it works for good it can also operate for evil, still its effect must in the long run be toward the former rather than in favor of the latter. Were it not so, and were heredity from parent to child the regular undeviating machine that some philosophers and psychologists declare it to be, the race would long since, as Lefebvre¹ well points out, have been submerged beneath the deluge of its accumulated malignities.

We have insisted thus far upon the rights of the parents and of the means afforded by nature to supply their defects and unfitness, because we have thought that inmost of the discussions on this subject these are elements too frequently forgotten or slighted. We are far from maintaining, however, that the phase of the argument we have thus far presented, fully meets the position of those who would advocate a more complete legislative control of marriage conditions. The answer to their contention lies deeper, and rests upon the proper appreciation of the nature and relations of natural and positive law. To a brief consideration of these, then, we must turn.

Anterior to all civil enactments is the natural law, so called, because it has been implanted in nature by the Creator of all

¹ Cf. Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques, 1891. Section—Des Sciences, Naturelles. L'Herédité par Dr. Lefebvre, de Louvain.

and by nature itself proclaimed and taught. This law, as it transcends all human norms in order and dignity, is that from which these latter must be derived and from which they must receive their ultimate sanction.¹ It should, therefore, independent of all legislation of positive law, cover the whole round and compass of man's duties. Dependent on this great canon is, as we have said, the civil law by which society and its members are immediately directed in the way to temporal good and happiness, and mediately to their last and final end. This good which the civil law would promote and direct is, as will be readily seen, broad and ample, embracing not only the weal of the intellect and will, but of the body and all goods of life. From this, however, it must not be concluded that it is the end and purpose of the civil authority to bring about perfection, even of a rather low order, in all of its subjects. Utopia is not only an undiscovered country, but unless human nature takes on radical changes, is undiscoverable. And hence, while it most certainly would redound to the permanence and well-being of the State to be able to count upon subjects gifted with high intelligence and ripe education and at the same time endowed with that physical prowess that Sparta of old would seek in her sons and daughters, it does not follow that the civil power should assume the role of pedagogue or physician and demand or prescribe the means necessary for the attainment of these qualities in the individuals over which it exercises control.

The same must be affirmed of the action of this authority in the broad field of morals. It goes without saying that the social fabric rests upon the virtue and integrity of its citizens as upon its sure and indispensable foundation. "Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it," says the Psalmist, and while there will be citizens who will stoutly deny the agency and influence of the Lord in affairs of this nature, there will be found none who will dare gainsay the saving power and efficacy of those virtues for the grace of which the Christian ever turns unto his God. So the State should see to it that morality is known and practiced among

¹ S. Thomas, 1-2 qq. 95, Art. 2, "Omnis lex humanitus posita in tantum habet de ratione legis in quantum a lege naturae derivatur; si vero in aliquo a lege naturali discordet jam non erit lex sed legis corruptio."

its members. And for the better compassing of this end it has the indisputable right to check wickedness and to mete out condign punishment to the criminal and the outlaw.

Unquestionable, however, though the right of the State is in the field of ethics as in that of education and physical culture, there are bounds and limits to this authority beyond which it may not go, even though it would but promulgate and enforce the edicts of the natural law. If it pass beyond these lines, which it must be admitted are sometimes very difficult to define, and seek to become co-extensive with the greater and antecedent law, it but operates to its own detriment, if it does not indeed end in its own undoing and stultification. The "dead letter" enactments which occur only too frequently in our constitutions and books of statutes bear testimony to this only less strikingly than do the disregard and contempt for law to which such legal nullities must give rise.

We come to understand, therefore, that the sphere of the civil law and authority is not to aim by immediate effort to bring about the realization of all the good to which its citizens would individually aspire, but rather to move and assist them to these and to all legitimate ends and worthy aims by exciting to healthful activity, by forming and encouraging associations of mutual help and endeavor, by extending an arm of protection to the infirm, by coercing and punishing the derelict, and finally by preserving external peace and order.

Now it needs no proof to show that with marriage, both as an act and as a condition, the interests of the State are intimately and lastingly bound up. We assume it to be no less clear that there are certain conditions which the civil power may prescribe, certain forms and regulations it may enjoin upon those about to unite themselves in marriage, which are imperatively called for by the proper ordering and constitution of society. Yet we cannot fail to see that the exercise of this power by the State must remain within defined limits if it is not to confront and clash with that other right which we have already described as belonging to every man and entitling him to marry and to propagate his kind. This latter, as a heritage bequeathed by no other testator than nature itself, is possessed independently of any let or hindrance that may be

given or exercised by the enactments and decrees of positive laws. It was just here that Plato and the ancient law-givers fell into error by their subjection of marriage and the family to the uncontrolled sway of the State, by making of them instruments of civil function to serve political ends and interests.

But now does the great canon, whence comes to man the primary right of which we speak, ordain aught as to its use and exercise? We do not hesitate to say that the natural law would declare that to assume the grave responsibilities of the marital state without the capacity or means of affording to offspring the "conditions for a healthy being," or the provisions for family necessities is wrong and immoral—reprehended by the very order of things set and constituted by the Creator Himself. It may be argued, however, that to require such foresight and preparation in the candidates for marriage, would express a want of necessary faith in a benign and superintending Providence. But such an assertion is very apt to be only a presumptuous covering for culpable sloth and indulgence. The saying that God will give bread for every mouth He sends, voices a faith that is of merit only when it impels to the endeavor which true belief and confidence in God must ever prompt and strengthen.

The prescription of the natural law being such, can now the civil authority intervene to declare and enforce it? We have seen that this latter law is by its nature less extensive than the former; that even in matters of vital interest to it, the State cannot legislate, for the reason that such action would be not only destitute of efficacy but positively subversive of that regard of and loyalty to law, upon which all true and safe order of society must depend and rest.

We have tried to show that a special cause exists why much of the legislation for the restriction of marriage proposed by some of our reformers and sociologists would be necessarily futile. But there is another reason to which we would now refer and which outweighs all the others as an argument against enlarging the scope of the civil law to the extent we have opposed. This is none other than the consideration of human liberty. It is needless to insist upon the dignity of that prerogative which forms the acme of man's per-

fection and marks him off as the crown and glory of creation. Of such ineffable worth is this attribute, so necessary is it that it flourish, and form itself the law that should govern the life of man, that it were better to suffer no small number of abuses and infractions, even of the natural law, than that it should be unduly lessened.¹ Even though the civil power might succeed (which as a matter of fact is impossible) in framing laws that would define and control with all efficacy the most petty activities that man's physical and moral being might exercise, these enactments would, we dare say, constitute an evil more pronounced than the wrongs they had intended to remedy. For in becoming a subject of such pervasive and far-reaching statutes man degenerates to a mere living automaton. The initiative for good solely for the sake of the good; the power of abjuring evil from the sense of duty revealed to him by conscience rather than by the promulgations of human lawgivers, is that which makes man a moral agent and offers the occasion for his highest merit and reward. "He shall have glory everlasting, he that could have transgressed, and hath not transgressed, could do evil things and hath not done them," says the sacred writer, and we are not unmindful that Christ would have the cockle remain until the harvest, "lest perhaps," as He admonished those who would urge its removal, "while ye gather up the cockle ye root up the wheat together with it." From this it may not be argued that the bonds and leashes of restraint are to be at all relaxed or broken. Rather the reverse must be looked for. Restraint there must never cease to be, but it should be the discipline which appeals to the higher faculties in man. Such control, while most consonant with his exalted character, will be the surest means to make him realize his high estate and to keep it as "being to be judged by the law of liberty."

And this naturally leads us to the consideration of the attempts which have of late become so general, to direct and regulate legislation according to the postulates of the evolutionary theories championed by pronounced materialism. If, indeed, man were destined to the same end that awaits the brutes of the field; if there were in him nothing but what

¹ S. Th., 1, 2, q. 96, a. 2.

under the action of physical law is to grow and ripen, then die and rot, it were well to radically change our present system of laws and above all, our methods of charity and philanthropy. In such a view, the crippled babe and helpless invalid are not only useless but insufferable burdens, and if through misdirected benevolence they have been let enter the world, enlightened charity, especially to society at large, demands that they be done away with, or if sentimental considerations still obtrude, that they be allowed to find their inevitable end like the wornout beast whom we turn on the commons. Says Mr. Lecky, in the book we have quoted at the beginning of this article: "Many things in modern life, among which ill-judged philanthropy and ill-judged legislation, have in no small part contributed to produce it (i. e., an anaemic population . . . living habitually at a low level of health); but two causes probably dominate over all others. The one is to be found in sanitary science itself, which enables great numbers of constitutionally weak children who in other days would have died in infancy, to grow up and marry and propagate a feeble offspring." The philanthropy and legislation as well as science that would operate to the ends which Mr. Lecky here describes, are not to be accounted ill-judged in the eyes of true Christian faith. In the sight of these the deformed, misshapen weakling, who is enabled to grow up and propagate an offspring, can outweigh an army of giants in the possession of that which he may transmit to progeny, feeble like himself, it may be, but having a worth and discharging a service that are not dependent upon health of limb or strength of muscle.

The poet tells us :

"Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit."

He might have enlarged the list of the "spirit's" impotent oppressors to include the frailty and disease of man's physical parts. For have we not all witnessed with admiration the victorious efforts of a strong mind and a generous heart over a weak and sickly frame that might at times impede but could not stop the exercise of their high and noble power. Such as

these are not to be valued in terms of flesh and blood. They have vindicated, more eloquently than is given to the potency of pen or tongue to picture or declare, the might of mind over matter ; though their abidance in the world may have been brief, they have in that time accomplished more than multitudes of their hardier, stronger-bodied fellows, who may taste larger measures of the world's delights and see a greater round of unlaborious days, but whose place will be more easily filled and with less regret. Viewed in this light the old axiom, "being is better than no being," is seen to have a broader sense than that which the metaphysicians who expressed it had directly intended.

But such appreciations are far from the mind of the philanthropists and legislators to whom we are referring. And it cannot be denied that, did they but push to a logical issue the principles they declare and would have us accept, the great army of the incapables and unfit would quickly pass from their troubled state, no longer to vex or annoy us. Then would ensue that struggle for existence from which would come the survival of the fittest ; but it would be a battling of the ape and tiger, issuing in what could live and flourish only under a "heaven of iron" upon an "earth of brass."

JOHN WEBSTER MELODY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England, by the late Samuel Roffey Maitland, D. D., F. R. S., F. S. A., sometime Librarian to Archbishop Howley, and Keeper of the manuscripts at Lambeth, with an introduction by Arthur Wollaston Hutton, M. A., Rector of Easthope, Salop. John Lane, London and New York, 1899, 8°, pp. xix + 466.

In their "Introduction to the Study of English History" (London, 1882, p. 327) this work of Dr. Maitland is pronounced by Mullinger and Gardiner "a series of masterly criticisms, in which the unscrupulous tactics of many of the early Reformers are skillfully exposed." Foxe's so-called Book of Martyrs, the compilations of Strype, the ecclesiastical histories of Fuller and Collier, the History of the Reformation by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, were once the authorities for the story of the Reformation. But the advance of historical criticism, the publication of documents by the Government and by private societies, a succession of works like Brewer's Life of Henry VIII, and Gasquet's writings on the dissolution of the monasteries, the formation of the Book of Common Prayer, the eve of the Reformation, have convinced these seventeenth century writers of a multitude of falsehoods, inaccuracies, exaggerations, and calumnies, so that one may well say the whole history remains to be rewritten, and this time more in the temper and the sense of Dr. Lingard, whom Gardiner and Mullinger do not hesitate to call a "candid and judicious writer." In his "History of the Church in England" (London, 1857, vol. II, pp. 1-6), Canon Flanagan called attention to the want of independence of historians, contemporary or nearly so with the Reformation, to their systematic tampering with history, "even with the editions of authors long deceased," to theories advanced by them, not for love of truth but in the interest of the Reformers, to their unhistorical and needless vituperation, and their tissue of palpable falsehoods—the whole constituting an appeal to the half-educated masses.

The (20) "Essays" of Dr. Maitland, first issued in 1849, after most of them had appeared singly in the "British Magazine," are now reprinted with an introduction, in which the vague Utopian principle of a "living faith in Christ" is set forth as the touchstone of spiritual continuity in the Church of England, and Bishop Bernard Gilpin (1517-1583) is proposed as the typical character with which to interweave "a true and popular history of the Reformation." There is something deliciously

innocent in the plea by which the Duke of Somerset is cleared from his unholy avarice, the "circumstances of the day" excusing it! Over against this, however, we may put the admission (p. ix) that "during the last sixty years the one-sided and ill-informed estimate that for over two centuries almost exclusively prevailed, has been persistently criticised and largely abandoned." No one contributed more to this change of mind than Maitland. Nonconformist by birth, lawyer by training, gifted with fine critical instinct, ranging for years among original documents of the Reformation while librarian at Lambeth, a sincere lover of truth, and free from any "papal" tendencies,—he was the right man to initiate the "new learning" of Brewer, Dixon, Gairdner, Gasquet, and others. It is not necessary, at this date, to call attention to the well-known exposé of Bale, Foxe, Strype, and Burnet,—those telling pages are the commonplaces of all who follow the history of the English Reformation. In lieu thereof, we may be permitted to recommend these "Essays" as an admirable manual of practical historical criticism. There is scarcely a page on which does not shine some truth or principle or guidance of supreme import to the historian. The facts often sink away into insignificance, like a sordid setting to some great jewel, in face of certain formulas or canons of historical research. How neatly he depicts (p. 241) the gradual transition from hypothesis to certainty, which is one of the "tricks of the trade" with some historians:

"It is curious to see how quietly, and I am quite willing to add, unconsciously, some writers contradict themselves, and how easily their self-contradictions pass off with their readers, if only a few pages intervene; but when the passages are placed in juxtaposition, and one tries to imagine the facts, what a puzzle they make!"

Here is another paragraph (p. 242) worth citing at length for the accurate and luminous statement of a phenomenon that strikes the Catholic historian more frequently than any other:

"Perhaps every man who really believes a story which contains some impossibilities, is liable to soften it in the relation not merely as an apology for his own belief, or to conciliate the belief of others, but because the little matters dropped, or the explanatory suggestions inserted, have been put out, or put in, during the process of his own reception of the story; so that the story really exists in his mind in the modified form in which he hands it over to the next relater, that he may take his turn at probableizing, and pass it on. Such writers are not to be charged with anything like intentional falsehood; but that they are in fact the cause of much misconception and mistake of facts, and therefore of all the false reasoning and false philosophy that is built on such false imaginations, is beyond all doubt. It is only by tracing stories back that we can

judge how far they have been subjected to this process. The reader who for the first time meets an anecdote in its hundredth edition, and its most mitigated and swallowable form, may very naturally receive it in simple good faith, without the least idea that if he were to strip it down to its foundation, facts and authorities, it would show itself to be an incredible and monstrous lie."

The style of Maitland is in keeping with the qualities of his mind, lucid, with a tendency to epigram and compactness, sparkling with point, suggestions, allusions,—the style of a gifted talker who was at once a man of letters and a shrewd observer of all about him. Though the volume of his work be small, yet its quality is superfine, and the sweep of its influence incalculable. Every Catholic should be grateful to the author of these "Essays" and of the "Dark Ages." Those who know him best and use him most will perhaps want to add :

"Talis tum sis, utinam noster esses."

T. J. S.

Naturalism and Agnosticism. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Aberdeen in the years 1896-1898. James Ward. New York: The Macmillan Co.; 1899. 2 vols., pp. xviii + 302; pp. xiii + 294.

Professor Ward's high standing as a writer on psychology and philosophy insures a welcome for these volumes. Twenty lectures, delivered during a period of three years, are here grouped in five parts, under these significant titles: The Mechanical Theory; Theory of Evolution; Theory of Psychophysical Parallelism; Refutation of Dualism; Spiritualistic Monism. The author warns us that these lectures do not form a systematic treatise. "They only attempt to discuss in a popular way certain assumptions of 'modern science' which have led to a widespread, but more or less tacit, rejection of idealistic views of the world." Still, the range of the discussion is large, the problems fundamental, and the presentation orderly. The outcome of the argument is that materialism, naturalism, agnosticism and dualism must be abandoned in favor of a spiritualistic monism, which remains the one stable position. "It is only in terms of mind that we can understand the unity, activity, and regularity that nature presents. In so understanding we see that Nature is Spirit."

This conclusion our author reaches by a process of elimination; his work, in fact, is mainly one of destructive criticism. But his final aim is constructive, to show, namely, that the admissions, perplexities and betray-

als of the theories which he examines lead on to the theory which he maintains. For the purely mechanical view of the universe he would substitute the teleological. Dualism he would replace by monism; only, this is neither materialistic nor agnostic, but idealistic. His sharpest criticism is directed against that blending of naturalism and agnosticism which is found in the "Synthetic Philosophy." Mr. Spencer, indeed, is taken to task with a severity of which even he, as the chief sinner, may fairly complain. On the other hand, the modern German schools of thought escape with an occasional mention.

As to his own position, the doctrine of Professor Ward is not absolutely new. Essentially it consists in holding that mind furnishes the data for the interpretation of everything that is not mind. The very conception of natural law is teleological; it rests on the analogy of civil law. "If man had never made laws he could never know law, and if he were not a free agent he could neither make laws nor obey them." So we are led to this result: "It being, in general, granted that our conception of the unity and regularity of Nature is entitled to the name of knowledge—being ever confirmed, never falsified, by experience—we are now equally entitled to say that this unity and regularity of Nature proves that Nature itself is teleological, and that in two respects: (1) it is conformable to human intelligence, and (2), in consequence, it is amenable to human ends."

The naturalism which is opposed to this view assumes a dualism of mind and matter; but what we really find is a duality of subject and object in the unity of experience. Two forms of experience must be recognized,—the experience of a given individual, and experience as the result of intersubjective intercourse. But since the subject of universal experience is one and continuous with the subject of individual experience and shows the same intimate articulation of subjective and objective factors, it follows that experience is one organic unity.

The extent of this monism is not quite clear. Professor Ward evidently holds to the conception of God as the Knowable First Cause, Supreme Intelligence, Creative Mind. He demurs to the Spencerian notion of an inscrutable Power behind phenomena. But he does not offer any theory as to the relation between finite intelligences and the Divine Mind. Insisting that the historical is what we understand best, and what concerns us most, he adds: "How far below us, how far above, the historical extends, we cannot tell. But above it there can be only God as the living unity of all, and below it no longer things, but only the connecting, conserving acts of the one Supreme."

With his monism, as applied to the realm of experience, we may find fault; and to his identification of Idealism and Spiritualism we may

take exception. Yet his work as a whole is full of significance. Its main thesis is a reaction against that philosophy which, pretending to be the only interpreter of science, would do away with the spiritual and reduce to mere mechanism the mental life without which science itself were impossible.

E. A. P.

Life beyond Death. Minot Judson Savage, D. D. G. P. Putnam's Son's, New York, 1900, pp. xi. + 329.

The sub-title informs us that this volume is "a review of the world's beliefs on the subject, a consideration of present conditions of thought and feeling, leading to the question as to whether it can be demonstrated as a fact." This large promise expands into thirteen chapters which, beginning with "primitive ideas," run their course through ethnic beliefs, Bible teaching, mediæval speculation, protestantism, agnosticism and physical research. There is added an appendix containing "some hints as to personal experiences and opinions." The conclusion is that psychical research is the one hopeful line of investigation for those who would deal with the problem of immortality.

Readers who are familiar with the literature of the subject will be at a loss to know just how Mr. Savage's work should be classed, or why it should be classed at all. The author, apparently, is not troubled with any suspicion that others have gone over the same ground more carefully and might, therefore, deserve mention. His own citations show a preference for the poets rather than for the philosophers. Not Plato nor Aristotle, but Homer is made to speak for the Greeks; and Dante bears the burden for the Middle Ages. These, of course, were dark; and no one expects an author who is laced about with strictly scientific methods to discover anything new in the way of darkness. Even the account of spiritistic phenomena is so meagre that one may wonder whether the voluminous "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research" be not published in vain.

But if the book offers nothing new upon the problem under discussion, it renders one service which ages to come will feel bound to appreciate. It affords an insight into the author's mind and tells a good deal about his experience, especially about his relations with leading spirits at least on this side of the veil. He has taken such care to make his position clear that there can be no excuse for those who misunderstand him. Earnest seekers after truth will not be attracted by the tone of the book: it is too flippant. But there is an obvious endeavor to be as frank as possible and to refrain from dogmatizing. Nor can there be any doubt of the author's sincerity when, coming down to etymology, he gives us the pith of agnosticism in the concise statement: "*Agnosco* [I do not know]."

E. A. P.

Biblical Treasury of the Catechism; compiled and arranged by
Rev. Thomas E. Cox. Large 12mo. Cloth. Wm. H. Young & Co.,
New York. \$1.25.

A mere glance at the list of new books issuing from Catholic sources suffices to convince one of the increasing activity among Catholic writers on Biblical matters. The demand for the Bible itself is rapidly increasing. Dissertations on the Canon, on the Inspiration, on the Authorship, etc., of the Sacred Books, new Translations, Introductions, Studies, and Bible Helps are appearing in abundance. Reading Circles and the Summer Schools have helped on the work.

Outside of the Church, on the contrary, Destructive Higher Criticism has been doing the Bible to death. In the midst of varying creeds and conflicting opinions on the book, Protestants, who love what they call the Bible, are going astray, because they have lost confidence in their leaders. Catholic authors are availing themselves of the opportunity to prove in a practical manner, that the Church is now, as she always has been, the sincere defender of the good book.

"The Biblical Treasury of the Catechism" is a book that meets the demand of the time, though it should have been published twenty years ago. It is divided into four hundred and twenty-one questions, numbered according to the questions of the Baltimore Catechism. The questions and answers of the Catechism are printed, without abridgment, in full-faced type as headings. The texts of Scripture that illustrate the teaching of the Catechism are put underneath in a concise and orderly way. The Scriptural passages are printed in old style type. Arabic figures of modern style are used for the references, which appear in the form of fractions to facilitate memorizing. The work is itself a thesis, proving how abundant is the biblical basis for Catholic doctrine, as taught in the Catechism. Those outside the fold may well be astonished at the array of Bible proofs for the faith of the Church. The compiler is to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which each question is treated, and on the order observed. The sequence of texts, together with their intrinsic interest, makes the perusal of the book a pleasure, and gives to the volume a decided value as a book of spiritual reading. The work is one which appeals at once to priests, who will find it of great assistance in preparing their sermons. The catechist, also, will find in the Scripture texts the means of making every lesson full of life. The work is destined to have this further good result: It will be the means of leading many to read the Scriptures for the sake of the Catechism, while others will read the Catechism for the sake of the Scriptures. The publishers have brought out the work in a handsome volume of over four hundred pages, beauti-

fully printed on a fine quality of paper, and bound in silk cloth. The "Biblical Treasury" has the "Nihil Obstat" of the Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding, D. D., Bishop of Peoria, and the "Imprimatur" of the Most Rev. P. A. Feehan, D. D., Archbishop of Chicago.

C. P. G.

The Gospel According to St. Matthew, with an explanation and critical commentary, by Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., Woodstock College, Md. St. Louis, Mo: B. Herder, xli, 317. 1898.

This new Commentary on the first Gospel has been prepared by a learned and experienced biblical scholar, whose patient research and untiring industry are evident in the carefully digested and well-arranged materials composing this large volume. Its general appearance is attractive. The paper is firm and not transparent. The print, though usually small, is very bold and clean cut, and can be read with pleasure.

One feature of the work, which will be heartily welcomed by the average reader, is the "Introduction," in which the conditions under which this Gospel was written, along with many other facts connected with its composition, are set forth with sufficient completeness of detail to enable the reader to understand its contents better than he otherwise could. In this part of the work the author gives a remarkably complete table of contents (pp. 1-9). Then follows the Introduction proper (pp. 13-41), in which are discussed, in so many chapters: 1. The First Evangelist; 2. The Authenticity of the First Gospel; 3. The Original Language of the First Gospel; 4. The Readers of the First Gospel; 5. The Object of the First Gospel; 6. The Structure and the Character of the First Gospel; 7. When and where the First Gospel was written.

This introduction is of fundamental importance; for, though not treated so exhaustively as is done in special works on the subject, still the fullness with which the above-mentioned topics are here handled, forms one of the characteristics of this Commentary, and enhances its value to the ordinary reader, to whom special treatises on such subjects are inaccessible.

The Exegesis, covering 317 large pages, is excellent in its arrangement. It consists of three parts. The first is the text of the English Douay Version. The second, which is one of the features of this work, consists of the large number of various readings found in the MSS. of the Greek Text and of the Ancient Versions. These textual notes, which are so abundant as to be indicated on nearly every page, embody the results of the latest and best researches into the minutiae of the text. It need not scandalize the reader to learn that, when the Greek and the Latin disagree, the author, notwithstanding the decree of the Council of Trent,

which declares the Vulgate authentic, allows himself to be guided by critical principles, and sometimes gives the preference to the Greek original over the Latin translation. The third part, or the Commentary proper, presents full expository comments, based on a careful study of the text. It is a pleasure to observe that, on every page, the commentary largely preponderates in bulk over the text. This is true, especially where some fundamental doctrinal passage is concerned, as may be seen on pages 255-280, in commenting the history of the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Lack of space will not permit a more detailed examination of the author's methods of exposition. Suffice it to say that thoroughness is apparent on every page, both in the methods employed and in the results obtained. The work will be helpful to students and to the clergy generally.

C. P. G.

Paulus und die Gemeinde von Korinth auf Grund der Beiden Korintherbriefe, von Dr. Ignaz Rohr, Repetent am Kgl. Wilhelmsstift in Tübingen. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899; X + 157.

At no time, probably, in the last two hundred years has so keen an interest been taken by Catholics in the study of Sacred Scripture as at the present day, and the "Biblische Studien" is one of the proofs and one of the most remarkable results of this interest. It is a peculiar excellence of these "Studies," that they are thoroughly critical and scientific in their methods and, at the same time, thoroughly Catholic in their results; the present number is no exception to the rule. As its title indicates, the purpose of this brochure is to serve as a guide to those who may desire a clear statement of the results of critical research, thus far reached by scholars of the present day, on the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. As is evident, some such help is necessary to the student; for these epistles are made doubly difficult by the numerous local and personal allusions in which they abound. The Corinthian Church exhibited some remarkable peculiarities. Corinth, the capital of the southern part of Greece, had been destroyed by the Romans under Mummius, B. C. 120, and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar B. C. 46. It was on the highway between Rome and the East, and the command of a seaport on both gulfs, one on each side, made it the center of commerce between Europe and Asia, and the resort of a heterogeneous population composed of all nationalities. At the time of St. Paul's first visit, about A. D. 53, it had become a city of more than 600,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom were free men, and two-thirds slaves. This population consisted of the descendants of the colony of Roman freedmen settled there by Julius

Cæsar nearly a century before; of Greeks attracted, by a variety of motives, from the surrounding country to the new city; of merchants and traders of all sorts from Europe and Asia, and of adventurers from every shore of the Mediterranean Sea; this turbulent mass was vastly swollen by the returning tide of Jews expelled from Rome just at that time by the Emperor Claudius.

But Corinth was as heterogeneous in thought as it was in population. In culture it was substantially a Greek city, though in some respects it resembled Rome, and in others it resembled Jerusalem. Though it cultivated the fine arts and abounded in schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and surpassed all the other cities of Greece in literature, in wealth, and in commerce, yet the corruption of manners kept pace with its material and intellectual prosperity. It was the most immoral city in Greece.

To the infant Church in such a city St. Paul's two Epistles were addressed. No doubt, in writing them he had in view much that regarded the peculiar circumstances of such a mixed population and much that is unfamiliar to us. Hence, anything that will prove helpful to the proper realization of the historical framework of these epistles, in their literary beauty, in their moral power, and in their religious significance, must be as welcome to the pastor and preacher as it is to the scholar. With this intention Dr. Rohr has approached the investigation of the problem. After a brief introduction, in which he clearly outlines his method, he takes up the subject in sections. In the first he discusses the "*Vorbereitung und Grundlegung des Christenthums*;" in the second, the "*Gemeindeordnung*;" in the third, the "*Geistesgaben*;" in the fourth, the "*Sittliche Verfassung der Gemeinde*;" in the fifth, the "*Parteiungen und Parteien*."

As is evident, the topics are various; rival factions in the Church, lawsuits between Christians before Pagan tribunals, a notable case of incest, marriage, divorce, the "*Casus Apostolicus*," virginity, the eating of meats offered to idols, scandal, charity, the speaking of women in Christian assemblies, abuse of various spiritual gifts, disorders at the Eucharistic Table, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. It is true such a singular combination of cases may never again occur in any one locality in the Church, but the general principles involved in the Apostle's manner of deciding these cases may serve for the solution of analogous cases to the end of time. The Apostle sets forth, in the order in which the facts occurred, the underlying principles, and applies them to social problems, to public worship, to the Sacraments, to the various states in life, and to Church government. Dr. Rohr is of the opinion, and he seems to make his position good, that these two Epistles are of special significance for our own times, because they have to do

with tendencies and currents of thought closely allied to the socialistic movement of to-day, and because the fundamental principles laid down for the Corinthians should serve as guides for us in all efforts at reform in social matters.

The treatment of these topics is thorough and interesting. In view of the obscurity in which questions so remote from us both in time and space are naturally involved, it is not to be expected that the author should have reached conclusions that can in every case, be considered as established beyond all doubt or cavil. Of this no one is so well aware as he, as is clear from the choice of the motto on the title page of his work, "*Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate*" (1 Cor., 13, 12). His caution is shown in this, that, in some instances, after quoting all the authorities and weighing all the arguments for and against a position, he thinks it better to suspend judgment than to mislead by an overhasty conclusion from insufficient evidence.

Dr. Rohr's manner of exposition is lucid, his language is elegant and often animated, and his methods and general critical principles are such that no one can take exception to them. As samples of his style, read his explanation of 1 Cor., 7, 36, on page 64 ff, 78 ff, 91 ff, and especially his characterization of the "Christ Party," p. 147.

The author has done a splendid service by writing this volume. It cannot fail to make the two epistles to the Corinthians more intelligible to all who are interested in them. The work is marked throughout by an excellent spirit and illustrates the possibility of combining the critical faculty with sentiments of reverence for God's Word.

C. P. G.

Heliand: *Poema Saxonicum Seculi Noni, ou Poème de la Vie de Jésus, composé par ordre de l'Empereur Louis le Debonnaire, sous les auspices de Saint Luidger, évêque de Munster, en l'année 814. Etude critique et version littéraire, vers par vers, d'après le manuscrit Saxon découvert en 1794, à la bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Bamberg, par le chanoine Gérard Gley, de Gérardmer. V. Mohler, Paris, Librairie Orientale et Américaine. J. Maisonneuve, 1898, 8°, pp. 176.*

In 1794, the French Canon, Gérard Gley (d. 1824, Curé of the Invalides), author of a history of the language and literature of the ancient Franks, discovered in the library of the cathedral of Bamberg, an ancient German poem, which proved, on examination, to be a paraphrase of the Life of Christ as told in the Gospels. Hence the title "Heliand", the Healer, the Saviour. Besides publishing in French extracts from the work, Gley, it is said, printed at Tours, in 1819, a complete transla-

tion into French, of which work, however, no trace can now be found. In 1830, Schmeller published at Munich, a translation due principally to Rheinwald, the collaborator of Gley. Since then many German editions have appeared, Koene (1855), Grein, Kanengiesser, Sievers (1878), Simrock (1882), Hermann (1895). In the work before us, M. Mohler undertakes to make good the loss of Gley's translation, and offers, not a word-for-word rendering, but a close presentation of the actual sense of the 5985 verses which compose the "Heliand". They are written in alliterative octosyllabic metre, the outcome, we are told, "of the old religious chants of the Aryan race, which were sung by the whole people drawn up in a circle, with a four-step motion, to right and to left, forward and backward, the regular swaying of which dance dwindled away in time to the spoken cadences of the strophe held fast by the even recurrence of syllables beginning with the same consonant, and therefore easily accentuated." Since Grein and Koene, the literature of the "Heliand" is simply enormous,—the classic treatment of it remains yet that of Sievers (1878). Its interest is manifold, first as a very ancient specimen of the German tongue,—the "altniederdeutsch," though critics are not all agreed as to the exact "patria" of the writer,—whether Westphalian, Frank, or Saxon, though indeed he surely belongs to the same race and the same locality that furnished Britain with its Angles, Jutes and Saxons. The date of the poem is put by Mohler at 813–814, though Plummer (V. Bedae Opp. Hist., 1896, II, p. 254) cites Windisch as "showing incontestably that the 'Heliand' is under obligations to Rhabanus Maurus for use of his commentary on the (Tatian) Gospel of St. Matthew, written 820–821." Like Milton, he is also under obligations to Avitus of Vienne, for use of his poem "De Creatione Mundi." As to the place of origin it is put down as the convent of Mimigarda, near Münster, which was founded by St. Luidger, in 773.

The literary value of the "Heliand" has been variously appreciated. Some German scholars will have it that it is sister to the Nibelungen and Gudrun, that it surpasses even the Messiad of Klopstock, and equals often the blind bard of steep Chios. This is the spirit of Vilmar (German Antiquities in the Heliand, Marburg, 1862). The Saviour is a true German Kayser, and the apostles are his "Getreuen," his "Comites", and loyalty, honor, bravery are the high qualities of these spiritual "warlords". It is a great breathing picture of the native Franconian life, customs, ideas, and ideals, ere the "Wälsche" falsehood and cowardice were domesticated,—a monument of the spirit of Charlemagne himself, who named the months and the winds in Frankish, began to compose a grammar of the Frankish tongue, and wrote down and memorized those "poetica carmina gentilia" that his pious son Louis would neither read,

hear, nor teach. Others, like Scherer (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1889, p. 48) will not see in it anything epical, nor hold it to be the noblest and sublimest work of poetry that Christians have ever produced. It is a didactic poem, a free paraphrase of the Gospels, the earnest appeal of the missionary who clothes in poetical language his love of souls. In any case, it is high and holy reading, this Christian bit of the old "*Fragmenta Theotisca*", and the German-speaking world prize it highly along with the Wessobrunner Prayer, the Oath of 832, and the poem of Otfried of Weissenburg.

Curiously enough, a page of Flaccus Illyricus (*Catalogi testium veritatis*, 1562) seems to show a knowledge of this old Saxon poem, though he refers also to a concomitant translation of the Old Testament. He says that the author, a "*non ignobilis Vates de gente Saxonica*," was instructed in his sleep (by angels?) "*ut sacrae legis praecepta ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulatione coaptaret*". Flaccus was a great liar, and no authority for his lengthy paragraphs has ever been discovered; but it has been pointed out by Sievers (*Plummer*, l. c., p. 257) that no renaissance scholar would make the old German writer divide his poem "*per vitteas*—A. S. *fit, fitt*, Middle English, *fittle*, a song or poem. Now the Venerable Bede (H. E. IV. c. 24) narrates a somewhat similar story of the Anglo-Saxon poet, Caedmon, the "cowherd bard of Whitby." Among some mediæval Latin verses cited by Flaccus, in his description, is the line:

"Qui prius agricola mox et fuit ille poeta."

It is very strange, to say the least, that both Caedmon and the author of the "*Heliand*," and perhaps of the Anglo-Saxon poem known as "*Genesis B*," should open the great line of English and German poets as divinely instructed dreamers. A somewhat similar story is told of Hesiod and of the Icelandic shepherd-bard Hallbjörn.

Apropos of this book, I am tempted to raise the question as to the influence of the Irish teachers of the court of Charlemagne in the production of such works. That they were occupied with the New Testament may be seen from Olden's "*Holy Scriptures in Ireland one thousand years ago*" (Dublin, 1888), from the perfect study of Samuel Berger, "*L'Histoire de la Vulgate*" (Nancy, 1893, pp. 29–61), and from their scriptural manuscripts yet extant. With regard to the Vulgate text used by the author of "*Heliand*," M. Berger says (p. xii) that it was largely fixed by the Irish missionaries and copyists, and that their influence in this respect was lasting. The Irish missionaries were numerous throughout Franconia in the eighth century,—we meet Kilian, Colman, Totnan, at Würzburg, precisely where, according to Eccard, a manuscript of the "*Heliand*" was kept at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From 1134 to 1497, there was in that city a "Monasterium Scoticum." Their influence on the handwriting of the ninth century Germans is admitted by Wattenbach (*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*) and on their miniature painting by Keller (*Bilderzüge aus der irischen (St. Gall) Handschriften*). Sedulius of Liège, the "greges philosophorum" of Eric of Auxerre, the wisdom-sellers from Ireland, Clemens and Albinus, Dungal of Bobbio, the relations of the great Karl with the "Scoti" of St. Gall, their portrait in the verses of Theodulf of Orleans, and other indications show that the entire scholastic activity of the period 775-850 was dominated by them. That they took interest in the vernacular of their new "patria" is shown by the fact that the first attempt at a German dictionary seems to have been made by them; that they could preach to the people and did, like Gall, Kilian and others; that the oldest remnants of Gothic have been preserved to us by the labors of the Irish monks of Bobbio. Their native poetic instinct could not easily be quenched, as we see by the verses of Columbanus and by other texts; they were masters of a complicated system of rhyme and alliteration,—and they had already done no little to rouse the poetic vocation among the Anglo-Saxons. They were a race of poets, harpers, singers, wandering teachers, preachers, saintly men, skilled in the gospels, beloved by the people and the court,—what wonder if they roused some noble Frank or Saxon, taught him the charm of his own tongue and its adaptability to the religion of Christ, and passed on, leaving his musical story to do its work in their stead? How they did the same among the German folk of Northumbria, we learn from Mr. Stopford Brooke (*History of Early English Literature*, New York, 1892, pp. 274, 275). Speaking of Cynewulf's love of the sea, and his noble vocabulary, he says:

"All the nameless passion of the sea and the stormy sky, of the land winds and the white horses of the deep, of the black clouds and red lightning, entered day by day into the life of those who watched the business and the fury of the elements from the edges of the cliffs; and the watchers were men and women who had received the impress of the sea and its love, not only from their Teutonic forefathers, but from the Irish, whose tales are full of the great waters, and who were as much children of the billows as Beowulf and his men. . . . Not only then from one side but from two, the Northumbrians were prepared to receive the poetic impulse of the sea." In another work (*English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*, New York, 1898, p. 133) the same writer says of Caedmon, that "Doppelgänger" of the author of "Heliand": "Though perhaps of Celtic descent, his tongue was English and his poems English; he wrote, 'in sua, id est, Anglorum lingua,' says Beda. But the monks of Whitby, who taught and helped

him in his work were some of them Irish, and all of them under Irish influence; and Wülker conjectures that they laid before him, as a pattern for his poetry, or as an incitement, existing Celtic hymns, such as Colman's, of the seventh century. Thus, as the English learned the arts of writing and illumination from the Irish, so Caedmon may also have received from them an impulse to the making and form of his poetry." This is all I would suggest for the author of the "Heliand." It has already been admitted by Powell and Vigfusson for the Icelandic sagas.

T. J. S.

Archéologie du Moyen-Age et Ses Méthodes, Etudes Critiques, par J. A. Brutails, Archiviste de la Gironde, Juge au Tribunal Supérieur d'Andorre. Paris: Picard 1900. 8°, pp. 234.

In a modest volume M. Brutails has exposed critical views of a high order concerning the schools of architecture in the Middle Ages, the "sources" of French or Gothic art, the abuse by archæologists of certain fundamental notions of that science,—definitions, explanations and classifications of the facts of archæology,—the respective rôle of chronology and architectural science in the study of archæology. Local archivist and archæologist himself, and author of numerous studies on the great monuments of Southern France, notably of the Pyrenæan region, he comes well qualified to treat the great questions of a science that has grown immeasurably in the last century.

Who formed the architects of the Middle Ages? It was the master-workman under the roof of his rude *chantier*, surrounded by his drawings, models, and specimens of material. His knowledge of mechanics and geometry was comparatively small, his skill in designing very inferior, his mind closed to the true sense of the old classic models he saw or drew. But he had the double power of imitation and initiative. If the classic Roman methods of construction long held him subservient, he was ever casting about for freedom, and in these long-sustained efforts created unconsciously many things new and serviceable. But the mediæval architect was slow to change,—his little world was local and homogeneous, his power of reasoning and execution great, but his field of observation narrow. Rouen, Speyer, Ely, Burgos, had each a unity and consistency of domestic architecture, as did every mediæval city,—there was no London or New York where the citizen can see in one hour specimens of every architecture known to men. But if tradition dominated the architect's work-shop, an infinite variety was provided for by the nature of his materials, their accessibility, the character of the stone,—hard or soft,—by the climatic conditions,—light, rain, snow,—by the social conditions of his

neighborhood, and by the racial temperament of those for whom he worked. Here arises the question of the limits of symbolism in mediæval architecture. M. Brutails will admit but two elements as universal and assured,—Eastern direction of the church-edifice and the inclination of the apse toward the right,—these seem to him to be always intentional, other symbolism being read into the architecture later on, about as the ninth century liturgists read new symbolisms into the ecclesiastical vestments.

M. Brutails takes issue with some very prominent authorities on Gothic architecture, like Viollet le Duc, Verneilh, Louis Courajod, and others. He is not so ready as they to admit Gaulish (Keltic), Syro-Byzantine, general Oriental, or Norman influences on the early mediæval architecture,—or, at least, to admit that they were original and impulsive influences. That Persian tapestries, Oriental ivories, Byzantine miniatures, and all the “minor arts” that came in by way of the Mediterranean ports, and worked their way up the Rhone and thence inland, had varying circles of influence, he does not deny. But the two creative elements of the mediæval Gothic were the imitation of the old Roman monuments and the personal genius of the rude artisans who, in time, made architects of themselves, not blindly as the bee makes its golden dome, but intelligently, by endless efforts, not one of which was lost, and the sum of which make up that pure French Gothic, which Moore, in his “Gothic Architecture” (Macmillan, 1899, p. 428), calls “the most splendid architectural product that human genius and skill have thus far wrought in this world.” Of the foreign analogies M. Brutails maintains that they are not always proof of filiation, that a great “hiatus,” for example, exists between the Syro-Byzantine Christian churches with which M. de Vogüe has made us familiar in his classic work on the civil and religious architecture of Northern and Central Syria from the fifth to the seventh centuries, and the church of Saint Front de Périgueux, whose pendentive cupolas M. Brutails will not admit to be of Oriental origin, but rather the outcome of local and independent attempts to raise a wide spherical roof of stone on free-standing pillars. He reminds us that through the Middle Ages, while ornamentation is subject to external influences, the technique of the masons and other builders remained long unchanged,—a mixture of reminiscences and empiric knowledge.

Apropos of the Norman contribution to Gothic, while he recognizes the narrow geographical limits of that noble architecture, yet he calls attention to the fact that its monuments are chiefly ecclesiastical,—hence the structural peculiarities of a wood-using people like the Scandinavian ship-builders are *a priori* shut out. Moreover, the monuments on which the ancient influence of the axe and saw may be noted are usually of a

civil or a military character. The oldest belfry in France, that of Saint Front de Périgueux, is not of Norman origin, but of ancient Roman construction. Thus he eliminates Ruprich-Robert's theory of the Gothic capitals being drawn from the square-hewn post-heads of a Scandinavian hall. The ogee, the flying-buttress and the broken arch are the three general criteria of Gothic, and all three require and suppose more solid materials than wood. Nor will he have the theory of Courajod, according to which one of the chief influences to which the Gothic is owing, must be sought in the Visigothic kingdom of the fifth century. Here the barbarian Christians were anti-Roman, and here, in cities like Marseilles and Arles, that "little Rome of the Gauls," met the artists of Byzantium, Ravenna, Syria, and the nobles and priests of the Merovingians and the Carolingians. In this way, thinks Courajod, came in the architectural knowledge and practice of the Christian Orient. But the "Variae" of Cassiodorus show that the principles of Roman architecture, its manuals and methods, still existed. The public architect at Rome is bidden by Theodoric (*Variae*, vii, 15) to "read the books of the ancients," and (*ibid.* vii, 5) to "see that your new work harmonizes well with the old. Study Euclid—get his diagrams well into your mind; study Archimedes and Metrobius." In the same formula the palace architect is reminded that "the builder of walls, the carver of marbles, the caster of brass, the vaulter of arches, all come to you for orders, and you are expected to have a wise answer for each,"—no doubt out of his books and the traditions of his office.

While M. B. admits for architecture the influences of conquest, especially when followed by immigration of the conquering people as in Ireland, England, Sicily,—likewise the influence of Cluny and Cîteaux,—he teaches us that the gradual modifications of style in the Middle Ages were owing to the habitual and daily influences of travel,—the pilgrim, the minstrel, the monk—and to commerce, the peddler, the Jew, the merchant; that building methods changed less easily than the motifs of decoration; that the Romanesque is the true parent of the Gothic. In this I cannot see that he differs much from Kraus (*Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Berlin, 1897, II, pp. 103–105) save that the German writer insists on the Teutonic specimens of the Romanesque. Both see in it the old Roman Christian basilica, whose flat roof gives way to the stone vault and whose monolith columns are replaced by stout pillars. It is a long process by which this vault is lifted, these pillars made both slender and strong, the spaces widened, naves multiplied, transepts thrown out firmly, the walls hollowed out and thinned down, the whole edifice reduced to an admirable framework of thrustings and balancings where all is light, room, and freedom; where from a solid base all soars

and sweeps aloft in a unity never broken but ever bursting into more manifold spiritual expressions as it draws itself skyward. M. Brutail's book is quite suggestive and stirring,—the reader will find in it a judicious weighing of much that is new in the story of Gothic art, a reasoned-out conservatism of views, and in general, a scientific summary of what seems now assured and tenable.

T. J. S.

De Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici Capitibus I-XLIII una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus Æthiopica, Armeniaca, Copticia, Latina altera, Syro-hexaplaro depromptis—scripsit Dr. Theol. Henr. Herkenne repetens in collegio Albertino Bonnensi. Leipzig: Hinrich's, 1899, pp. 1-268.

That the text of Ecclesiasticus be restored to its primitive purity has been the wish of all those interested in Biblical studies for the past century; to do so, has been the never-fully-realized ambition of many of the ablest critics, particularly of the late Prof. de Lagarde.

A few years ago an important step was made in that direction, thanks to the discovery of some fragments of the lost Hebrew original. Speedily given to the public by such scholars as Schechter and Neubauer, those long-desired witnesses were examined and cross-examined without delay by an élite of textual critics; it is but just to say that quite a good amount of precious information was furnished by that examination. The enthusiasm, however, was soon dampened by the sad discovery that the Hebrew recension, represented in those fragments, had hardly fared better at the hands of the copyists and correctors than the Septuagint's different recension, the Syriac version, or the *Vetus Latina* incorporated in our Vulgate. After a short period of excitement, the textual critics had to resume their labors, with the assistance of the versions without feeling much nearer a satisfactory solution of the Ecclesiasticus puzzle. Consequently the present volume, although representing a series of researches undertaken two years before the discovery of the Hebrew fragments, is still in order. It places in an entirely new light the *Vetus Latina*, as this appears in the book of Ecclesiasticus, and shows that if that version was not made on the Hebrew original, as claimed by Sabatier in the past century, and half-conceded, in our own days, by such men as de Wette, Welte and Westcott, yet it is not correct to say that it is but a poor and unfaithful rendering of the Greek. Made first on the received Greek, it was later corrected on another Greek recension, itself corrected on the Hebrew. In fact, among the versions of Ecclesiasticus, the V. L. ranks next to the received Greek and the Peshittâ, and, in several readings, it alone renders faithfully the Hebrew original. It throws considerable light on the

disposition and condition of the text in the oldest Hebrew manuscripts, showing, for instance, that the Hebrew manuscript in the hands of the grandson of Jesus, son of Sirach, was not written in *stichs* and that very probably, the words were not separated from one another; that it was not free from abridgments and omissions, etc. The V. L. moreover, supplies some important information about the Greek manuscript on which it was made; for instance, that it was free from the perturbation of chapters we find in the received Greek and the other versions (with the exception of the Peshittâ), that it was written in columns, the lines consisting of about 20 (!) uncial letters, that the words were certainly not separated, etc., etc. Such details, *if well established*, are of the greatest and most direct importance not only for the history of the V. L. itself, but also for that of the Septuagint and of the Hebrew, not to speak of the light they contribute to early palaeography.

We cannot but admire and praise the painstaking, the philological skill and practical knowledge of Oriental versions displayed by Dr. Herkenne in the *Commentarius Criticus*, the bulk of his book (pp. 39-267). The method is good and so is the actual treatment of the various points, (as far, at least, as we can judge from a cursory examination). But the matter treated in the first pages (1-38) might have been disposed more systematically, under a general heading. An index or, at least, a table of contents, would have been welcome.

H. H.

The Life and Works of Dante Allighieri, being an introduction to the study of the "Divina Commedia," by the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D. D., Professor, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1899, 8°, pp. 352.

In the preface to this work Dr. Hogan informs us that it "does not and could not profess to be an exhaustive treatment of the life and works of Dante. Composed, as it is in the main, of certain lectures delivered to the students of Maynooth College, it is intended chiefly for those who have neither the time nor the inclination to become specialists in the study of the Divina Commedia." This explains the very sketchy and superficial character of the fifteen chapters into which the book is divided, with the exception of the opening chapter on the "Life of Dante," which has unity and succinctness. The rest of Dr. Hogan's text reads more like the notes of a professor than a well-digested and academically written account of the life and works of the great Florentine. Indeed, the rather lofty title is excused by the author on the plea that he had little choice in the selection, "as the more obvious titles had been appropriated by others." With this reserve, the work may be very useful to

the beginners in Dante. It breathes a spirit of ardent love for his masterpiece, and exhibits a good intelligence of the temper, spirit and scope of the same. The literature of Dante is not always accessible to seminarians and college lads,—hence Dr. Hogan's excerpts and translations from the classical modern students and commentators of the poet ought to be welcome to teachers and disciples. The work is pervaded by a Catholic spirit, as may be seen from the chapters on "Dante an Orthodox Catholic" and "Dante and the Pope's temporal power." The book would be much more serviceable if such Dante-literature as Dr. Hogan quotes were gathered somewhere under one rubric, and an exact system of reference introduced and observed. As it is one must look painfully through the whole work to make sure of what modern writers have been drawn on for its construction. Then, too, there should have been a separate treatment of the principal "Editions" of Dante, first in Italian, and then in the various translations, with some brief note or appreciation whereby the youthful student might know the specific value or purpose of each edition. No student, for example, will learn from this book that there is a cheap and handy edition of all the works of Dante by Dr. Moore. The Latin translation of Giovanni da Serravalle is mentioned (p. 14) but nothing is said in the chapter on "Commentators of Dante" of Serravalle's interesting Latin commentary. Nor is there mentioned the title of this important publication brought out (Prato, 1891, in folio) under the auspices of Leo XIII, by the Franciscan scholars Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli. One cannot help thinking that if the noble "Dante" of Franz Xaver Kraus (Berlin, 1897, pp. 792) had been taken as model by Dr. Hogan, he would have produced a manual of durable value and furthered still more the study of the "sommo poeta" in our schools and literary circles.

T. J. S.

The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century.

By Leo Wiener. New York: Scribner's, 1899.

The prose writings of Israel Zangwill and translations of the poems of Morris Rosenfeld have made better known than ever before the inner life of the distinctively Jewish quarter found in nearly every large city. Formerly it seemed to be a life apart, with little more to arouse interest than the old world customs and the tenacity of adhesion to Oriental traditions manifested on the surface. The language spoken in the narrow Ghetto streets was considered by those outside the Jewish communities as unworthy of study and as barren of interesting thought as the language of an illiterate and uncultured savage. And even now, as Dr. Wiener says in his interesting book, the mental attitude of this people and their literature are "less known to the world than" the language and literature "of the Gypsy, the Malay or the North American Indian."

The language, however, is native to over five millions of people in Europe and a large number in America; and the literature contains many poems and prose writings delicately wrought, and expressive of tender and refined feeling.

Before the sixteenth century the Jews of Europe spoke the language of their Christian neighbors. Continual use of the Hebrew Scriptures and of the Talmudic writings brought in some Semitic words, but not in such a way as to produce a dialect. In the sixteenth century, however, a large number of Jews inhabiting the Middle Rhine country left Germany and settled permanently in Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. To those lands they carried with them their native German language. As little intercourse productive of deep impressions on their mental life was had with the Slavs around them, and as communication with Germany was interrupted, the Jews were thrown upon their own energies to develop, not only a new literature but a also new dialect. New surroundings demanded new words. Such words were borrowed from Semitic languages, and later on as commercial contact became closer Slavonic, and especially Lithuanian, words were added. The result was a wide divergence from the original German; not enough, however, to produce a new language; but merely a new dialect. With the development of the language a literature gradually arose, which after a while passed back into Germany, where it was received by the German Jews and its language became the vernacular Jewish. In former times the dialect was called *Judisch-teutsch*; through the efforts of reformers it became known as jargon. By those who speak it, the vernacular is called *Judisch*, and this has given rise to the name familiar in England and America, *Yiddish*.

As in all other literatures, so in *Yiddish*, poetry developed first. Much of that poetry has the character of folk-song. Wedding-songs, songs of childhood, of youth and old age have been produced, and many of them are very beautiful. As expressive of the rapidity with which the years of childhood go by, and as illustrative of the delicacy and charm of many *Yiddish* songs, the following may be quoted:

Yahren kleine, Yahren schoene,
Was sent ihr aso wenig da?
Ihr sent nor gekummen,
Me hat euch schoen aufgenommen,
Un' sent nor gewe'n bei uns ein Scho?
Yahren junge, Yahren g'ringe,
Was sent ihr aso gich aweg?
Es seht euch nit kein Augel,
Es dergagen euch nit die Voegel,
Ihr sent aweg gar ohn' ein Eck'!

Dr. Wiener translates as follows: "Little years, beautiful years, why, are there so few of you? You had scarcely come, you were well received, and you stayed but an hour with us!—Young years, light years, why have you passed so quickly? Not an eye can see you, not a bird can fly as swiftly. You have passed without return!"

In America Yiddish poetry has reached a high degree of development in the poems of Morris Rosenfeld. For years he has worked in the sweat shops of New York, and life has been so real and hard for him that his "Songs from the Ghetto" have a tragic tone, but are full of fine poetic feeling, and indicate that under worthy conditions he may produce poems of interest and value to many outside the small Ghetto world. In this century Yiddish prose has been produced in abundance. A large quantity of it, however, is made up of stories illustrative of and caricaturing the sect called Khassidim. In America the prose literature has passed through three stages: the era of the sensational novel, the dissemination of socialistic views, and lastly an attempt to popularize science, and produce a purer literature. An interesting feature of Yiddish literature is the drama. No great dramatist has, however, yet appeared. Many of the plays are translations or adaptations, such as the productions of J. Gordin.

Dr. Wiener deserves great praise for his history of Yiddish literature; it is the first attempt at a systematic classification and record of literary works entirely too little known. In this book the wealth of material has been indicated. The poems and prose writings quoted are a good illustration of the fine literary quality of much that has long been hidden from the world in this jargon literature. An excellent chrestomathy is appended to the book, and it is hoped that the intention of Dr. Wiener to publish a larger one, printed in proper type, shall be soon realized.

E. B. G.

The Three Archangels and the Guardian Angel in Art. By Eliza Allen Starr. Chicago, 1899, published by the author, 16°, pp. 77.

Around some seventeen reproductions of masterpieces of Fra Angelico, Raphael, Perugino, Luini, Murillo, Overbeck, Von Deutsch and others, Miss Starr has woven a text that is full of Christian truth and sweetness. There are many things in Catholicism eternally winsome by reason of their poetry and their mysticism,—among them is the veneration of the Holy Angels. An heirloom of the Jewish Church, a living force in the Old Law, and equally so in the New, this feature of Catholic life has always been jealously guarded by the Church. It is eminently in keeping with the history of mankind as related in the Sacred Writings, and is

especially calculated to keep alive the meaning of Creation, Providence, the Fall of Man, Prayer, and God's immediate interest in His children. Would that such elegant little volumes might be multiplied! No book is better fitted as a companion to that chapter of the Catechism which treats of the holy spirits who sang at the dawn of the world's creation, and yet form the intimate household of the Creator. In another edition it would be well to correct the statement (p. 12) that Dionysius the Areopagite is a Christian writer of the first century,—if we say end of the fifth, we shall be much nearer the truth.

T. J. S.

Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane. Edited by David S. Hogarth. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1899. 8°, pp. 440.

Mr. Hogarth in editing this collection of essays has rendered a service to students of Scripture and Ancient History, and also to the general reader. The purpose of the volume is to present the latest facts of Archaeology, and estimate their influence upon accepted historical authorities, whether sacred or classical. In no field of research is there more activity than in that of history. Here, more than elsewhere, the conclusions, theories, opinions of to-day, are subject to constant change. In the light of the facts revealed by archaeology, the statements contained in many text-books must be modified or rejected, controversies judged, and history written anew. Hence the need of having these facts at our command. The specialist, it is true, may find necessary data for his particular study in the various magazines devoted to his science; but these are many, and so various, that they are hardly available to the scholar separated from large centers of learning, and practically useless for the general reader. Mr. Hogarth, with the assistance of those associated with him, has removed this difficulty, and in this one volume may be found the leading discoveries of a quarter of a century of research in Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Ancient Greece and Rome. The "authorities" with which these discoveries are compared are, for Babylonia, Assyria and Rome under the Empire, the Old and New Testament; for Egypt, Ancient Greece, Prehistoric Italy, and Rome of the Republic, the classical historians and writers, especially Herodotus, Diodorus, and Homer.

Naturally, the greatest interest centers around the question of archaeology and Hebrew authority. On this point controversy has been rife during the past ten years. In other fields new discoveries are looked to with interest, but they do not touch so vitally what pertains to the belief and the hopes of mankind. To Dr. Driver was allotted the task of treating this difficult subject. A recognized leader in matters pertaining to criticism, thoroughly versed in all that archaeology has made

known, Dr. Driver's statement as to the facts endorsed by the literary criticism of the Old Testament, and those revealed by archaeologists, may be relied upon. Those of his school may also be satisfied with his reasoning as to the bearing of these later discoveries upon the result of higher criticism, and give assent to the conclusions drawn therefrom; but Dr. Driver is too much imbued with the spirit of the critical school to realize, or bear in mind, that from another point of view these same facts may be read to a different conclusion. In this volume, over and above the narration, from an historical standpoint, of the facts of archaeology and their comparison with the statements contained in the Scripture, Dr. Driver holds a brief for the defense of Higher Criticism, and many of his broad inductions, and general conclusions, are drawn, and colored, under that influence. When the verdict of archaeology is not neutral, he says "the facts of archaeology, so far as they are at present known, harmonize entirely with the position generally adopted by critics" (p. 145). This is supposed to be the final verdict in the case of "The Bible vs. The Monuments." Regarding the historical accuracy of certain statements in the Old Testament, and their confirmation or denial by the testimony of the monuments, Dr. Driver marshals a wealth of evidence and criticism, but each point will have to be judged on its own merits. The general conclusion of Dr. Driver seems to be, that the chronology of the Old Testament is certainly at fault, and will have to be corrected in the light of modern discoveries (pp. 32 and 119); for the rest of the disputed questions, the conditions are unchanged by the testimony of the monuments. It remains, therefore, a question of Dr. Driver and his followers vs. Sayce, Hommel et al.

There is, however, another question which is more fundamental. In treating of Genesis, Dr. Driver seems to adopt the saying of Professor Sayce, namely, that the Babylonian traditions are the *ultimate* source whence the Hebrews drew the *elements* which find their way into their literature (p. 15); and, although admitting a "profound *theological* difference between these two narratives," the distinction as to the different elements which they contain is not sufficiently apparent. As far as the outward form, the literary setting, in which the story of Genesis is contained, the claim may, or may not, be so. At present it is a theory, upheld by most critics, it is true, but still subject to doubt and denial. To admit this statement, however, as true, in regard to the spiritual elements contained in this narration, would necessitate the changing of all our convictions as to the unique place held by the Jews in the history of religion. According to this old belief, the elements contained in the literature of the Old Testament have, as their *ultimate* source, a primitive revelation. The traditions, in which these elements were preserved, may

have been influenced and modified by the ages and people through which they were handed down; but the distinguishing feature of Old Testament literature, and that which gives it a place apart in the literature of the world, is this, that it contains the great elementary spiritual truths revealed to man by God. The facts advanced do not demand or warrant our abandonment of this belief. The discovery of the creation tablets, (p. 9, sqq.) the existence of a Sabbath among the Babylonians (p. 17), their myths of a Paradise and Fall (p. 18), and legends of a Deluge (p. 20), do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Biblical narrative is *ultimately* of Babylonian origin. To claim this, the writer would have to show such a complete similarity, both in matter and form, between the two sets of narrations, that it would be impossible, or at least improbable, that each could have originated separately, or both from some more primitive source. On the contrary, there exists, as Dr. Driver says, a wide difference between the two, at least from a theological standpoint. In the one we have an exuberant and grotesque polytheism; in the other, a severe and dignified monotheism; in the one, chaos is anterior to Deity, the gods are made, or produced—we know not whence or how—and they only gradually and with difficulty rise superior to the state of darkness and disorder in which they find themselves; in the other the supremacy of this one Creator is absolute, and His word alone suffices to bring about each stage in the work of creation (p. 14).¹ To account for this difference it will not suffice to state that “the Babylonian myth must have been for long years transplanted into Israel; it must there have been gradually divested of its polytheistic features and gradually reduced more and more to a simple, unadorned narrative of the origin of the world, until parts of it (we can not at present positively say more) were capable of adoption—or adaptation—by the author of Gen. i. as elements of his cosmogony” (p. 16). Rather would we hold to the rules laid down by Ewald, that when it is question of those traditions which are common to most people, their source must be sought beyond the histories of the separate nations, and in that obscure primæval period of the existence of one unknown but early civilized nation which was afterwards dissolved into the nations of that day.²

Rev. A. C. Headlam supplements this treatise of Dr. Driver by furnishing us, in Part III, entitled *Archæology and Christian Authority*, “an estimate of the gain accruing to our knowledge of early Christianity from archæological discovery.” This increment is derived from a two-fold source, “the discovery of literary sources rescued from the Egyptian deserts” (p. 356) and the monumental remains. The importance of the

¹ Compare Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization* c. VII.

² *History of the Jews*, I, 258.

literary evidence is apt to be unduly exaggerated on account of its antiquity. Consideration must be given to the facts that it is extremely fragmentary, and that it is almost impossible to place it in its right historical setting.¹ To appreciate the evidence of the monuments it must be remembered that it is for the most part indirect, "that there is nothing at all, as yet known, which touches in any way the earliest Gospel narrative" (p. 339). Their evidence but furnishes the background for the narrative of the Gospels. For the early history of Christianity, however, with details of which "the Acts of the Apostles bristle," we find that "every detail might be corroborated." The accuracy of St. Luke's narrative is tested by the statements regarding the Nativity of Christ, and their perfect accord with the facts made known by archaeology makes us "much less inclined to reject his evidence elsewhere, and certainly forbids us to adopt the attitude assumed by many critics, that a statement in the New Testament must be wrong unless it can be proved to be right" (p. 359). So far, the most satisfactory monumental evidence regarding early Christianity has been discovered in Phrygia. In the treatment of the Epitaph of Abercius, discovered by Professor Ramsay in 1881-3, and the interpretation of inscriptions on early Christian tombs (p. 373 seq), Mr. Headlam furnishes a good example of how these discoveries may be used for the building up of history. The Catacombs are especially dear to Catholics. Their discovery, use, and plan are interestingly told in a few pages. One conclusion reached by the study of the inscriptions contained in the Catacombs touches a much controverted subject, the presence of St. Peter in Rome. The evidence derived from these monuments endorses the tradition which held that "SS. Peter and Paul were the joint founders of the Roman Church. Archaeology makes it quite clear that from the second century onward, the two apostles were jointly honored in an especial manner." True, "it does not prove the fact, it only proves the belief," . . . but in both (literature and monuments) the tradition is so strong that there is no real ground for doubting the fact (p. 408).

Egypt and Assyria, the homes of the oldest civilization that we know, are pre-eminently the sphere of the archaeologist. Mr. Griffith sketches what has been done in these countries, estimates the result, and holds out hopes for the future. The ancient history of Egypt has been made known only within recent years. Owing to the keen insight and faithful per-

¹We could call attention here to the recent publication by Ignatius Ephraem II, Patriarch of Antioch, of the "Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi," a document purporting to be of the second century, and which is held by such eminent critics as Germain Morin, Harnack, and Achelis, to be about the age of Constantine, although containing fragments which are older, probably of the second or third century, but regarding which critics have not as yet had time to decide.—*Revue Bénédictine*, January, 1900, p. 10.

severance of Young and Champollion the sphinx-like riddle of her hieroglyphic has been solved, and from the inscriptions the archaeologist may now offer to her historian "a rich harvest of facts" pertaining to her kings, her wars, her victories and defeats; whereby the latter may judge the historians of the past, and form his own estimate as to the march of events and the progress of civilization. Historians of Assyria and Babylonia are likewise indebted to this progress for much that will throw light upon many important periods and facts in the history of these countries. Herodotus is severely dealt with by the facts revealed by modern explorers. Thanks to the evidence which they have presented, we now know Egypt better than Herodotus himself, and are able to correct many of his errors regarding her more ancient history, add thereto many unrecorded dates, facts, and events; and form a much more perfect estimate of the conditions of the Egypt contemporary with his travels.

Mr. Griffith, after a short summary of the teachings of Herodotus (pp. 163-164), and comparing them with recent discoveries, declares the writings to be "a patch-work of different elements wrongly adjusted," (p. 168), collected probably from scattered records of the priests. "Obviously ignorant as to the succession of the kings, the classical authors can hardly be expected to exhibit much knowledge of events in Egyptian history of the early period" (169). Nor is their authority on contemporary history of much more value. In the light of the criticism of this paper, Herodotus appears like the superficial traveller of to-day, who, note-book in hand, gathers up the current gossip, and becomes the "raconteur" of Egypt, rather than her historian. "When we are able to check his individual statements they generally seem unfounded or a distortion of facts" (p. 191). The classical writings on the Ancient East must, therefore, be studied "more as records of news of the time, and of the personalities of the authors than of facts, and only those scraps of the old lore that bear rigorous testing" may be fitted into the new structure of Ancient History which modern scholars would build. By modern methods, the history, which at the beginning of this century began for us in the iron age, about 600 B. C., has been reconstructed and carried back nearly 3,000 years by the decipherer of the monuments; while "the excavator has pushed back historic archaeology some twelve centuries to the beginning of the late bronze age . . . ; further still, he is tracking the use of stone, side by side with copper and bronze, until twenty centuries have been added to the twelve, and Menes, the traditional founder of the Egyptian monarchy, is reached. Beyond this, still he tracks it, but with no rule for the measurement of time" (p. 209), guided simply by the traces of man's development as told in the various instruments he has left behind him.

The Assyriologist has hopes of completing the canons "by which dates were intended to be identified in Babylonia and Assyria" and thus being able "to trace his way back, almost year by year to the beginning of the importance of Babylon, an epoch generally considered to fall about 2300 B. C." This, if accomplished, would serve in a great measure as a chronology for all the Euphratean countries. "Whether the chronology before that time can ever be more than very roughly estimated is still extremely doubtful" (p. 214). When all has been done, however, there is but scant hope of constructing a consecutive history of persons and events in the ancient world. All that may be hoped for is a "broad outline of development and change, chronologically graduated, and varied by occasional pictures of extraordinary minuteness and brilliancy."

The two chapters on Greece,—Prehistoric Greece, by the Editor, and Historic Greece, by Ernest A. Gardner,—will prove the most attractive to the general reader. Ancient Greece, in its ideals and civilization, was, as Professor Mahaffy says, much nearer to our own civilization of to-day than that of many contemporary peoples. For that reason, the masterpieces of Greek writing, and the monuments of an older civilization, "are not mere objects of curiosity to the Archaeologist, not mere treasure-houses of roots and forms to be sought out by comparative grammarians"; they are the vestiges of a people of like culture with ourselves, from whom we have inherited many of the elements contained in our civilization, and the ideals which inform our lives. The story of the results accruing to history since the first discoveries of Schliemann (1868), reads like a fairy tale. Inspired by love for the Homeric epoch, and guided by Pausanias, this explorer undertook his labors in the hope of proving the historical accuracy of that immortal poem. The results, although unsatisfactory if judged from the end which Schliemann had in view, have been beyond the broadest conjectures of the historic imagination. Although the bodies of Agamemnon and Atreus may have escaped the search of the excavators, there have been revealed to us a world and a civilization till now undreamed of, "a civilization capable of higher achievement which preceded the primitive Hellenic in Hellas" (p. 226). "Tombs, pottery or work in metals, gems, ivory, sculptured stone or modelled clay," all point to an "art before history." The result of all these discoveries rounded out in a paragraph is this: "Man in Hellas was more highly civilized before history than when history begins to record his state; and there existed human society in the Hellenic area, organized and productive, to a period so remote, that its origins were more distant from the age of Pericles than that age is from our own. We have probably to deal with a total period of civilization in the Aegean not much shorter than in the Nile valley" (p. 230). Whence originated this great

civilization of the Greek lands? Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, all have claimed the parentage of this great deposit which so mightily influenced the history of the world. In the face of the Mycenaean discoveries their claims may be denied (p. 240). True, their influence may be discerned in the art of that prehistoric period, but under it all appear the traces of a people strong enough to stamp with their own individuality and originality all that was borrowed, and blend it into an artistic form, which has become the heritage of mankind. Scattered by invasions of less civilized nations, these people carried with them the memories of the "golden age, the age of heroes, and god-descended kings," which furnished the theme for the greatest of epics, and proved the root from which the later art sprang forth, and gave to the world its fairest blossoms under the magic culture of Pericles, Phidias and Praxiteles.

It is impossible to do justice to the book in one review. Treating of many diverse yet kindred subjects, written by different men, and from various view-points, it is impossible to generalize, and yet more so to compare, their conclusions. One thing, however, is certain; from beginning to end, the work is one that demands a place in every library. For those versed in the subjects whereof it treats, it furnishes the latest data, and suggests new problems; for those who are repelled by the vagueness surrounding the beginnings of history, it will be a most welcome contribution, revealing, as it does, how the prehistoric is being gradually recovered from the realm of myths and scientifically fixed by the guideposts of historical facts.

T. J. W.

Orestes H. Brownson's Middle Life (1845-1855), by Henry F. Brownson. Detroit, 1899. H. F. Brownson, 8°, pp. 646.

The figure of this vigorous champion of Catholicism will never fail to attract the attention of every student of American Catholic affairs. In any period of Church history the apologist is always an instructive personality, revealing lights and shadows, strength and weakness, now lauded to the skies for acts of skill or daring, and again severely criticised for conduct or method that seem to imperil the truth. This is all the truer of the lay apologists for Catholicism, foremost among whom we may without injustice place Orestes Brownson, if rank and merit be adjudged according to length and priority of service, gravity of problems treated, intensity of opposition and density of ignorance to be overcome.

The lay service to the Church that began with Chateaubriand and De Maistre has so increased within one hundred years, that the clergy may well look to their laurels—the Catholic layman has never before spoken with such eloquence, on such high themes, and rendered such service to the *Ecclesia Docens* as in this century. France, Germany, England, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, offer a shining catalogue of "Defenders of the Faith,"—indeed their very number is no small tribute

to the eternal charm and truth of Catholicism, for the immediate past made little or no provision for them. Each has risen by a line of personal development to the stage that he occupies, and in no two cases have they been formed alike or called after the same manner. That priests should defend and illustrate Catholicism goes without saying,—that so many of its most illustrious protagonists should be laymen is not the least of the religious phenomena of the century. The Spirit breatheth where it listeth, and it is a strong proof of the internal liberty of the Catholic mind that the bravest and most efficacious defenders of the Church should be taken, abnormally, from outside the regular forces; that they should have contributed to the methods of defence so much that is new and wholesome, and should have taken from Catholicism the reproach of being no more than the vested and organized interests of a hierarchy. Amid the petty feudalisms and absolutisms of the last century such action would have been impossible,—much less the creation of whole congresses in which the layman co-operates with the clergy for the common welfare of Catholicism. This is one contribution of Democracy to the history of the Church,—out of the depths of the popular heart come the souvenirs, impulses, currents, feelings, awakenings, of which these Catholic laymen are the voice. Through them—and they are of all nationalities and temperaments—the Holy Spirit gave courage and consolation to the Catholic priesthood, most unjustly persecuted and broken. Through them was knit anew that bond of mutual attachment that was the essence of mediæval Catholic Christendom; they prove that the Church is no Brahmanic caste, but the living organism that Saint Paul described (I Cor. c. xiii.)

In the eighteen chapters of this second volume of his father's life, Major Brownson goes over in considerable detail the chief events of that agitated existence during the decade 1845–1855. Familiar names crowd the pages; half-forgotten but grave controversies are presented in the distant mellow light of the past; the gigantic labors of one struggling scholar are set before us, earning at once his daily bread and concerned with the destinies of a world. There is something grand and inspiring about the moral earnestness of Brownson; one is uplifted and invigorated by contact with that intense nature to which truth, conscience, consistency, were pearls of greatest price, and to which opportunism, the shadings of doctrine, the adjustments in favor of peace and comfort, and perhaps temporal advantage, were detestable. This may not be the temper of the multitude, but Orestes Brownson rose high above the average man, and possessed the holy self-devoting temper of the martyr or the crusader. His writings will long remain a source of edification and enlightenment to all thinking men, and his sacrifices to the voice of conscience an exemplar to future generations.

T. J. S.

Lessons in Civics. By S. E. Forman, Ph. D. New York : American Book Co., 1899 ; pp. 207.

This little book is an elementary text-book in "Civics" designed for use in schools, but it has features that make its appearance worthy of note in these pages ; for, aside from its technical value, it stands for a principle and a policy in education. The keynote to these is given in this extract from the preface : " Unless it is pursued with a distinctly ethical aim, the study of civil government in public schools is of doubtful utility. To equip a lad with a knowledge of the working of governments and the rights of citizens, without equipping him with a conscience that will constrain him to practice the virtues of citizenship, may be to prepare him for a more successful career as a public rogue."

The book appreciates the necessity, in a country like our own, of training in politics for the boys who are to become the citizens, and, therefore, the rulers of the state. But it appreciates still more the dignity of politics in its best aspect, and the necessity of a strong ethical and moral leaven to keep what we term "practical politics" from becoming a stench in the nostrils of decent men. Mr. Forman is himself a teacher and a specialist in political science, and he has given us, in this modest little book, an excellent combination of science and sanity. Its use in our schools could not but prove of assistance in both moral and intellectual lines, and it is well worth while for those in charge of advanced parochial schools to look into the merits of the book.

C. P. N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Question Box, or Answers to Objections against the Catholic Church, by Non-Catholics at Missions, given by the author, Rev. F. G. Lentz, Missionary of the Diocese of Peoria. New York and San Francisco : Christian Press Association Publishing Co., 1900. 8°, pp. 245.

Father Lentz has given us in ninety-seven short chapters a number of objections to Catholicism, usually urged at the missions given for Protestants, together with brief and pertinent answers. The book is a very useful one, and deserves the widest circulation. Its temper is eminently patient and charitable ; its style terse and direct. There is considerable gentle humor running through it, enough to relieve the tedium of a thrice-told tale. It would be well in future editions to give the titles of the chapters, both at the beginning, and before each chapter. Indexes of the topics treated, and of the objections, would also be an improvement.

Chronicles of "The Little Sisters," by Mary E. Mannix; **Michael O'Donnell, or the Fortunes of a Little Emigrant,** by the same. Notre Dame, Indiana: The Ave Maria, 1900. 8°, pp. 378, 267.

These sketches, reprinted from that excellent family magazine, the *Ave Maria*, are deserving of a place in every Catholic family library. They are gracefully written, pure, religious and edifying in tone.

New Footsteps in Well-Trodden Ways, by Katherine E. Conway. (2d Ed.) Boston: The Pilot Publishing Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 252.

In this little volume of travel-sketches, Miss Conway offers us an account of the impressions and emotions of a tour through Europe. Though the route of travel did not embrace remote or little-known regions, the gifted author has contrived to make familiar scenes newly interesting. She has a delicate Catholic sense of sympathy with much that the ordinary traveller does not see, or seeing, does not appreciate. Parents would do well to see that such travel sketches are placed in the hands of their children, instead of the insipid or misleading accounts that are too often tolerated in the home.

Over the Rocky Mountains to Alaska, by Charles Warren Stoddard. St. Louis: Herder, 1899. 8°, pp. 168.

This reprint from the *Ave Maria*, of "notes of travel and adventure" in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska, is in Dr. Stoddard's happiest vein. Readers of his "Lepers of Molokai" and his "Under the Crescent" will appreciate these pages that are everywhere lit up by a brilliant play of fine sentiment, picturesque style, and a certain confiding "bonhomie" that appeals to the best instincts of the reader.

My New Curate, A Story gathered from the Stray Leaves of an Old Diary, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P. P., Doneraile (Diocese of Cloyne, Ireland). Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. (5th edition), 1900. 8°, pp. 480.

This work appeared as a serial in one of our Catholic magazines, and won recognition at once by the superior quality of the thought and the delicate handling of the material. It is too late for us to repeat the words of praise that have been bestowed upon this clerical "roman de mœurs,"—few frankly Catholic novels have gone through five editions in three months. Nor is this owing alone to the energy and shrewdness of the publishers,—intrinsic merit is enough to explain the charm and popularity of the book, coupled with the natural curiosity the world has

to hear the life experiences of that usually reserved character, the priest. The latter is an official psychologist, since the days of Augustine,—yes, and long before, “*Homo sacerdos veniens erudiet nos.*” Since the “Parish Priest’s Week,” of Dr. Egan, we remember nothing more kindly, profound, candid, and beneficial. If the lives of our clergy must also be cast into the mighty grist of the modern press, let the grinding out be done by such as the well-equipped, brilliant P.P. of Doneraile, not by such observers as the author of “The Damnation of Theron Ware.” Little Doneraile ought to rejoice,—the jibing rhymes of the old pedagogue will now be forgotten for the literary worth and fame of its shepherd on whose shoulders has fallen the mantle of Father Prout. Is there not a misprint on p. 380, *Carofala* for *Garofalo*?

Characteristics of the Early Church, by Rev. J. J. Burke, Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 148.

This little work undertakes to narrate briefly many things that the Catholic layman needs to know—the history of the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the primitive Church, its first writers, its teachings, liturgy, movements, creeds, councils, trials, and triumphs. It is very popular in character, without pretence to any embodiment of the results of scientific research. What is said (p. 111) of the popes Cletus and Anacletus is incorrect; they are, according to the best historians, one person. On p. 118 “Domatilla” should be “Domitilla.” When writing of “Saint Colman” (p. 46) one should always add some distinguishing title, as there are hundreds of Irish saints by that name. On the same page a work of St. Athanasius against the Novatians is cited, but it would be hard to find such a book in any list of the works of Athanasius. There are other blemishes. The science of Early Church History has made much progress in the last half century, of which the author seems to take no account. The most difficult work to write just now would be an accurate handbook of Early Church History. In spite of the above, there are very useful pages in this work—only its statements need control and verification.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. New York: Macmillan, 1900, 2 vols, 8°, pp. x + 422, 382. \$10.

L’Université d’Avignon aux XVII et XVIII siècles, par J. Marchand. Paris; Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. 326.

- Les Esclaves Chrétiens depuis les premiers temps, etc., par Paul Allard. Paris: 1900 (3d ed.), Lecoffre. 8°, pp. 494.
- Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A study on the Credibility of St. Luke, by W. M. Ramsay. Putnam's, New York, 1898. 8°, pp. 280.
- A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, by W. M. Ramsay. Putnam's, New York, 1900. 8°, pp. 478.
- The Criminal: his Personnel and Environment, by August Drähms. Macmillan, New York, 1900. 8°, pp. x + 402.
- Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated? An Inquiry, by Rev. J. L. O'Neill, O. P. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1900. 8° pp. viii + 195.
- La Mort Civile des Religieux dans l'ancien droit français, étude historique et critique par l'abbé Ch. Landry. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. 172.
- Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Christlichen Alterthum, von J. P. Kirsch, Mainz, 1900, Kirchheim. 8°, pp. vi + 230.
- Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abyssiniern, von Dr. Ph. Euringer. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900. 8°, pp. —.
- La Vie de Saint Didier, Evêque de Cahors (630-655), par René Poupard. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. xx + 64.
- La Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint Pathus, par H. F. Delaborde. Paris: Picard, 1899. 8°, pp. xxxii + 166.
- Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant, en français et latin, textes et étude critique, par John E. Matzke. Paris: Picard, 1899. 8°, pp. liv + 32.
- Les Grands Traités du règne de Louis XIV, publiés par Henri Vast. Paris: Picard, 1899. 8°, pp. 220.
- Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi nunc primum editum, Latine reddidit et illustravit Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani Patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum. Mainz: Kirchheim, large 8°, pp. lii + 231.
- Bilder aus der Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst und Liturgie in Italien. Freiburg im Breisgau von Stephan Beissel, S. J. Herder, 1899, 8°, pp. 328 (illustrated).
- Seneca-Album: Weltfrohes und Weltfreies aus Seneca's philosophischen Schriften (Appendix on the Christianity of Seneca) von B. A. Betzinger. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 8°, pp. 224.
- Saint Jean Chrysostom (344-407) par Aimé Puech. Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 200.
- Le Bienheureux Raymond Lulle (1232-1315), par Marius André. Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 216.
- La Vénérable Jeanne d'Arc, par L. Petit de Julleville. Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 200.

- Daniel O'Connell, sa vie, son œuvre, par L. Nemours Godré (2d ed.).**
Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8°, pp. viii + 396.
- Die Englischen Martyrer unter Heinrich VIII und Elisabeth (1535–1583), Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 16 Jahrhunderts, von Joseph Spillmann, S. J., (2d ed.) 2 vols., 8°, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900, pp. xi + 255, xii + 439.**
- Zur Codification des Canonischen Rechts, Denkschrift von Dr. Hugo Laemmer. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900, 8°, pp 223.**
- Encyclopædie der Theologischen Wissenschaften nebst Methodenlehre, zu akademischen Vorlesungen und zum Selbststudium, von Dr Cornelius Krieg. Freiburg: Herder, 1899. 8°, pp. 271.**
- August Reichensperger (1808–1895) sein Leben und sein Werken auf dem Gebiet der Politik, der Kunst und der Wissenschaft, von Ludwig Pastor. 2 vols. Herder, Freiburg, 1899. 8°, xxv + 606, xv + 496.**

ALUMNI ASSOCIATION MEETING, 1900.

The sixth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America, took place at Hotel Bellevue, Philadelphia, on the afternoon of February 14, 1900.

Owing to the unavoidable absence of the President, Rev. Lemuel B. Norton, the First Vice-President, Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, S. T. L., occupied the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read by the Secretary, Rev. Dr. Kerby, and accepted by the Society.

The chairman announced to the Society the death of Fr. Norton's sister; he also gave expression to the satisfaction felt at the presence of Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University.

The following were admitted to membership: Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the University; Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector; Charles P. Neill, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Economics; Rev. Charles F. Kavanagh, S. T. B., Philadelphia; Rev. George V. Hickey, Milford, Ohio; Rev. James E. McCooey, Claremont, N. H.; Rev. William L. Sullivan, C. S. P., S. T. B., Catholic University; Rev. Richard Boland, Lowell, Mass.; Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, S. T. L., Catholic University; Rev. Eneas B. Goodwin, S. T. B., Catholic University; Rev. John E. Bradley, Philadelphia; Rev. Joseph McSorley, Catholic University.

Two papers were read, the one by Mr. Francis Guilfoile, of Waterbury, Conn., was entitled "What Problems Confront the Association." The text of this discourse reached us too late for publication. The second, by Rev. Edward J. Fitzgerald, S. T. L., of Clinton, Mass., was entitled: "How can the Association best serve the University." We print it in full:

HOW CAN THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION BEST SERVE THE UNIVERSITY?

That every alumnus of the Catholic University is a loyal son and is interested in the success of his Alma Mater, I take for granted. Every man who has passed a greater or less time in her halls, who has followed the courses therein offered, who has drunk in the high aspirations that permeate her atmosphere, must realize that his present mental and moral stature is a result of all these influences, and unless he be hopelessly selfish, he will wish to extend this opportunity for broad, exact culture to his fellows.

The question then that confronts is, "How can this best be done?" It would be unpardonably conceited on my part to attempt to say the last word on a question so important; all I shall attempt to do is to throw out some suggestions, some tentative schemes, which passing through many minds, may tend to a solution of the question.

The University can be aided morally and materially; morally, by keeping her name and work before the country, by making her and her aims better known to those persons from whom she may hope to draw her students; materially, by contributing money or apparatus to fit out the University as perfectly as any school in the world, that her usefulness and influence may not be circumscribed by insufficient equipment. What I shall have to say will, naturally, fall under these two headings. As to the first:

The Alumni Association, being as yet in its infancy, lusty though that infancy be, can do little as an association to keep the name of the University before the people. In a great city, teeming with life, full of activity, the meeting of a score or two of earnest men might easily pass unheeded or at best gain but a passing notice from the press.

Moreover, the infrequency of our meetings is another bar to making our beloved University home known and loved as we know and love her.

Although the Alumni Association cannot as yet do much as an association in advertising the University, yet it seems to me that local associations could assist in this line; not that they would supersede the general association, but would be merely branches deriving their life and vigor from the parent stem. The minor or local associations could be established on diocesan or state lines; meeting oftener and more easily, they would effect the end sought more readily. This system has proved its success in other colleges and universities. I think the attempt would be worth the trying among us.

Take an example. I speak of Massachusetts by preference, as I know something of the conditions therein prevalent. There are in Massachusetts at least a score of alumni. Meeting once or twice a year, becoming better acquainted with each other, doing something in an academic line to make the meetings profitable and worthy of the school it represents, such an association would be a leaven that would have an ever increasing effect on Catholic New England.

If the state lines seem too narrow, why not include a group of states? To speak again of a section of the country with which I am somewhat familiar, we might have, for example, a New England Alumni Association, drawing from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Whether the scheme would succeed, I know not; whether it would be desirable, I do not attempt to settle. It seems to me that it would succeed and be a

help to our work. It is a far cry from Washington to Massachusetts; a farther cry from Washington to San Francisco; something local would be effective in making itself felt and in supplementing the work of the larger association.

What the Association, as such, cannot compass, the individual alumnus can accomplish. Coming here to the annual meeting as often as he can, getting into sympathy and tone with the University, renewing again the old associations—in a word, becoming an enthusiastic student for a day, he may then return to his home and diffuse some of his pent-up enthusiasm, some of the knowledge which he has acquired.

This may be especially the opportunity of the clerical alumnus. As the years glide by, the young priest, fresh from the University, becomes one of the elders of the diocese, while still retaining his youthful, student enthusiasm for the higher education of his people. He will now be more and more consulted as to the choice of a school by young men seeking the highest development of their powers in a University curriculum. This will be his opportunity to do some propaganda for his *Alma Mater*.

The importance of this propaganda cannot be too strongly dwelt upon. The University is not known—the University is not known as she is—to be a school of the highest grade in educational work, a school offering exceptional advantages to a young man who has energy and good-will to bring to his studies. It is not a seminary of superior grade, it is not a novitiate for priests, it is not a college even,—it is a University in the fullest, broadest sense of the word; in its aims and prospects it will give the completest education in all the branches of human science; will give the completest rational freedom of research; will welcome all truth wherever found and under whatever guise. The country does not know this. It is time it did, and it devolves upon us to accomplish it.

Catholic schools, of the primary grade at least, are now become common in our older Catholic communities. At the opening of each recurring school year it is now the custom to preach an educational sermon on the benefits of Catholic schools. Why can not the alumnus, to whom this pleasant duty falls, say a word of the higher education which our Church has ever fostered and which now our American Church has so fully realized? Why not hold up before the parochial school pupil the hope and aspiration of one day numbering himself as a pupil on the rolls of the National Catholic University? The ambition is laudable and cannot too early be presented to the Catholic youth.

If, however, this work is to be done by the Alumni singly or in association, it is necessary that they keep in touch with the University and know what is going on there. The University has developed much

since our day, and 'tis said the student of the early nineties can scarcely find his way about,—the Professors are scattered all over the city,—the new buildings, with which he is acquainted only by cut or prospectus, will bewilder him and make him feel a stranger where once he was a familiar. “It is the same, yet not the same to me.”

If this is true of the material make-up of the University, how much more truly may it not be said of the courses of studies! They too have developed and extended. Questions about them ought not to depend for an answer upon the meagre reports that the Catholic newspaper gives from time to time, reports be it said, treating oftentimes rather of the social than the academic life of our school. Some way, it appears, ought to be devised by which the Alumni may have accurate, first-hand information about the University, so that they may speak with authority on the matter and not be obliged to say: “Well, in my time they did thus and so, but doubtless this has all been changed since then.”

Now as to material aid. I believe that any aid, however small, if it be given with a good heart by a grateful Alumni, will be accepted and appreciated, and in facing this question, first of all we must rule out of court the specious objection that we cannot do anything worthy of our Association, so let us wait until we have larger means and can do something handsome. That day will come sooner, much sooner, if we school ourselves to give now. We priests try to train up our children to obey the Fifth Commandment of the Church by instructing them to give their mite at a tender age. May not this lesson be profitably learned by the Alumni? Our President has sent out circulars to try the opinions of the Alumni on the advisability of founding a scholarship this year. He tells me he has met with much encouragement—but why stop here?—why not have a yearly subscription small enough to be within the reach of all, yet in the aggregate making a considerable sum? Let me detain you a moment with a few figures. We have on the rolls of our Association over one hundred and twenty-five names. If each alumnus would contribute ten dollars yearly, a very modest sum, less than one dollar a month, it would give a yearly fund of twelve hundred and fifty dollars, equivalent to an interest-bearing fund of twenty-five thousand dollars, half the endowment of a professorial chair. No small or unworthy work for an infant Alumni!

An Alumni Library Fund levied in some such way as this would be helpful, and the consciousness that the Alumni are heart and hand with the active faculty would be worth many dollars. Thus much for direct material help. It will necessarily be small at first, but unless I misinterpret the spirit which our well-beloved first Rector sought to inculcate, and which his successor has striven to foster, such a fund, though it be

small, will be one of the proudest monuments of the University, speaking, as it will, the gratitude and loyalty of the old students.

There is another avenue open by which direct pecuniary help may be directed to the University. Priests and lawyers are often consulted by persons about to make their last wills, regarding the disposition of their property. Quite often it has happened that these persons either have no direct heirs who have a claim upon their generosity, or after having provided liberally for them there still remains a surplus which is to go to organized charity. A word explaining the University's work might make her a beneficiary, and gain glory and merit for the worthy soul who gave of her abundance, that the truth might more and more abound.

One other suggestion and I have done. A school is valuable in proportion as it fits students for life-work and also, to an extent, in proportion as she is able to find places for the graduates. This latter work is especially suited to the Alumni. In the world, occupying places of trust themselves, the Alumni will have exceptional opportunities to recommend their younger brethren when occasion presents. We need no grips, no Greek-letter fraternities, no cabalistic symbols. We are Alumni of the same University; that fact ought and must open our hearts and homes to our brother, and working together we will establish a new reason why the Catholic University of America is the best school in America for the aspiring Catholic student.

Let us take up this matter of aiding our Alma Mater loyally, and though our ranks to-day number but a Gideon band, yet loyalty, enthusiasm and united effort will accomplish much. May it be our happiness, in the middle of the next century, mayhap, when, as old, bent men perhaps some one of us as the oldest-living graduate, we revisit the loved haunts, to find her halls thronged with the choice youth of our broad land; her laboratories teeming with vital research; her libraries alive with scholars delving into the wisdom of the past; her press sending out the latest discoveries in every line of thought and endeavor.

In such an hour, with hearts swelling with gratitude to God that we have lived to see a scholarly priesthood and a scholarly professional life assured to our American Church, we may say if we have been loyal Alumni: "In all this I have had my humble part, now dismiss thy servant in peace, O Lord!"

Each paper was discussed in open session, after which a committee was appointed to confer and report to the meeting on the suggestions contained therein. The chair appointed to serve on that committee Rev. Dr. Kerby, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., S. T. L., Mr. James L. Kennedy, LL. B., Rev. Francis J. Butler and Rev. William J. Fletcher.

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A recess of fifteen minutes was then taken. At the expiration of the recess, reports of officers were received.

The Secretary reported that a copy of the Constitution and a circular-letter of invitation to the annual meeting had been mailed not only to members, but to all former and present students of the University who were eligible to membership in the Association.

The report of the Treasurer, Rev. George Leahy, S. T. L., was made and accepted.

The report of the Executive Committee was read by Rev. William Currie, in the absence of the chairman, Father Norton. The committee referred back to the Association for action the question of instituting various classes of members in the Society; it strongly recommended the formation of local or branch associations among the Alumni. After extended discussion on the problem of grades of membership, a motion was adopted which provided for the formation of three classes, to be known as active, associate, and honorary members. The second suggestion was accepted as offered.

A set of resolutions was drawn up and read on the death of Rev. Paul P. Aylward, S. T. L., a former member of the Association, and the Secretary was instructed to prepare a draft of these resolutions to be sent to the parents of the deceased.

"Whereas, God in His Providence has been pleased to call from our midst our well-beloved friend and fellow student, the Rev. Paul P. Aylward, S. T. L.

"Resolved, That the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America receive with profound sorrow the news of his early demise; and further be it

"Resolved, That we at the annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University express our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family, and be it finally

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be preserved in the minutes of this Association and that a copy be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Resolutions of sympathy were also voted to Father Norton on the occasion of his sister's death.

The committee appointed to confer on the papers contributed, made its report to the meeting, through the chairman, Dr. Kerby. It moved a vote of thanks from the Society to the authors of the papers read. It recommended the advisability of an arrangement whereby the University BULLETIN might henceforth act as the official organ of the Association, a department being devoted to the business of the Society. The Committee requested that Dr. Kerby assume the responsibility of this department; it advised the selection of delegates from various sections

of the country, to report from time to time, on matters of immediate interest to the Association or to its individual members. It urged that a full report of this meeting be prepared, containing at least a resumé of the papers submitted, and that this report be printed and a copy sent to each member of the Association.

The necessity of a propaganda in the interests of the Association and of the University was insisted on. The headquarters of this movement were to be fixed at Washington, the committee to consist of members of the Association connected with the University, with power to invite others to assist them in their work. As a means of furthering this purpose, the formation, wherever feasible, of other centers of such activity was suggested, said local branches to report at certain times to the central committee. The committee, therefore, very earnestly recommended the strong personal service of former students in behalf of the University, by making it better known, explaining its aims, its advantages, promoting its interests in every way, public or private, that might be deemed advisable.

In order to make this service as actual and efficient as possible, the chairman recommended the appointment of a committee of three, to define the precise form or forms of such service and co-operation, which shall best meet the present conditions of Association and University; that it report as soon as convenient, and that its plan be transmitted to the members by the Secretary as a part of the report of the annual meeting.

The report was accepted.

In accordance with these recommendations, the chair appointed to serve on the last-named committee, Rev. Fathers Fletcher, McSorley, C.S.P. and Kerby.

The following were elected the officers of the Association for the ensuing year:

President, Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D., Catholic University; First Vice-President, Rev. William T. Russell, Baltimore, Md.; Second Vice-President, Mr. James L. Kennedy, LL. B., Greensburg, Pa.; Secretary, Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, S. T. L., Catholic University; Treasurer, Rev. John W. Melody, S. T. L., Catholic University; Historian, Rev. Francis W. Maley, Boston, Mass.

Executive Committee:—Rev. William A. Fletcher, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. George V. Leahy, S. T. L., Boston, Mass.; Mr. William T. Jackson, Washington; Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., S. T. L., Washington; Mr. George Twohy, Norfolk, Va.

The meeting then adjourned.

By this time the invited guests of the Association, His Grace, Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, and the Very Rev. Dr. Garvey, President

of St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, had arrived. A brief reception was held in one of the hotel parlors, where the members were enabled to meet their distinguished visitors.

All then proceeded to the spacious and tastefully decorated banquet hall, and sat down to the excellent repast that had been provided under the efficient management of Father Currie, ably seconded by the other members resident at Philadelphia.

Regrets were read from His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate; the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Conaty; Mr. Charles P. Neill, Ph. D.; Rev. Peter McClean, S. T. L.

While the viands were being discussed, the banqueters were regaled with agreeable musical selections by a local orchestra.

Rev. Patrick Hayes, S. T. L., presided as toastmaster. The toasts were announced and responded to as follows:

Our Holy Father, Archbishop Ryan; Our Alma Mater, Dr. Garrigan; Our Country, Rev. Father Deering; Our Hosts of Philadelphia, Rev. Dr. Garvey.

Thus drew to a close the visit of the Alumni Association to Philadelphia. The entire occasion was a most happy and successful one, whether viewed from a business or a social standpoint. The earnestness shown, the sentiments expressed, the measures adopted in the business meeting will, when put into action, doubtless insure vigor and permanence to the Association and lead it gradually into that wider sphere of usefulness for which it seems destined; while the pleasure experienced in renewing, amid a cheerful environment, the friendships of years gone by, and living over again in mutual reminiscence the scenes and events of past life in Alma Mater, will furnish an ever increasing attraction towards similar gatherings in the future.

Those present were Archbishop Ryan, Very Rev. Dr. Garvey, Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Rev. Francis J. Butler, Rev. James J. Carroll, Rev. Michael J. Crane, Rev. William C. Currie, Rev. Lawrence C. Deering, Rev. Edward J. Fitzgerald, Rev. William A. Fletcher, Mr. Francis Guilfoile, Rev. Andrew F. Haberstroh, Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, Rev. William J. Higgins, Mr. William T. S. Jackson, Mr. James L. Kennedy, Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Rev. Joseph L. Kirlin, Rev. George V. Leahy, Rev. John Lunney, Rev. Francis W. Maley, Rev. John W. Melody, Rev. Peter Munday, Rev. Joseph McGinley, Rev. Lawrence J. McNamara, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., Rev. John F. O'Neill, Rev. William T. Russell, Rev. Francis J. Sheehan, Rev. Joseph F. Smith, Rev. John E. Bradley, Rev. George V. Hickey, Rev. John D. Maguire, Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, Rev. William Sullivan, C. S. P.

The Committee on Papers reported the following recommendations:

First. That no special effort be made to collect funds for University purposes in the immediate future.

Second. That the annual dues be regularly collected from all the members of the Association, with a view to possible application to University purposes later.

Third. That the members of the Association pledge themselves to personal efforts in the interests of the University. (a) That lectures be given or articles written when occasion offers and circumstances permit, explaining the nature, organization and work of the University. (b) That the members of the Association receive from the University each year, copies of the Year Book, announcements, etc., which may be employed in making the University known. (c) That they send to the University names of those whom they know intend taking a University course. (d) That the members of the Association subscribe to the BULLETIN and exert themselves to make the BULLETIN known and to encourage subscriptions, since it is the official organ of the University and of the Association.

MAURICE J. O'CONNOR, S. T. L.,
Secretary of the Alumni Association.

NECROLOGY.

WALTER JAMES HOFFMAN.

Walter James Hoffman, M. D. (son of Dr. Wm. F. Hoffman and Elizabeth Weida Hoffman), Washington, D. C., was born in Weidasville, Pa., May 30, 1846; studied medicine with his father and graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, March 10, 1866. He practiced his profession in Reading, Pa., until the summer of 1870, when at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, he received a commission of surgeon in the Prussian Army, and was assigned to the Seventh Army Corps located near Metz.

For "distinguished services rendered," he was decorated by the Emperor William I, and after his return to America he was appointed in 1871, Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., and naturalist to the "Expedition for the Exploration of Nevada and Arizona," Lieutenant (now Major) Wheeler, U. S. Engineer Corps, commanding.

The area traversed by the expedition being practically unknown, much new and interesting material was obtained to illustrate its natural history and ethnology. Upon the completion of the reports on the scientific portion of the preceding year's field work, Dr. Hoffman was ordered in August, 1872, to the Military Post at Grand River Agency, (now North) Dakota, where he served as post surgeon and prosecuted researches in the language and mythology of the Dakota Indians.

In the Spring of 1873, the Government fitted out a large expedition as escort to the engineers of the Northern Pacific R. R. (usually designated as the "Yellowstone Expedition of '73") under the command of Gen. D. S. Stanley, U. S. A., when Dr. Hoffman was detailed to accompany the Seventh U. S. Cavalry, General Custer commanding, and was later transferred to the Twenty-second Infantry, the regiment of which General Stanley was then Colonel.

Returning to Reading, Dr. Hoffman resumed the practice of medicine in November of 1873, and continued until the autumn of 1877, when he was appointed by Professor Hayden, then Director of the U. S. Geological Survey, in charge of the Ethnological and Mineralogical material. In this capacity he continued until the organization of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, when he was appointed Assistant Ethnologist.

Dr. Hoffman made special investigation with the organization (existing among all tribes of Indians, in some form or other), usually dominated the Grand Medicine Society, and for this purpose, as well as for the collection of anthropomorphic and other ethnological data, visited most of the aboriginal tribes of the United States and the north-west coast of America.

While in service in the German army Dr. Hoffman devised an instrument for the extraction of bullets from deep-seated localities, as well as foreign bodies, from the trachea and oesophagus. In 1882 he was appointed by the Imperial Turkish Minister of War to supervise the manufacture of a number of these bullet extractors, which instrument had been previously adopted by that government, as well as by several other foreign powers. Improvements and inventions of other instruments were made by him, more especially, however, for use in biological studies and taxidermy.

Dr. Hoffman was married twice. His first marriage was contracted with Elizabeth Springer Turner (a descendant of Isaac Gravenriit, a colonial officer of New York City, and sheriff of Esopus; also of Carl Christopher Springer, a protégé of Charles X of Sweden, attaché of the Swedish embassy in London, and later one of the chief officers of the Swedish colony on the Delaware River). By this marriage he left two children, Harriet E. and Frederick W.

His second wife was Mary Frances Davis, of Washington, D. C. Their son, Charles G., still survives.

Dr. Hoffman became connected with the Catholic University of America in 1890, which position he occupied until he was appointed by President McKinley United States consul to Mannheim, Germany, in 1897.

After two years of service, his health became impaired, and he was obliged to resign his position in 1898. Returning to Reading, he remained there until his death, November 8, 1899.

The following is a partial list of his works: List of Mammals found in the vicinity of Grand River, D. T., (1877); Mineralogy of Nevada (1878); Curious Aboriginal Customs (1879); Report of the Chaco-Cranium (1879); Annotated List of the Birds of Nevada (1881); Pictograph of the Shamanistic Rites of the Ojibwa (1888); Folk-Lore and Language of the Pennsylvania Germans (1889); Midiwiwin, or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa (1891); The Beginnings of Writing (1895); The Menomini Indians (1896); Graphic Art of the Eskimos (1897).

Dr. Hoffman was an active member of many scientific and antiquarian societies; he was an honorary member of several learned associations in

Germany, Russia, England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium and Portugal. He wore also the medal or ribbon of thirteen European "Orders" in recognition of his eminent services to the cause of science.

Dr. Hoffman was by nature and by training a religious man ; he came of a religious family, belonging to the best days and to the best stock of Pennsylvania Dutch. He was brought up in the principles of the Presbyterian Church, and through his life, as man, as army surgeon on two continents, and as scientist, he never lost faith in God, reverence for religious truths, nor his hold on the supernatural. To this respect for religion we may attribute his integrity of life, his high moral character, and his unblemished name throughout a long and honorable career ; to this, also, may be traced his suavity of manner and gentlemanly condescension, which always marked his intercourse with the rude, as well as with the polite world.

During the later years of his life Dr. Hoffman was not fully satisfied with the quantum of religious strength and assurance which the church of his earlier days gave him. Neither mind nor heart had been at rest, and he longed for a fuller enjoyment, a larger measure of peace and truth, a closer union of his soul with God. This feeling of unrest seemed to have grown upon him, and to have become more evident during his last protracted and fatal illness ; so that as the end approached, after he had come back to America to die in his native State, and in the bosom of his devoted daughter's family, his thoughts turned more earnestly on the great facts of eternity and his own soul. Then through an honest desire to secure both in happiness forever, he invited to his bedside, through his son Carl, an esteemed friend of some years standing, and an accredited minister of the mysteries of salvation, the Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the Catholic University. Dr. Garrigan, in answer to this invitation, repaired to Reading, Pa., visited Dr. Hoffman two or three times during his stay in that city, instructed him in the principal doctrines of the Catholic faith, to all of which the invalid gave a ready assent, and then, in the presence of his wife and daughter, and with their full approval, he was baptized and received into the communion of the Catholic Church. Two weeks after this event, enjoying that peace and truth which he had so long sought for, Dr. Hoffman calmly yielded up his soul to his Creator. His funeral took place according to the Catholic rites, prescribed for such a ceremony, in Reading, and his body was laid to rest in Arlington cemetery, 'neath the shadow of the Capitol of the Nation, to which he gave some of the best years of his life, and in whose service he died.

In the establishment of the Ethnological Museum of the University,

he rendered, gratuitously, incalculable services; the present disposition of the valuable materials of that museum is his work, and when he was taken ill he was occupied in seeking other materials wherewith to enrich the collections of this department. He was its first Honorary Curator and loved to appear, on academical occasions, as a member of our academical corps. His loss is sincerely mourned by the University. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the Faculty meeting of the University Senate:

1. *Resolved*, That in the death of Walter James Hoffman, M. D., we recognize the dispensation of an All-wise Providence, and we bow to Its decree with reverence and sorrow.

2. *Resolved*, That in Doctor Hoffman's untimely demise science has lost an eminent and devoted student of American Archaeology and Ethnology, who by his researches and publications had attained a foremost place among the scholars of our age.

3. *Resolved*, That the Catholic University of America hereby place on record its indebtedness to Doctor Hoffman for his cordial sympathy with its work and his distinguished services as Honorary Curator of its Museum of Ethnology; a department which he organized with scientific skill and taste, and enriched with many valuable contributions.

4. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be incorporated in the minutes of the University Senate meeting of this date, and engrossed and placed in the Museum of Ethnology; also that copies of the same be forwarded to the bereaved family and immediate relatives of our late friend and colleague.

NOTES AND COMMENT.

9. A Universal Language for Philosophy.—The Welby Prize of £50 was offered in January, 1897, for the best treatise upon the following subject:—"The causes of the present obscurity and confusion in psychological and philosophical terminology, and the directions in which we may hope for efficient practical remedy." The prize has been awarded to Dr. Ferdinand Tönnies, of Hamburg, and his essay has been published in *Mind* for July and October, 1899, and January, 1900. Those who realize what the "obscurity and confusion" mean, will appreciate some of the suggestions offered by Dr. Tönnies. "Among the historical causes of the observed phenomenon, as it presents itself at the present time, one is most prominent: the downfall of the European language of scholars, of Neo-Latin. So long as we possessed this, there was, even if only in the forms of words, a scientific terminology common to all; while at the same time there was an external distinction between the technical expressions of the learned, and the inconstant language of daily life, of poetry, etc. The Latin language was international as the language of the Church; from the Church it had spread itself abroad over old and new arts and sciences. The more these separated and liberated themselves from the Church, the more they became 'National,' that is, primarily nothing else than belonging to a large community of written languages, the formation of which they themselves promoted." After indicating other causes, he turns from diagnosis to remedy. As time goes on, the international character of philosophy becomes more evident, and the need of sharply defined concepts becomes more pressing. Such definition should be the work of an international academy, and the academy is not conceivable without a common language. "Is it possible that in this language we should celebrate the resurrection of Neo-Latin? Many reasons may be adduced to make it probable and not less desirable. It has never perished entirely; it is still indispensable in every technical and scientific terminology, from its unlimited capacity to adopt Greek forms of words which have their origin partly in the history of science, partly in later needs. It has, in general, passed through a long period in which it has been shaped for the ends of a manifold and refined thought; it has thus gained a certain coolness and sobriety, which is most appropriate to reason. . . . Finally we may say that even tradition has its rights, and that this dead language would certainly occupy a neutral

position far above all the jealousies of nations with the resistance of which such an enlightened and free act as the foundation of this academy would certainly have to reckon."

10. **The Second Congress of Christian Archaeology** will be held at Rome, April 17th-25th. It was originally intended to hold it in that treasure-house of Christian antiquity, Ravenna, but the celebration of the Jubilee Year at Rome made it desirable that the meetings should be held in the Holy City itself. Every intelligent Catholic must feel a sympathy for the labors and ideals of the scholars who devote themselves to Christian archaeology. It is our creation, notably the work of the lamented savant, John Baptist De Rossi. Dogmatic Theology, and the Liturgy in particular, are beholden to this young science for their freshest and newest arguments and evidences. No moneys are better spent than those that go to open up the Catacombs and to enable young and ardent scholars to pursue the study of Christian Antiquities. The foundations of great success have been laid, excellent teachers and workers trained, the materials mapped out. What is needed is funds and a more widespread enthusiasm among Catholics in general. The Secretary of the Congress is Signor M. A. Bevignani, Piazza Crociferi, No. 3, Rome, to whom all subscriptions should be sent. The subscription (ten francs) entitles the donor to receive the *compte-rendu* of the Congress.

11. **The Christian Forum.**—Among the minor publications in Christian Archaeology we call attention to an admirable little résumé of the Christian antiquities of the Roman Forum (*Le Forum Chrétien*, Rome, Cuggiani, Via della Pace 35). It is from the pen of that veteran scholar, the Abbé Louis Duchesne, editor of the *Liber Pontificalis* and head of the French School of History at Rome (Palazzo Farnese). The little brochure of 75 pages is a model of what a popular archaeological study should be. It is much to be desired that the Abbé Duchesne would continue on this line, and give us a series of little handbooks of Roman Christian antiquities that would satisfy at once the piety of the pilgrim and the just demands of the critic.

12. **A Seminary of History.**—We have received the "Rapport," for 1898-1899, of the Historical Seminary of the University of Louvain. This summary of the students' labors in early Christian history, and literature and in mediæval history, shows at Louvain a vigorous scientific activity in this department. The youth thus trained will be heard from later, when experience, opportunity, and leisure shall have perfected the scientific training they are now receiving. The Seminary (or Academy) is conducted by Rev. Dr. Cauchie, the successor of Jungmann in the

Chair of Church History. He deserves congratulation for the excellent results of his labors, as evidenced in the pages before us. We understand that Louvain is about to add another periodical publication to those already carried on, in the shape of a Review for Ecclesiastical History.

13. Congr s des Oeuvres Sacerdotales.—On September 10th there will assemble at Bourges, France, a Congress for Priestly Enterprises (Congr s des Oeuvres Sacerdotales). It is under the presidency of Mgr. Servonnet, Archbishop of Bourges, and is destined to find ways and means for applying to the life of the French clergy the pontifical teaching and direction of the Encyclical of September 8, 1899, concerning the formation and studies of the priesthood. Its program, printed in the "*Vie Catholique*" of Paris, March 6th, is both noble and extensive. Under three headings—Studies, Enterprises, Methods—the nature, spirit and perfection of ecclesiastical studies, both in the seminary and out of it; the enterprises—spiritual, economic, social, literary—that befit the priest of to-day; the temper, conduct, virtues, tone, attitude in face of modern needs and modern development, are brought together for the calm, earnest, and prayerful meditation of the French clergy. The world will follow with profound interest the conclusions of this Congress. We recommend those of our brethren who happen to be then within reach of Bourges to make some sacrifice in order to attend, and reap from their learned and zealous confr res of France the fruits of their deliberations. "*Tua res agitur,*" when your neighbor's house is afire.

14. "*La Vie Catholique*." We call the attention of our readers to this excellent and worthy bi-weekly journal. It is published at Paris (ten francs yearly), Rue Saint Claude, 28, by the Abb  Pierre Dabry. Among its writers and promoters are some of the most earnest and thoughtful of the modern French clergy. It is the organ of the Christian Social Democracy of France, of which the clerical deputy Abb  Lemire is the protagonist. Our American clergy will recognize in it a vigor of practical polemic, an acceptance of the actual situation with the courage to make the most of it, and a sincere and generous love of the common people. May all its high Christian ideals, rooted in the very essence and immemorial spirit of our holy religion, be one day exemplified in a France become Christian and Catholic, therefore homogeneous and strong, once more the possessor of that hegemony of Catholicism that now threatens to escape her.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The "Knights of Columbus" Chair.—On February 11th, Mr. Joseph J. Murphy, A. M. delivered, an eloquent lecture on Christopher Columbus at the Columbia Theatre, in this city. The lecture was held under the auspices of the K. of C. Councils of the District, for the purpose of raising funds toward the endowment of their Chair of American History in the Catholic University. A large and enthusiastic audience was present, and a goodly sum realized. Mr. Murphy, a student of law at the University, is the son of Mr. Dominick I. Murphy, a representative Catholic gentleman of this city. He was introduced by the Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan in a happy speech. Apropos of this chair, we are glad to note in the March number of the *Columbiad* the assurance that a considerable sum had been already collected.

Lecture on Washington by Senator Depew.—Since the foundation of the University it has been customary to invite some prominent citizen to deliver a discourse on Washington's Birthday. Thus, we have already heard Governor Roosevelt, Senator Carter, and Senator Hoar. This year Senator Chauncey M. Depew delivered a discourse that was patriotic and suggestive in a high degree. The large audience evidently enjoyed the intellectual treat, for which the sincere thanks of all, students and hearers, are tendered to the Senator from New York.

Consecration of Bishop Sbarretti.—At the express invitation of the new Bishop of Havana, the faculties of the University assisted in their academic dress at his consecration. This took place Sunday, February 4, in the Church of St. Aloysius. Bishop Sbarretti has been intimately connected with the University since his arrival in Washington. He dwelt for a year in the Divinity Building, and both then and thereafter furnished evidence of his good-will and affection. He goes from among us, leaving only pleasant memories, and all unite in wishing him many years of a peaceful and beneficent administration of the distracted see which he has been chosen to fill.

Archbishop Keane on Washington.—On February 23d the Archbishop of Damascus delivered a most eloquent and impressive discourse on Washington, in the Lafayette Theatre. The President of the United States was present. Other notable gentlemen were also there. The Arch-

bishop was introduced by Senator Depew, who took occasion to plead for the erection of a respectable residence for the President. The Christian character and principles of the Father of his Country were admirably brought out by Archbishop Keane, also his belief in the necessity of religion and in the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Frequent applause interrupted the speaker, with whom the crowded audience was evidently in closest touch.

Discourse by Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan.—On March 18, the Very Rev. Vice-Rector delivered an eloquent speech on the occasion of the Celebration of the Feast of St. Patrick by the local Societies of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

The Faculty of Theology celebrated on January 25th, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. This is its patronal feast, and is annually commemorated after the fashion of all older Catholic faculties of Theology. Rt. Rev. Bishop Donohue, of Wheeling, was celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. The usual discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Edmund T. Shanahan, Professor of Dogmatic Theology.

St. Thomas' Day, patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy, was celebrated March 7th. Archbishop Keane was celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. The customary discourse was delivered by Rev. Frederic Z. Rooker, D. D.

The Mass for Our Living Benefactors was celebrated January 6th. The administration, professors, and students remember with special gratitude on this occasion all who contribute to the secure foundation of the University. It is the least service that we can render in this world to our generous benefactors; but it is performed by all with a grateful heart. May God multiply their number, for the work of the University is, from many serious points of view, undoubtedly one of the most necessary that are now incumbent upon the Catholic Church in the New World. From the view-point of Catholic doctrine, superfluous wealth is held in trust for higher purposes. It was the profound belief in this that created the splendid schools of the Catholic Middle Ages, as any one may see in Janssen's monumental work. Then few rich persons died without providing for Christian education, so that in England and Germany it came to pass that every child could receive gratis a superior training in all that was then known. Luther himself confessed this. The example of those times is admirably imitated to-day by our non-Catholic brethren, whose millions are being given away most lavishly for purposes of education. More than the past, the future belongs to the educated. Hence, that form of Christianity known as educational must more and more appeal to all enlightened Catholic hearts.

The Will of Archbishop Hennessey, of Dubuque, leaves the University one of the three residuary legatees. The other two are the Archiepiscopal Seminary and the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, a teaching community established by the late Archbishop.

Publications of Professors.—Besides the lectures delivered in the public lecture course, we have to credit our professorial staff with the following. In this issue of the BULLETIN Dr. Charles P. Neill, Associate Professor of Political Economy, writes on "The Economic Structure of Society"; Dr. Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy, treats of "The Argument of St. Thomas for Immortality." In the "New York Sunday Sun," of March 4, 11, and 18, Rev. Dr. Shahan, Professor of Church History, printed three letters on "Woman under Paganism and Christianity." He has also contributed to the *Ave Maria* during March, April and June a series of articles entitled "The Heart of Acadie," being an account of travel in Nova Scotia. Rev. Dr. Fox, Professor of Theology in St. Thomas' College, publishes in this BULLETIN an article entitled "The 'Reconstruction' of Christianity." Dr. Greene brought out, in March, Vol. I, Part 22, of his excellent *Pittonia*. The contents are: Necker's Genera of Ferns, I, A Fascicle of Senecios, New Species of Coleosanthus, A Decade of New Pomaceæ, A Fascicle of New Papilionaceæ, Notes on Violets (Plate XII), Some New or Critical Ranunculi, New or Noteworthy Species, XXVII.

Writings of Our Students.—Rev. John W. Melody, S. T. L. (Chicago), candidate for the Doctorate in Theology, has a timely study in the current number of the BULLETIN, entitled "The Restriction of Marriage." We are glad to notice occasionally in the *Church News* of this city literary studies of merit and promise from the pen of Mr. Joseph Murphy (1901).

Dr. Pace at Cambridge.—Under the general head of "Spiritual Ideals," the Cambridge Conferences for 1899-1900 have presented in historical order the views of the world's great thinkers on God, the soul, and immortality. St. Thomas Aquinas was selected as the exponent of Scholastic thought, and his teaching was outlined by Dr. Pace at the conference held January 21st. It was shown that, in the Thomistic system, the spiritual order is the highest form of reality. Creative intelligence is the absolutely actual and permanent amid all change; and the human soul, as an intellectual principle, transcends the vicissitudes of matter. In developing these truths, St. Thomas shows his synthetic grasp and his critical appreciation of the philosophies out of which Scholasticism grew or with which it had to contend. His influence upon Christian philosophy, theology, and literature has always been great, and it is felt at

this time especially in the neo-scholastic movement. Dr. Pace's paper was followed by a discussion which gave evidence of the deep interest that attaches to spiritual ideals and of the growing sympathy with which the work of St. Thomas is regarded by candid inquirers.

The Perennial Fountains of the Libanus.—On January 20, Rev. Dr. Hyvernât delivered a lecture before the Philosophical Society on the "Perennial Fountains," a curious geological phenomenon of the Libanus mountain-range in Syria.

THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

This Association was organized at a meeting held in Chicago, February 27 and 28. There were present representatives of the University of California, the Catholic University of America, the University of Chicago, Clark University, Columbia University, Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, Leland Stanford, Jr. University, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, the Federation of Graduate Clubs, and the United States Commissioner of Education. The Catholic University was represented by Rt. Rev. Dr. Conaty, Rev. Dr. Pace and Dr. Shea. The constitution of the Association was prepared by a committee consisting of President Jordan, President Harper, Professor Pettie, President Conaty and Professor Newbold. The Association is founded for the purpose of considering matters of common interest relating to graduate study. It is composed of institutions on the North American continent engaged in giving advanced or graduate instruction. An annual conference will be held, at which topics suggested by the Universities will be discussed. These officers were elected for the following year: President of the Association, the representative of Harvard University; Vice-President, the representative of the University of California; Secretary, the representative of the University of Chicago; additional members of the Executive Committee, the representatives of Columbia University and Johns Hopkins University. It was decided to hold the next annual meeting during the last week of February, in the city of Chicago.

THE YEAR-BOOK FOR 1900-1901.

The new Year-Book of the Catholic University of America appeared on April 14th. It contains, as usual, full lists of Officers, Faculty and Students, for the current year, degrees conferred in the preceding year, and announcements of Lectures, etc., for the next University year.

The list of officers has been increased by one, through the recent appointment of the Vice-Rector, the Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigau, S. T. D., to the office of Assistant Treasurer. The Faculty list is substantially the same as that published in the last Year-Book. The General Register of Students contains one hundred and seventy-six names, about five per cent. more than that of last year. The courses of Lectures offered by the Faculty of Theology have been entirely revised in accordance with the regular practice of that Faculty. The Law Faculty has made extensive changes in the curricula of the Professional and University Schools of Law. The announcements by the Faculty of Philosophy and by the Board of Technology are nearly the same as last year.

The registers contain more exact information concerning students than has been given in preceding Year-Books. A study of these registers shows clearly that the sphere of influence is already great, although the University is only just beginning the second decade of its existence. Some of the facts, reduced to tabular form, will be of interest to those who have aided in establishing this Institution, or who have been indented with it in any way.

TABLE I.

UNITED STATES.			
	States or Territories.	No. of Students from each.	
1	Arkansas	1	16
2	Connecticut	4	17
3	Dakota	1	18
4	District of Columbia	80	19
5	Georgia	1	20
6	Illinois	10	21
7	Iowa	3	22
8	Kansas	1	23
9	Louisiana	1	24
10	Maine	1	25
11	Maryland	5	26
12	Massachusetts	9	27
13	Michigan	4	28
14	Minnesota	1	29
15	Missouri	2	
	States or Territories.	No. of Students from each.	
	New Hampshire	1	
	New Mexico	2	
	New York	10	
	Ohio	2	
	Oregon	1	
	Pennsylvania	3	
	Rhode Island	3	
	Tennessee	2	
	Texas	1	
	Utah	1	
	Virginia	1	
	Vermont	1	
	West Virginia	1	
	Wisconsin	1	
1	Canada	2	3
2	Germany	2	4
	Ireland		1
	Turkey		1

Table I gives the geographic distribution of students. Twenty-nine States and Territories and four foreign countries are represented, showing that the University draws its students from the whole country, from Canada, and to some extent from Europe.

Of the one hundred and seventy-six students following the various courses of instruction, one hundred and one have received baccalaureate or higher degrees. These degrees were conferred by forty-nine Universities, Colleges or Seminaries. In Table II, the names of these institutions and the number of students from each are given. Some students have degrees from more than one institution. When this is the case, the student is accredited to each of the institutions from which he has a degree.

TABLE II.

Name of Institution.		No. of Students from each.	Name of Institution.		No. of Students from each.
1	All Hallows College	1	26	New York University	1
2	Amherst College	1	27	Niagara University	1
3	Berne University, Switzerland	1	28	Notre Dame University	9
4	Boston College	1	29	Oberlin College	1
5	Catholic University of America	29	30	Propaganda, Rome	1
6	Chicago University	2	31	Rock Hill College	1
7	Christian Brothers' College, St. Louis	2	32	Royal University, Ireland	1
8	Christian Brothers' College, Memphis	3	33	Seton Hall College	1
9	Columbia University	1	34	Sacred Heart College, Denver	1
10	Columbian University	4	35	St. Anselm's College	1
11	Detroit College of Law	1	36	St. Francis' College, Illinois	1
12	Detroit College	1	37	St. Francis Xavier College	1
13	Emory College	1	38	St. Ignatius' College, Chicago	2
14	Georgetown University	7	39	St. John's Seminary, Brighton	6
15	Harvard University	1	40	St. John's College, Washington	1
16	Holy Cross College, Worcester	8	41	St. Laurent College	2
17	Holy Ghost College	2	42	St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore	7
18	Humboldt College	1	43	St. Mary's College, Kentucky	1
19	Johns Hopkins University	1	44	St. Mary's College, Montreal	1
20	Laval University, Quebec	1	45	Tulane University	1
21	Loyola College	1	46	University of France	2
22	Manhattan	4	47	Villanova College	1
23	Mt. St. Angel's College	1	48	Washington University	1
24	Mt. St. Mary's College	4	49	Williams College	1
25	National University	1			

In addition to the one hundred and one students having degrees, there are fourteen priests entitled to the degree S. T. B. The number of students who have completed seminary or collegiate training may be regarded therefore, as one hundred and fifteen. The increase since last year in this class of students, for which the University exists primarily, is gratifying, being sixteen per cent.

The number of regularly matriculated students, candidates for degrees higher than the baccalaureate, is eighty-six, and it includes candidates for the Doctorate in Theology, Philosophy, Law, Science; candidates for

Licentiate in Theology, Master of Philosophy, Law and Science; candidates for Civil and Electrical Engineers. This number is not large, but it compares not unfavorably with those for the strictly graduate departments of other institutions. Table III, made up from recent statistics for the fourteen universities that now compose the "Association of American Universities," indicates that this University stands probably twelfth on the list with respect to the number of such students.

TABLE III.

	University of California.	Catholic University of America.	Chicago University.	Clark University.	Columbia University.	Cornell University.	Harvard University.	Johns Hopkins University.	Leland Stanford University.	University of Michigan.	University of Pennsylvania.	Princeton University.	University of Wisconsin.	Yale University.
1899-00....	97?	86	375	29	388	170	363	188	94?	106	152	145	81	303

An examination of the registers for all the years shows that the number of students is larger this year than ever before. The growth of the student body has been irregular. During the first five years there was a decrease from year to year; during the last six, the increase has been almost continuous. Table IV gives a view of the growth. The large increase in 1895-96 was due to the opening of work under the Faculties of Philosophy and of Social Sciences.

TABLE IV.

Faculty.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-00.
Theology	37	34	33	28	26	38	55	61	58	74	75
Philosophy							25	45	40	39	48
Law							25	38	41	45	47
Technology							8	7	12	10	10
Deduct'n for names counted more than once											4
Totals	37	84	33	28	26	38	113	151	151	168	176
Per cent. gains		-8.1	-2.9	-15.1	-7.1	+46.1	+197.4	+33.6	0.0	+11.2	+4.8

Average per cent. gain +23.4.

DANIEL W. SHEA, *General Secretary.*



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LAW,—Bachelor of Laws, (LL. B.) ; Master of Laws, (LL. M.) ; Doctor of Law, (J. D.) ; Bachelor of Civil Law, (B. C. L.) ; Master of Civil Law, M. C. L.) ; Doctor of Civil Law, (D. C. L.) ; Doctor Utriusque Juris, (J. U. D.) ; Doctor of Laws, (LL. D.).

IN TECHNOLOGY,—Civil Engineer, (C. E.) ; Electrical Engineer, (E. E.) ; Mechanical Engineer, (M. E.) ; Bachelor of Science, (B. S.) ; Master of Science, (M. S.) ; Doctor of Science, (Sc. D.).

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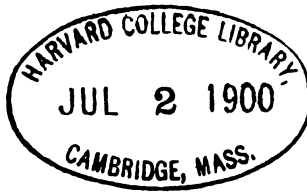
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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.*, c. 6.

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THE COLLEGE TEACHER.¹

In this second Conference we meet one another again to consider in greater detail the demands of collegiate instruction, to weigh the relative importance of studies to be followed, to discuss methods of teaching, so that matter and method may combine in furnishing that education which will best fit our students to enter successfully the field of life and bear themselves creditably as men and Christians. But while we consider the improvement of our school methods, and a more careful grouping of studies, it is proper that we should not lose sight of the most important element in our educational work—the teacher. It is trite to say, and yet it cannot be emphasized too strongly, that the teacher makes the school; in fact, the teacher is the school. The best methods are but accessories, the most elegant buildings are but shelters, the most finely equipped laboratories are but tool rooms; language itself is but an instrument of expression—the storing strength, the radiating light, the motive power are centered in the teacher. The first requisite for success in school or college is a corps of teachers, well trained and qualified to teach, so that the students may see in each a true master.

The whole question of our collegiate life may be said to hinge upon the college teacher. His vocation to the work, his ability, his preparation, devotedness, earnestness in improving himself—all these are vital elements in any teacher, but par-

¹ Discourse delivered at the second annual meeting of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, April 18, 1900.

ticularly in the one consecrated to the secondary instruction. In the presence of so many able teachers, men of marked ability, whose actual vocation presupposes a very special preparation, I might be excused from pleading the cause of the teacher. On the other hand, the peculiar conditions of the youthful mind as it passes from the preparatory school training to the broader fields of collegiate opportunities; the scholarship necessary to lead up to the heights of classical and scientific learning, the familiarity with the historical relations existing between the past and the present of collegiate education, the intimate acquaintance henceforth necessary, with the beginnings of the principal literatures, the kind of knowledge needed to unfold in a healthy manner the mind and heart of our beloved students, the sense that the college is now, as ever, a training ground for the grave duties of life—all these reasons, and many more, urge us to dwell a little while on the theme of the collegiate teacher, if only to refresh our own minds and hearts in considerations that have not waited for us to press themselves on the attention of Catholic teachers.

The call and the choice of a man to the office of teacher do not of themselves ensure his success. The best dispositions in the world, even that high symbol, the religious habit, are not guarantees of success in teaching. The teacher must possess sufficient knowledge; still more, he must possess the power of imparting that knowledge. There must be matter and method, or, better still, instruction and personality. Alcuin, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas had vocations acknowledged by all; but they had also knowledge, and this knowledge they loved intensely, and lived only to scatter it broadcast in the lives of their fellows. They had explored all the known realms of thought and were competent guides for the provinces of learning through which they were to lead. Sunshine, and not shadow; hope, and not despair; encouragement, helpfulness, instruction, skill came in abundance to their pupils. God gave them vocation; but by hard and persistent study, in the spirit of that vocation, they acquired the knowledge which they taught to others, so that to have sat at their feet became the highest and surest token of intellectual nobility.

Knowledge does not come by intuition, nor does a vocation to the higher life of the Spirit of itself imply aptness to teach in college. A life imbued with aspirations to spiritual perfection is indeed a suitable background for the development of knowledge. For one who wishes, for the common good, to exhaust the natural abilities with which God has gifted him, it is also a permanent inspiration. Acquired knowledge is a most essential requisite for the teacher, and this can only come through special training, which in turn demands years of preparation that are indeed amply repaid by results as they appear in a conscientious and enlightened mankind.

To lose no time, let us say that in the college-world of to-day there is a general and just demand for teachers trained according to the methods and temper of the University. As a matter of fact the number of teachers thus trained is constantly increasing. Usually they are doctors of philosophy; sometimes they are specialists constantly working upward to higher grades of erudition. Students are thus assured of getting the actual best; the university which gave these teachers their degrees follows them with interest, and is morally certain that the students who may be sent up to her from college are prepared according to the ideals of the university itself. To-day the teacher who has only the preparation of a collegiate course, or who feels that as a college graduate he is entitled to take up the tasks of a college teacher, will find himself everywhere handicapped by comparison with the work of men who have had the advantage of a special university instruction for the teacher's chair. As now the great majority of our Catholic college graduates enter the learned professions, they have a moral right, on the part of the teachers, to the best in educational progress enjoyed by their fellow-men in the same callings, in order that they may be fitted to take up professional studies on an equal level, and enter the arena of life with equal academic advantages. The general advance in the demand for specially trained teachers in elementary and preparatory schools, compels the conclusion that every college teacher should be equipped with the erudition, practical skill, and powers of self-help that ordinarily are bestowed only by the men who are the highest in their

special sciences, and who from time immemorial have usually been found in the chairs of the university.

I am not unmindful of the debt of gratitude we owe to those college teachers of the past, the self-sacrificing, simple-minded, scholarly men who trained whole generations without the advantages of modern methods, or the opportunities of university preparation; who gave up their lives in poorly equipped schools and colleges, working as it were, between dawn and daylight, the pioneers and engineers of the modern scholastic world. They did splendid work in educating; they laid the foundations of our recent successes; they sent forth men of heart who yet lead in Church and State. Their names in many instances are known only to God, but they had a genuine love for learning coupled with sincere devotion to the interests of religion. They lived not for the praises of men, but to do their plain duty. A holy consecration has fallen upon their labors. Though they were men for the times in which they lived, they would be the first to recognize the new conditions of Catholic pedagogy, and to confess that if we would maintain our historic reputation we must be well equipped along all approved modern lines, in order to meet the just demands of a Catholic people constantly progressing in comfort and culture.

The age is constantly clamoring for ideals, and we seek the ideal in the teacher, mindful that the reality will fall far short of what the work of teaching demands.

The ideal teacher is one who has vocation to teach, and this implies aptitude. Teachers, like poets, may surely be said to be born and not made. They have a mission to teach—they are sent with a message to intellect and heart. They are the bearers of truths that are to fructify in the lives of men. Their duty is to preserve and embellish life, not to repress or extinguish it. Fitted to teach by a thorough mastery of the science they love, their one desire should be to have others love it. The teacher is not merely a listener to lessons learned by rote; he is not a slave to the text-book as a finality in instruction; he is also a developer of intellect as well as character, a spur to the student's activity, an awakening, a light-bearer, a guide; he is one to teach the mind how to

recognize and to use its faculties ; he is one capable of crediting to the student what he has taught him to find. The teacher is one who forces us to realize the possessions hidden within us, showing how to make use of them. He must be on fire himself, if he would stir up a consuming fire in the lives of others.

Then, too, the teacher himself should be forever a scholar, for the sake of his youthful disciples, as well as for his own enjoyment. The finished mechanic must know every part of his machinery, the models to be followed in its creation, the use of all needed or helpful tools, so that his work may be regarded as the product of a master. We often realize the absence of art-skill in the work done by an amateur with a pencil, brush, chisel, or tool. We see a gross and unartistic product, and we turn from it with pity, regret, perhaps disgust. We sit, however, for hours before a master's canvas, finding new beauties each moment. No less than the master-mechanic or the perfect artist, the college teacher should stand for system, time, method, labor, and pains in education. He ought to be always the finished product of other men in his own line, who while clinging to the best that the experience of the past furnishes, yet have eyes and hearts ever open to the gains and advances of each succeeding generation.

The first requisite for a college teacher should be a thorough modern and critical knowledge of the subjects to be taught. If, for example, he be a teacher of languages, ancient or modern, he ought to possess more than the ability to translate an author or to construe a text grammatically—he ought to have an intimate acquaintance with the subject-matter taught. Let the same stand for the natural sciences, philosophy, or literature. One of the first requisites of a good teacher, then, is accurate scholarship. But to-day any scholarship worthy of the name implies some acquaintance with the science of education, readiness to learn from the experience of others, to profit by their successes or failures. In order to develop this full and accurate scholarship nothing should be left undone to prepare the teacher thoroughly for his great work. Teachers of recognized abilities in touch with the best methods of teaching and familiar with the accepted results of

scientific research, each in his own department, should be his masters.

A second requisite is ability to impart knowledge—otherwise the accurate scholarship is like a mine of precious metal, hidden in the bowels of the earth. It is trite to say that a man may be very learned, yet a very indifferent teacher. Aptness for teaching implies the power of awakening interest. If there be no personal interest, on the part of the disciple, the seed of learning will be like that thrown upon land through which no plow has passed. Hence, the teacher-candidate should be well tested beforehand; he ought not to be allowed to experiment, at the expense of the student.

After all, it was not mere knowledge, nor perfections of method that made the great teachers. It was their personality, in which was symbolized love for knowledge and ability to impart it. It was the fact that realizing the dignity and nobility of their calling they had thoroughly possessed the truth for themselves and were anxious that the whole world should know it in its fullness and beauty. It is personality that educates. Personality is the very soul of the teacher. It is a subtle influence, like the joy or sorrow that are communicated from face to face, from heart to heart. From the soul of such a teacher, there shines a living flame that enters into us, vivifies, fashions, and transforms us into one with him. Even as the disciples at Emmaus found their hearts burn as Christ spoke, so, in a measure, should the student feel the influence of the true teacher. We never forget that it is the living voice one loves to hear, the living hand one loves to touch; the master who has really lived for us is the one teacher we never cease to love. Ability, willingness, are not enough. The successful teacher must have enthusiasm. There must be, in himself, a love for his work, a passion, as it were, to have all who come in contact with him love his work as well as he loves it himself. This enthusiasm must be permanent, for when it dies out in a teacher, his usefulness is at an end; it is time for retirement. Such an enthusiasm must have its roots in a passionate love for the truth confided to us, for only truth can stimulate this extraordinary communicative passion of action which we call enthusiasm.

"This enthusiasm," said Dr. Schaepman, the eloquent Dutch orator, in the Catholic Congress at Brussels (1894), "is a peculiar state of the soul which impels man to more than ordinary activity and which is accompanied by a joy whose intensity springs from the very passion of doing. Even when intermittent, such enthusiasm can create great things, but when it passes into habit, it is the true well-spring of those forceful natures who accomplish marvels for the cause of God and humanity."

As Francis Bacon says, in his *Essay on Truth*, "Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the lovemaking or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature." Again he tells us that "certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

We cannot insist sufficiently upon the importance of the spirit of religion in our teacher, that he may be a fitting instrument in the work of Christian education. He should be a religious man, thoroughly impregnated with correct principles of Christianity, a man of example as well as precept, a man of faith, a man of virtuous life. Example is needed even more for youth than for childhood. He should be thoroughly grounded not only in the habits of religious conduct, but also in the great basic principles of religion. The war is now between the natural and the supernatural, between paganism and Christianity. This world, even in the sense condemned by Jesus Christ, is being regarded as all sufficient. Too often commercialism rather than conscience rules. Men are growing to care very little for God, judgment, immortality,—yet these are the eternal principles which underlie Christianity. The Christian teacher must, therefore, not only know but believe, not only believe in the principles of his religion, but live accordingly if he would bring out the native religious tendencies in students. He must be reverent of God and holy things, an habitually devout man, if he would lead pupils to admire and follow the life inculcated by the Gospel. The teacher who has ceased

to recognize the God of Christian revelation and the traditional principles of the Christian religion, cannot be accepted as the ideal teacher of Christian youth. The teacher's office is *per se* endowed with sanctity. It is a ministry of God exercised in the class-room. Justinian calls even the legal profession a priesthood of truth, inasmuch as laws rest on justice and equity and inculcate the same. For that matter, all mankind has recognized that there is no social calling more sacred than that of moulding souls to higher and better things.

The teacher enters upon his task with that measure of influence and power which come to him from his age, his acquirements, his years of preparation, his knowledge, all of which entitle him to respect. To this there correspond on the part of the pupil an absolute devotedness to truth, an unbounded confidence in the teacher, and an ardent desire for knowledge. Needless to say that in return for this absolute devotion the teacher should have a well-developed mind, that a personal magnetism should be visible in his relations with his students, that his own life should express and confirm the morality which he teaches,—in a word, that he should be a living influence, a speaking inspiration, an ingenious helpfulness to all who come in contact with him. The true teacher ought never to part from a pupil without feeling that the best in his life has gone out from him and has entered the heart of another. It was this that made Plato the worthy disciple of Socrates, that gave St. John the insight into the Divine Master's heart, that creates in every age historians, poets, philosophers. It is the distinctive individual element in the teacher more than any system that in all ages of scholarship has made the master live in his pupil. As Newman so well says: "An academical system without the personal influence of teachers upon pupils is an Arctic winter. It will create an icebound, petrified, cast-iron university, and nothing else. Influence precedes law, personality precedes system. With influence there is life, without there is none." The general history of education shows us clearly that great teachers, coming as they did from distant countries to centers of learning, depended not on kings and great men for their support, but on the enthusiasm they created.

Had all our college teachers enthusiasm, ability to produce, success in development, power to instill love for study, we would not have to deplore so many half finished, half educated men, who have really wasted valuable years, and yet among whom you find some who think an A. B. degree entitles them to the everlasting gratitude of the world of scholarship. They will always be at a disadvantage, in the outside and broader world, in which they aspire to posts of honor and emolument, and for which they think they have been fully prepared. They had every right to expect that preparation; and when it has not been imparted, the whole system of their training is made to bear the blame, while the agents and not the system are responsible.

The teacher has always been in honor among men. All nations, all peoples, at all times have loved and respected him. What a chapter might be written on the teachers who have influenced mankind, from Nineveh to Jerusalem, from Athens to Rome, from Iona to St. Gall, from Paris to Oxford, from Leipsic to Louvain. From academic groves to synagogues, from cathedral schools to monasteries, and universities and colleges, there is a long unbroken line of philosophers, doctors, monks and nuns, men of religious communities and members of the diocesan clergy, all teachers who have contributed to the education of mankind. They are indeed the "Immortals," belonging to no one race, no one country, but kinsmen of all in the kingdom of intellect and truth. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, stand even now in the streets of Athens to teach mankind their ideas of philosophy. Galen, Archimedes, Euclid still give luster to the Alexandrine Museum; Pantaenus, Clement and Origen still appear in the School of St. Mark. The great Cappadocians transferred to Christianity the noble inheritance which they received from the City of the Violet Crown. Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, are the central figures of the University of Paris, fit successors of Augustine, Columbanus, Benedict, Alcuin and Bernard. After the Reformation, St. Cajetan, founder of the Theatines; St. Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits, and Blessed de la Salle keep alive the traditions of that teaching power by which the world has preserved its civilization. Nor can

we overlook the superior work done for education in the fifteenth century by the Brothers of the Common Life in the Netherlands. Under the ægis of Christianity men and women in every age have consecrated their lives in the classroom for the education of youth. The story of university, college and school is generally the story of an individual teacher founding the institution and of a corps of teachers taking up with enthusiasm the work begun by one in faith and hope and charity. Many such have an enduring niche in the world's great Hall of Fame—an Aquinas, a Copernicus, a Bernard of Chartres, a Canisius, a Newton, a Fénelon, a La Place, an Arnold, a Humboldt, an Agassiz, a Secchi, a Pasteur, an Edison, these and their similars were teachers with living messages to humanity; they have burned these lessons deep into the daily life of some portion of mankind. Like Socrates, every one of them would rather write upon the hearts of living men than upon the skins of dead sheep.

Great teachers never die; their influence lasts forever; their very names are an inspiration. The annals of the universities that stand for the scholarship of the world are bright with the names of the teachers whose influence made students flock from all quarters. They knew men's nature, they understood child-character, as well as they knew their lexicons. They were not those pedants of whom Carlyle writes:¹ "Who could give no kindling, because in their own inward man there is no live coal, but all is burned out to a dead grammatical cinder." The teacher has revolutionized the world with the mission of truth, he has educated mankind.

Yet we cannot be blind to the fact that not all teachers reach to this ideal. Certain results lead us to realize that our actual collegiate instruction has defects. To recognize and correct them is the reason for this gathering.

You are all aware of the constant references of the Presidents of many of our best universities to the deficiencies of collegiate and preparatory training. Something, therefore, must be wrong; and we do not wholly err in thinking that often these deficiencies may be traced to inefficient, unprepared, unscholarly teachers, whose life in the class room is an offence

¹ "Sartor Resartus," pp. 92-93.

and a burden, not an inspiration ; men without enthusiasm, personality or fitness ; men out of place, a stumbling-block to education ; men remembered by students only to be pitied or despised. There is nothing sadder or more depressing than an incompetent teacher, especially when he is a man who, if placed in a position suitable to his gifts, might render admirable service. Right here, however, it may be well to say that often enough the blame laid upon teachers as incompetent should be visited upon the student who frequently pursues in an aimless, half-hearted way, courses for which he has no taste, when he is sent to college for social reasons or kept there against his will.

There is sometimes a danger that even well-trained teachers may be exposed to lack of opportunity for subsequent development. The training that prepares for admission to the teacher's office is, after all, but the first stage in this noble career. There must be a constant anxiety in the teacher to improve himself, to make himself daily more familiar with the progress of his science. There is danger in over-crowding the teacher with class-work. The cry comes more and more steadily from the capable ones that there is too little opportunity for private study and self-improvement, because of the multiplicity and diversity of tasks placed upon the teacher. For instance, he is obliged to handle a number of classes or grades in the same subject. This is not so bad in itself, except inasmuch as it absorbs the teacher's time and leaves him few spare hours for study. But this difficulty is aggravated when the same teacher is obliged to handle several different subjects, usually uncorrelated. We can easily recall good teachers, who were obliged in the same week, and sometimes in the same day, to teach Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, not to speak of other absorbing and time-robbing cares. The time spent in correcting themes, in surveillance, or in doing special work outside his class proper, may advance the general welfare of the college,—but it is depressing, and, to a certain extent, damaging to the teacher's ability to do that thorough work the student has a right to expect.

In our colleges teachers are often changed from one subject to another, as though the very fact of belonging to a faculty

enabled them to give instruction in any science. Our college authorities should see to it that the teacher be, to some extent, a specialist. He need not be a specialist after the type of the university professor. He does need to possess a more than ordinary acquaintance with the history and actual status of the science which he assumes to teach, he ought to be familiar with the relations that obtain between elementary, undergraduate and graduate instruction in that particular science, and to have a working knowledge of the methods by which research work is pursued, as well as ability to bring the student in regard, both to mental development and to positive knowledge, just to the point where he is ready for the advanced work of the university. If such specialization be accepted as a requisite in every good college teacher, and it seems to me there can be no question about it, the teaching of any one science is enough for any one man. Therefore, the college teacher ought to be allowed, nay, ought to be encouraged to perfect himself after he has entered on his allotted work. If this be neglected, a merited promotion to anything higher, with any probability of successful result, is out of the question. He will become a man of routine, and with an accepted routine life all enthusiasm, all progress must die.

It is too true that the drudgery of the class-room is apt to blot out enthusiasm. From *rosa* to *fecerim* is not a pleasant journey, and the oil burned in correcting themes of embryo-Latinists or expressionless compositions is apt to bring such fatigue, mental and physical, as stifles enthusiasm, so little tangible compensation is there for conscientious toil. Yet some one must drudge that Jack may make his class. Nevertheless, system and method often minimize the drudgery, and the dullest matter may be made interesting by a teacher who has the spirit of his vocation.

Let the teacher be provided with the acknowledged means of improving himself. You cannot make bricks without straw; neither can a teacher improve himself without access to the thoughts of men who have added and are daily adding to the science of which he is a teacher. Our Catholic teachers should have at hand all works that contain the ancient traditions of

the Church on the work of teaching. She is the oldest teaching force in our civilization. She has had the constant presence of the Holy Ghost with her, to guarantee her public office of teacher of divine truth. Her teaching is the most continuous, self-identical, and cosmopolitan that the world has yet seen. Her teaching traditions are venerable and still capable of inspiring future generations with the love of all knowledge. One may see of her as was said of Solomon: "*Magnificæ enim tractabat sapientiam.*"

There should be an intense devotion to Christianity as the perfection not only of religious, but of all social and political endeavor. Christianity is essentially a teaching,—a revealed teaching, it is true,—yet it carries with it a multitude of useful materials assimilated from Greek and Roman culture. It has idealized all human thought and human learning, as Christ Himself has idealized our human nature by assuming it to Himself and cleansing and perfecting it. So, in a measure, did the Church, in her own way, take what was good in paganism and adopt it as her own.

Pedagogics are not of recent discovery. The Church has never neglected to give special training to the teacher to whom youth has been confided. At all times, from the pens of ecclesiastical teachers works have appeared treating of the instruction of those called to government, thus showing her desire to instill correct principles in the leaders of the people. From Cassiodorus and the Irish Sedulius, the famous teacher at Liège and Pavia, down to the *De Regimine Principum* of Perrault, and the *De Magistro* of St. Thomas, she has been extremely interested in the theory of instruction as well as in its practice. The famous Benedictine Mabillon, writing on monastic studies, shows that the spirit of Columbanus and Benedict still actuated the preparation for monastic teaching, while the great Angel of Schools, in the just-mentioned treatise, shows the true principles that underlie all teaching and are the source of the teacher's authority and responsibility. The great teaching orders of the Church, so well represented at this Conference, have, in their annals, a rich mine of pedagogic wealth, with which all Catholic teachers should be familiar. Indeed, from the early days of

the Monks of the West, teaching has been a prominent feature of religious orders, and the traditions of each order are the combined experience of many experienced and holy men, through the centuries. The education of religious has also been an object of deepest concern to the Church, which has always looked upon the great orders as powerful agents in the work of teaching. Reference need be made here to but one example, that of Cardinal von Fürstenberg, Prince Bishop of Münster, who at the end of the last century issued a very remarkable document containing directions for the academic formation of the religious orders in his diocese. Benedictine, Augustinian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit annals and codes of discipline bear witness to the constant formation of numerous members to the highest ideals of the teaching office. Their rules often contain the best pedagogic principles of education, and challenge even to-day the admiration of all fair-minded students of that science.

If there is any weakness in our teachers, we are confident it is not inherent, but is often due to external circumstances. If we may say here a word of criticism, it arises from our very desire for progress and perfection. We are never afraid to criticise nor to be criticised,—we learn as much from the conduct of the Church in her synods and councils. Constructive and kindly criticism is a step to improvement, a sign of progress. We have had tremendous disadvantages during the century just closing, especially in the English-speaking world, and it is to our credit that in spite of penal laws and social ostracism and without State aid, we have built up a magnificent educational system, which to-day is prepared to successfully compete with all others. But new conditions make new demands, and we should be satisfied with nothing short of the best in teaching equipment. Judging from conventions and magazine articles we are not alone in complaint and criticism.

A complaint is heard that sufficient attention is not given to our lay element as a teaching force. The Church has always recognized the splendid work done by laymen. Many of her apologists, at the very dawn of Christianity, were devoted, educated laymen. In our own day, they stand in the

front rank and struggle for all the just demands of the Church. De Maistre in France, Donoso Cortes in Spain, De Rossi in Italy, Ambrose Philipps de Lisle and Frederick Lucas in England, Görres, Windhorst, Mallinckrodt and the two Reichenspergers in Germany, Deteux, Malou and Bernaart in Belgium, O'Connell in Ireland, gaining freedom from religious proscription for the Catholics of Great Britain, Brownson in America,—all were teachers of the people, defending in the public arena, before all nations, the best traditions of the Church. What would be left if their lives and works were blotted from the annals of nineteenth century Catholicism? The Church is not a caste, but a living, organic body—"A body," as St. Paul says, "compact and fitly joined together." The noble office of teacher is ever open to the layman, who may justly wear in society the magisterial pallium, and take his place as a defender and illustrator of Catholic truths. There is now a great, well-educated body of Catholic laymen who seek and deserve a place in our educational work. The experience of the University, where the layman is associated with the ecclesiastic in trusteeship, in the administration and the faculties, as well as in the student body, may well encourage us in this respect. In all the universities established or controlled by the Church, laymen have ever been welcome, and have been among the most efficient and famous of her teachers.

The schoolmaster has always been the object of special favors and dignity. After the pastor he was the chief man of the parish, freed from taxation and military service. According to the laws of the General Assembly of France, in 1685, he was clothed with surplice, incensed in the Church, holding a place of honor above all the laity, even the aristocracy of the parish. One may read in the first volume of Janssen's "History of the German People" how great was the consideration paid him in the course of the fifteenth century. A most interesting chapter is that which tells of the honor paid to him among all nations. Lack of means has been our principal excuse in not associating laymen with us, but now that new interests develop generosity, we may hope soon to see our colleges utilize the learning of our laymen as teachers with whom we shall be proud to be associated.

I must not fail, therefore, to enter a plea for the Catholic layman as a teacher in our colleges. While the great majority of our teachers are ecclesiastics, there is a growing element of educated Catholic laymen whose ambition and taste lead them towards the teacher's desk. Graduates of our colleges, trained in normal school and university, they rightly hope to find opportunities to teach in our colleges. They are prepared to consecrate their lives to the teacher's vocation. In them, are elements of strength and assurance of success. We should utilize their talents, their experience, and their devotedness. There is in them a sympathy for youth, a keen understanding of the conditions of student life, a closer acquaintanceship with its real sentiments and dispositions. The lay element in the management of our colleges, and in our teaching corps, adds strength to our management and gives confidence to the business elements of our communities. It also contributes to more clearly define the fact that our colleges are intended not merely as preparatory schools to seminaries, but also as fitting schools for the professions and ordinary demands of secular life. In all discussions on the teacher and the work of teaching, we cannot allow ourselves to overlook the splendid work done by our nuns and our Catholic women in every age. The demand for collegiate instruction for Catholic women has been heard on many sides in our own country, and the good nuns of Notre Dame of Namur, who follow the instructions of Blessed Peter Fouvier, stand ready to consecrate themselves to the work. Trinity College rises in our Capital to show the world the sympathy of the Church with the higher education of women under the guidance and inspiration of religion.

It is very evident that there is a strong disposition against the Catholic system. We are accused of unwillingness to seek improvement in our methods. Methods, after all, are only secondary, yet our system, I am sure, stands ready to follow the best. If it ask that these methods prove themselves the best, it is not an indication of hostility to improvement. There is so much of acknowledged "faddism" and experimentalism in modern methods of education that we are perfectly justified in the conservatism which demands a proof by results. Our duty is to educate, to send out young men

who may take place among the best, training not only mind and hand, but heart and soul as well ; give to society good men, good scholars, who bear about in their hearts a conscience for use in the home, in business, in professional and political life. If this be done, what matters the method ? Method to the true teacher is often so much dry wood ; yet method, the best method for results, is to be sought after. We all know from our own experience that if the teacher were one who taught us scholarship, we cared little about the mere surroundings.

To you, teachers of the collegiate system of our American Catholic Church, I would give a strong word of encouragement. Your vocation is a high and noble one. Your mission is that of truth clearly seen, principles of life certainly known, the end and aim of life beyond all wavering opinion. Your views of education are very positively defined. You are not subjected to the whims and caprices of much of what is called pedagogy ; you are not experimentalists in the purposes of education—though you are willing and free to try the best in all new methods. You are seekers after knowledge, not for knowledge's sake merely, but that it may lead you more surely to God. The Catholic whose life is consecrated to education should be the best teacher. His vocation demands the best equipment in human knowledge, in the things of science as well as in the things of religion. While I congratulate in you the successors of the great teachers who have illustrated Catholicism in the past, I know that you are not satisfied to sit idly in your chairs of teaching and waste time in chanting the glories of that past. You have the responsibility of the present and duty to the future. The Catholic college youth of our great country are looking to you for the education which will enable them to successfully compete for honors in every field of life. Look to it that you be faithful stewards of the great trust !

In this day of scientific preparation of teachers and of sharp competition between colleges for the student it behooves us as representatives of the Catholic Collegiate System to be in the front ranks, with a teaching equipment equal, if not superior, to all other systems. Commodious buildings, expen-

sive laboratories and well-equipped gymnasiums are desirable, but above all and before all let us have well-prepared teachers. Our educational system is now complete. From kindergarten to university we are ready in this country, as never before, to do perfect educational work. The Catholic University, with its Pontifical charter and its corps of scientifically trained men, stands ready to fit the teachers for the classrooms of school and college.

I know the spirit of the University, and I can say for it that it holds nothing dearer than its interest in the teachers of our collegiate system, religious and lay, regular and diocesan. Its greatest anxiety is to contribute the best training which talent and experience can furnish, in fully equipping the teachers of our schools for the work to which they have consecrated themselves. The University feels that the superstructure on which it has to build, the education of priests and laymen, is furnished by our Catholic Colleges; hence it is bound by the closest relationship and deepest interest to all the parts of our educational system. The University exists largely that the colleges may be made capable of doing the best work, and the college in turn must shape that work so as to prepare men for the University. A common Catholic faith binds University and College, a common purpose actuates both, a common responsibility falls upon both. United, we have nothing to fear; divided, Catholic education must suffer. We have vocation, ability, aptitude, enthusiasm. We stand for the best educational ideals; our guide is the Church of God, who confides to us the message which alone will save society, honor our manhood, ennoble our citizenship, make scholars worthy of truth, and teachers worthy of education. You represent many different systems of collegiate work, yet you are a unit as Catholics, devoted to the true principles of life, and to that education which finds its perfection in the development of the intellect, in unison with and in conformity to the will of God.

The Catholic Church has always tolerated difference of rites, languages and customs,—so, too, she is not blindly devoted to any one system of teaching. Unity of purpose or even of system does not destroy individual effort,—but there is a unity imposed by undeniable perfections of science, political com-

plexion of country and enlightened and just public opinion. Our different collegiate systems have had the experience of centuries in educational work. There is no desire in conferences such as this, to destroy their individuality, as there is no desire to have our houses exactly alike,—but there may be brought, into each, whatever there is of benefit in the others.

Our plea then for the teacher is that he shall be prepared for his work by university training, that the range of his teaching shall be narrowed as far as possible to the special work for which he has been prepared,—or at most that he shall not be burdened except by studies correlated with his special work,—that time and opportunities be given to him for study, that he be provided with all that is helpful to him in the line of self-perfection in his special studies. If this Conference have as one of its results a determination at whatever cost to place none but well-trained teachers in our college classes, I for one, am confident that we will have provided what is essential to a college worthy of the name.

THOMAS J. CONATY.

THE OFFICE OF THE PRIESTHOOD.¹

By the word "office" we understand the orderly and habitual exercise of a public duty. Office, therefore, is as old as mankind, is a primitive asset of our nature. To our first parents, while clothed with original justice, its exercise must have been holy, agreeable, and perfect. But in the state of fallen nature the concept of office grew steadily more dim and confused until, when ethnicism was in full flower, it had become almost totally obscure. This was not the least cause of the great human misery which reigned in the world when Jesus Christ came into it. How could it be otherwise? Office is the exercise of some public duty. Hence, the manner and spirit and scope of its exercise depend upon a true knowledge of man himself, his origin, his destiny, his history; upon the ideas of Creation, of the Godhead, of the moral order, of conduct and sanction, reward and punishment. All such ideas were, to say the least, very vague and uncertain in the world of paganism, apprehended as it were in a kind of twilight. Over all these concepts Christianity rose like a sun, and made them henceforth clear, distinct, fixed. Even the offices of the natural and social order,—parent, teacher, governor,—were henceforth transfigured in this new and steady light. Insensibly they absorbed something that invigorated and transformed them. The fire that a divine hand had lit in the heart of human society could not but diffuse a genial warmth; and Himself tells us that He came to make all things new,—the very thought of His apostle: *Instaurare omnia in Christo*.

But it is principally in the supernatural and revealed order that Christianity lent to office an unheard-of sanctity, raised it to a level immeasurably above what it had been in the past, made it capable of godlike tasks, and committed to it the cleansing of the soul, its uplifting from sin and despair and death, and its guidance into an eternity of peace and joy.

¹Discourse delivered at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, November 21, on the occasion of the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

With a novelty, at once sublime and thrilling, St. Paul manifests the apotheosis of office in the figure of the Church, the Ecclesia pre-existent in the mind of the Father from all eternity, spotless beyond power of expression, charged with the maternal duty of begetting all mankind to Christ Jesus, of nursing with the milk of doctrine and discipline all those newly born to the spiritual life. Nor is the Church thus conceived an abstraction,—she is as real as the State, she is the Heavenly Jerusalem,

Beata pacis visio
 Quae celsa de viventibus
 Saxis ad astra tolleris
 Sponsaeque ritu cingeris
 Mille Angelorum millibus.

She is the ideal and other-worldly state, the eternal Urbs, the final Civitas, ever growing, ever distending its limits, ever improving the culture of its citizens, until time shall be no more, and the mystery of creation shall return to the bosom of the Creator. In this congregation of the faithful some have so far progressed, that they find themselves at the end of their probation. For them the earthly day, with its toil and dust and uncertainties, the *status viae*, is over. They live transfigured now and blessed, in the higher mystical day of eternity. Others, less happy, but not less secure of their crown, expiate yet a time the imperfections of their souls. Still others,—the generations of earth and the present of whom we are,—work out with fear and trembling the problem of final happiness. To all these the Church is Mother,—her office is the serene and maternal office. In and through her whoever are children of God and heirs of heaven are born, nourished, confirmed, made perfect. The pains of travail, the joys of budding life, the doubts and sorrows of adolescence, the energies and high deeds of maturity, the symptoms of decay and collapse,—all these she knows by secular experience. The cycle of their recurrence is the cycle of her history. She stands forever among men, the venerable matron, both old and young, that the Shepherd of Hermas beheld on the very threshold of Christianity, selecting yet and polishing and inserting into the walls of the City Eternal those stones which the Father has chosen and foreordained.

In the present order and among the children of Adam, the sublime office of the Church is executed by her ministry, even as the majesty of the Roman people was located in their magistrates, or the social authority resides in those who hold it by commission. To speak, therefore, of the office of the priesthood is to speak of the office of the Church among men, since the priesthood is the acme of the sacred ministry, and is the usual channel by which the mission of the Church is made known to men, is accepted by them and is perpetuated through all the changing phenomena of time,—centuries, languages, states, cultures, ideas.

I. *The office of the priesthood is a public one*,—public in a sublime and astounding sense. No man, however great, ever stood for the human interests of all mankind. Let it be Cyrus or Alexander, or Cæsar or Napoleon, his sphere of responsibility was bounded by some limits of culture or language or power,—some portion of mankind escaped his solicitude. But the priest stands for all humanity. Once he lifts those anointed hands before the Almighty he is recognized as the intermediary, not of a tribe or a city or a state, but of all his kind. The old Athenian might perform his costly liturgies,—they were done but once. The priest offers to God forever the holiest and rarest of public services, the incense of prayer and the ransom of sacrifice. The world is girdled with holy altars, at whose edges stands an army of priests, chosen for the unbloody but saving immolation of the Lamb. And between them all, and between them and the Lamb, there is a divine solidarity of office. Whatever they may be worth as men, whatever be the insignia of rank and authority, they are all public agents of the Savior, constituted for all men, for all their needs and hopes; constituted forever in sight of all men, leaders like Moses, priests like Aaron, prophets like David,—nay, themselves daily, in one sublime hour, the symbols and the vicars of Christ in His Passion, Death, and Resurrection. Into that priestly ear is poured forever the melancholy burden of sorrow, the burden of Tyre and Sidon and the islands of the sea. That priestly heart must daily minister counsel and sympathy and consolation. Of the humblest and youngest of these were the incredible words said: *Sacerdos alter Christus*. The least

among these may truly feel and say with the Apostle and be believed of God: *Instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*. Over all these the Ecclesia watches with intense anxiety, for in them she touches human society; they are her instruments, and according to their temper and their responsiveness she fulfills the office of Spouse, Mother, Nurse, Guardian. Are they conscious that the altar of God is not a table of traffic such as Christ overthrew in His own Temple? ¹ Are they aware that the priest is not selected, qualified, commissioned for his own cheap and pitiable self, but for the people? Then the heart of the Church rejoices, for her work cannot fail so long as these, her ministers, do not become unconscious of the public character of their office, with all its responsibilities of sanctity, industry, ingenuity, elevation of soul, and unquestioning devotion to the sphere of duty mapped out for them.

II. *The office of the priest is a gratuitous one.* In this he is likeliest his Master, Jesus, who emptied Himself for the love of man. Even so the priest is the servant, the "servus publicus," of humanity. He is its debtor for all that he has and is. More than any one else, he is concerned with its woes and its ills, and if he does not feel in himself a perpetual aching and unrest at the sight of sorrow he cannot cure, of wrongs he cannot redress, there is something deficient in him. *Eri a*

¹For the priestly office is indeed discharged on earth, but it ranks amongst heavenly ordinances; and very naturally so, for neither man, nor angel, nor archangel, nor any other created power, but the Paraclete Himself, instituted this vocation and persuaded men while still abiding in the flesh to represent the ministry of angels. Wherefore the consecrated priest ought to be as pure as if he were standing in the heavens themselves in the midst of those powers. Fearful, indeed, and of most awful import, were the things which were used before the dispensation of grace, as the bells, the pomegranates, the stones on the breastplate and on the ephod, the girdle, the mitre, the long robe, the plate of gold, the holy of holies, the deep silence within. But if anyone should examine the things which belong to the dispensation of grace he will find that, small as they are, yet they are fearful and full of awe, and that what was spoken concerning the law is true in this case also, that "what has been made glorious hath no glory in this respect by reason of the glory which excelleth. For when thou seest the Lord sacrificed and laid upon the altar, and the priest standing and praying over the victim, and all the worshippers empurpled with that precious blood, canst thou then think that thou art still amongst men and standing upon the earth? Art thou not, on the contrary, straightway translated to Heaven, and casting out every carnal thought from the soul, dost thou not with disembodied spirit and pure reason contemplate the things which are in Heaven? Oh, what a marvel! What love of God to man! He who sitteth on high with the Father is, at that hour, held in the hands of all, and gives Himself to those who are willing to embrace and grasp Him. And this all do through the eyes of faith! Do these things seem to you fit to be despised or such as to make it possible for anyone to be uplifted against them?"—St. John Chrysostom, "De Sacerdotio," Bk. III, c. 3.

domo tua et cognatione tua et a gente tua. So Abraham was called out of Ur in Chaldaea, so the prophets were called, so the apostles were called, so every true priest of Christ is called, to go forth and make holy war forever against the enemies of truth, the adversaries of humanity. He can look for no adequate reward here below ; first, because this whole life of earth is a time and a condition of struggle ; and, second, because nothing on earth can rightly fill a heart which has once recognized itself as the soldier of Jesus Christ. Can the exile find rest away from the domestic hearth ? Can the warrior enjoy his stipend while he dwells in the heart of the enemies' country ? Can any or all the things of earth, material and transitory, satisfy the just longings of a soul trained to look on man and life from the lofty viewpoint of the Spirit, God, Infinity, Eternity ? The priest is like Samuel before the Lord, "Lord, what wilt Thou ?" His soul ought ever be open to every high impulse, everything noble, humanitarian, uplifting, progressive. In him, of all men, there ought to be a divine compelling germ of discontent with self and the present, a straining towards what is better and desirable, "*Quae retro sunt obliviscens, ad ea quae sunt priora extendens meipsum.*" Let us look back at the men who have illustrated our high calling, the latches of whose shoes we are unworthy to loose, at the priestly saints, holy bishops like Francis de Sales, holy priests like John Baptist De Rossi or St. Vincent de Paul, or the Curé of Ars. What an abandonment of self to the duties of their state ! What a conception of themselves as the public slaves of mankind ! What ingenuity of charity and zeal for the thousand needs of their flocks ! But why should I go so far afield for examples of gratuitous service, for such Christ-like emptying of self as our poor natures comport ? Is not our own Church holy, vigorous, fertile—yea, mother of saints like the venerable churches of the Old World ? From these thrice-blessed precincts how many have gone forth into the hundred phases of this newest and most fateful of the epoch-making conflicts that Catholicism has had to sustain ! In one short century not only is their number great, but their merits are beyond the telling. The oldest here present may have talked with the pioneers, the youngest

have caught from their memories and their monuments some fire of their devotion. Is it too much to say that since the days of Pentecost, since the heroic periods of the national conversions, the world has not looked on labors so gratuitous, on devotion so absolute at once and intelligent, so active and creative and stimulating, as the American clergy has furnished within this century. Behold, as its proofs, the fair white vesture of churches with which the land is covered! Behold the profound respect, nay, the love and veneration with which the peoples who built these churches still look upon the priestly figures who minister at their altars, the benediction in which they hold the memories of the departed! If any reward, save Christ Himself, could satisfy the heart of the priest who throws his being without reserve into the work of his ministry, would it not be this overpowering cry of Love, this incredible showing of Faith, this living and universal response of the people, whereby he knows that his ministry is fruitful, that the kingdom of God is being broadened, but truly, surely, steadily, by his endeavors?

III. *The office of the priest is a sacrificial office.* Out of her kingly constitution Rome saved but one officer, the “*rex sacrificiorum*,” to remind her of the archaic days of paternalism. Out of all human history only the Catholic priest survives to remind the world officially of an original and fundamental law of life and progress, namely, sacrifice. Immolation of Self, Plenitude of Love! Behold the two concepts which commended the person and the work of Jesus Christ to the first generations of Semites and Gentiles who were called upon to accept Him as their Priest and their King. Immolation of self *sub omnipotenti manu Dei*, even as Isaac knelt beneath the knife of Abraham, that thereby the infinite malice of sin, the ocean-like vastness of hatred and rebellion, might be destroyed like a hand-writing,—such was the key-note of the life of the Great High Priest of the New Law. “Greater love than this no man hath than that He should lay down His life for His friends,” And this was done in the fullness of love. No man took His life from Him; He had power to lay it down, and He had power to take it up again. To the apostles He is brother, Jerusalem is His daughter, His disciples are born

again in Him to truth and justice and eternity. An atmosphere of burning love surrounds Him; He is Himself the love which presided at the birth of creation, and dwells still for its weal within the order He created.

Now, this sublime element of divine and saving sacrifice must be found in every priest really worthy of the name. It constitutes him the light of humanity, the salt of the earth. When Caiphas cried out that one man must die for the people he gave voice unwittingly to the deepest and oldest sentiment of mankind. When the fantastic Shaman of Siberia commands the death of the tribal chieftain to appease the spirit of the plague, he yields to something historic and primitive in our nature, as Jephthe did when his daughter went out to mourn upon the mountains, as Greek Calchas did when he willed the death of Iphigenia, as Euripides did when he nailed high on the cold rocks of Caucasus the Friend of Mankind, Prometheus, as Plato did when he hung upon a cross his ideal Just Man. In the person of Jonas the prophetic order is a witness of this iron law of immolation. Besides his "daily death," Saint Paul, with a Christ-like effort, tramples on hope itself and offers himself for an anathema, so humanity be bettered by his renunciation. And his disciple, Ignatius of Antioch, marks the just ideal of the Catholic priesthood, when, standing already in spirit before the world of Greece and Rome that crowded the marble tiers of the Colosseum, he cried out: "I am the wheat of Christ, and what do I wish if not to be macerated and ground fine by the teeth of the lions that I may become a bread both white and clean."

Is this the language of an impossible mysticism? By no means. It is the doctrine of every Christian teacher who has written on the priesthood,—St. Paul, in his inspired Pastoral Epistles; St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his Apology for his Ordination; St. Chrysostom, in his work on the priesthood; St. Jerome, writing "*ad Nepotianum suum*"; St. Gregory, writing for the Middle Ages his Catechism of the Sacerdotal Office,—his golden *Regula Pastoralis*.¹ If there are any exponents of the nature of the Christian priesthood, they are these men, and they assume as a first principle that the life of the priest

¹ One can mention only to praise them, the work of Cardinal Manning on the "Eternal Priesthood," and that of Cardinal Gibbons on the "Ambassador of Christ."

is of sacrifice all made up. And if it is true, is it too hard and stern a law? Look at the physician, the statesman, the man of natural science, the man of letters in his highest expression, the poet! Are they not often filled with the spirit of sacrifice? And do they not throw down into the furnace of enthusiasm for humanity whatever they have and are? Paracelsus, Galileo, Washington, Hugo,—do not these names burn forever in the firmament of history as passionate lovers of humanity, as sufferers for its weal and progress? *Et hi quidem, ut temporalem accipiant hereditatem, . . . Nostra autem conversatio in coelis est.*

The Institutes of Justinian begin with the admirable thought that the legislator is the priest of justice and equity. *Nos autem sacerdotes recti et justi.* But we are priests of a higher priesthood than can be created by reason and experience. We share and administer a divine priesthood. Our altar and our Victim, our scope and our means, our spirit and our history, are all heavenly, above and beyond nature, though not contrary to it or destructive of it.

It is well, indeed, that we are all held up by a higher power, that we shine in a borrowed light, that our great deeds are done, as it were, in commission and delegation. For there is something pathetic and tragic in the self-sacrifice of the priest. Not only must he imitate on earth in the public service of mankind the immolation and the love of his Captain and Master, but he must first slay himself, as it were; he must stifle the old Adam of sin and rebellion entrenched in his own heart, in his own flesh and bones. O incredible warfare! O Janus-like battle! Within us are barking monsters of heat and cold, of concupiscence and apathy, and without the shining hosts of the world, and all-wrong, and triumphant sin! And we must carry on forever this double immolation. Forever we wear bound up with the white fillet of our public office the red and bleeding fillet of the self-slaughterer. Well did that noble poet, Gregory Nazianzen, say that the priest is like a captain of a mutinous ship in the heart of a tempest, like a general, one-half of whose forces fight in the plain with a visible enemy, while the other half contend above the clouds with forces they can neither see nor estimate.

Surely the life of the Catholic priest is a *via crucis*, and he who fears to bear the Cross after the Master is better off in some humbler and safer station. There may be periods of public rest, lulls as it were, in the storm, the furlough of the soldier; but they do not last, and the priest soon finds himself where he belongs, in the center of a conflict that existed before him and will exist after him, but in which he must bear himself manfully in *Christo et secundum Christum*. In himself the good and the bad, the night and the light, contend unceasingly, the law and order of perversity with the law and order of righteousness. Forever, Christ-like, he moves up the side of Calvary. Few of us go by the same path to that mystic mountain of sorrow, but by some path we must all climb, if we would take our place near the blood-bedewed throne of our Master. And every path is narrow and beset with obstacles, and only the earnest and the lightly laden arrive first, while the lukewarm and heavy burdened are long in reaching Him.

Venerable brethren! We are the last comers in a long line of priests that stretches back to the apostles, and in them to the Cross and Cenacle. Our history is the history of the world since first we were sent out into it, the agents and vicars of Jesus Christ. And when all is told, we may be proud of those who went before us. *Qua homines*, they sustained well the shock of conflict, they stood brave and united about the standard of Christ, they delivered to us unimpaired the lessons of His life and His teaching. Like the Lampadophori or torch-bearers in the games of Greece, they have handed down, one to another, through all the centuries, the living flame of knowledge and piety. And we may well turn, as King Ahasuerus did, to the annals of the past, to draw comfort therefrom and direction,—we shall not be deceived. *Qua regio in terris nostri non plena laboris!* What culture of the Orient so high and old that we have not conquered it for Christ! What barbarism so pallid and spent that we have not stooped to lift it from the horrors of its moral death! What powers “in excelsis” that we have not manfully withstood in defense of the rights and ideals of humanity! What patience and persistency have we not shown in dealing with

our own selves and in judging, Rhadamanthus-like, with stern severity every lapse from the ideal of our estate and our calling! All other priesthoods were local, temporary, natural, human, and imperfect. This alone transcends all time and dominates humanity, taking wings with the rise, and accommodating its steps to the decline of man in his varied and successive combinations.

In this priesthood there is an historic and logical continuity, and thereby an organic law of motion, of progress, of perfection. We may not add to its constituent parts nor take from them,—indeed, it is at once our boast and our pledge of power that we do not. But we may add to the zeal and the industry, the insight and the ingenuity of the past. The French clergy of the end of the seventeenth century far surpass the clergy of the Merovingian days. And you may multiply this example by many others. They show that it is possible to advance from height to height, to expand as a body from one sphere of good to another, and to add forever fresh pages of conquest to the annals of our order. Not only is it possible,—it is a law. *Estote Perfecti* includes not only the perfection of the individual soul, but when applied to the priest the perfection that is the steady progress of ministration to the needs of society. And when that society is itself so much in advance of its own past conditions, which it has shaken off as a serpent sheds its skin, the obligation on the part of the priest to meet it half way is very near and pressing. And when that society is in love with such divine gifts as philosophy, history, the sciences of nature, of man, of its very self, shall not the priest of that society rise to its demands? Shall he not see that his sacrifice may be henceforth the sacrifice of the scholar, the student, the thinker? Shall he listen to the hundred grave and motivated warnings of one like Leo XIII, qualified, if any, by office and experience, to warn ecclesiastical youth of the needs of the present and the future, and not heed them? When were our responsibilities to humanity divided, so that we are now concerned only with the things of the sacristy? What more nefarious principle did Julian the Apostate establish when he forbade the Christians to deal with Greek letters? What worse situation did mediæval emperors create for the Church

when, in practice or in theory, they denied her right to criticise the morality of their public acts?

No! the office of the priest remains truly and forever a public, gratuitous and sacrificial one. And he is beholden to the society in which he lives for the best that he is or can make himself. He alone lives unhampered by any other ties, alone, by the law and the spirit of his order, is concerned with the higher goods of the soul, the higher morality of social welfare and progress. With what instinct, as true as it is sudden, all men turn to the priest aboard a sinking ship! With an instinct no less true our own American society looks up to the priest as one who has the words of eternal life. It is faithful if his faith be strong and intelligent; is hopeful if his voicing out with sympathy and cheeriness; is transformed with love, if the heart of the priest be saturated with a spirit of sacrifice and unselfishness. Never was priestly example a surer trap for souls. With all its pride our American society, like that of every age, is torn by vast misgivings that more and more agitate each individual, is daily more sick with spiritual longings half-concealed and half-revealed, is worn with the ill-regulated friction of soul and body, of conscience and desire. Like all human society, this too is forever a child, at once of genius and weakness, in face of that realm of mystery which lies beyond the limitations of sense,

“Ah, friend, behold and see!
What's all the beauty of humanity?
Can it be fair?
What's all the strength? Is it strong?
And what hope can they bear,
These dying livers, living one day long?
Ah, seest thou not, my friend,
How feeble and slow,
And like a dream doth go,
This poor blind manhood, drifted from its end?”

May the Holy Spirit quicken in each one of us the sense of his dignity, the keenness of zeal, the consciousness of responsibility, the divine power of assertion made luminous and convincing by the logic of our lives, the ardor to be up and doing within the limits and along the lines of our calling!

In this cosmopolitan office all is great and holy, provided it be done with order and regularity. There are young and old, there are superiors and inferiors, there are experienced and inexperienced, there are those just clothed with their spiritual arms, and those from whose honorable hands these weapons are falling. But all belong to a common nobility. A common aristocracy of sentiment, temper, and duty is peculiar to all. May we so administer this high and holy charge of the priesthood that when we must step out of our places and yield them to others, while we go before the Great Captain of our earthly warfare, we may hear from Him that desirable sentence of approval: "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

LYRISM IN SHAKSPERE'S "COMEDIES."

There is a great difference between a comedy by Shakspeare and a comedy by Molière. And this difference is not only the difference that must exist between a play written for Elizabethans who went to the theatre dependent on a strong appeal to the imagination and people of the time of Louis XIV desiring to see life as it was reflected on the stage. The age of Elizabeth and the age of Louis XIV were very unlike. The mob that filled the pit of the Globe Theatre had little affinity with the courtiers who gathered at St. Cyr¹ to listen to the Esther of Racine, to wonder whether the Count de Soisson was the original of the man who discovered that he had been talking prose all his life, and insinuate that the model for Tartufe was the Bishop of Autun.² The real difference, however, lies in the fact that the plays of Molière are comedies, pure and simple, while the most beautiful of Shakspeare's are lyrical extravagances. Speaking of Aristotle, Cardinal Newman says: "The inferior poem may, on his principle, be the better tragedy." A careful examination of any play of Molière's and a comparison of it with the best comedies of Shakspeare will show that Shakspeare was, by all odds, a poet, while Molière was not a poet at all, but, in the best sense, a comedian of the highest order. Leaving out the question as to the distinctly opposite views of life and their art taken by these men of genius, I may say that the essential difference between them is the difference between poetry and prose. And though prose may be not unmusical, yet it is never lyrical, and all the plays of Shakspeare, except in certain prosaic passages introduced consciously, are lyrical; they are full of emotion, mood, feeling, the quality of aspiration, musically expressed. The music of the composer and the music of the poet are not the same, but they touch each other. The poet who lives in a musical time will set his cadences and pauses to the tunes he hears.

¹ Letters of Madame de Sévigné, June 12, 1680; Feb. 21, 1689.

² It must have been the enemies of Mgr. de Roquette who whispered this, for the real Tartufe was a certain M. Fertant. See "La Vraie Fin de Tartufe," *Revue Bleue*, May 18, 1899.

The air is full of music and the accent of familiar songs sets the mould for the metres of the bard. Shakspeare's time was the most musical that England ever knew. The lute and the spinnet were everywhere; the madrigal and the glee so common that at any moment in the day voices were ready to join in them. "It was the Puritan,"¹ George Brandes says, "who cast out music from the daily life of England. Spinnetts stood in the barbers' shops for the use of customers waiting their turn." Music tried to get back with the Restoration, as we see from the passionate devotion of both Evelyn and Pepys, to the part-songs, but it had gone out of the every-day existence of a people who, after awhile, heard music only as an exotic in the form of Italian opera. But before the Reformation and for a time after, all England sang. All the Elizabethan dramatists break into the lyrical strain, with more or less success, according to the fineness of their feeling and their ear. John Addington Symonds² says that the lyrical element "permeated all species of poetry in the Elizabethan age. * * *

We then had a native school of composers, and needed not to know the melodies of other lands. Every house had its lute suspended on the parlor wall. In every company of men and women part-songs were sung." Shakspeare, the foremost expresser of his time, was the most lyrical—the most songful—of all its writers. Dramatic expression may be full and noble without the musical cadence accentuated—without that extravagance of figures, that play of the fancy, that redundancy of imaginative suggestion, that lark-like flight which is sustained lyricism. There are many such forms of noble dramatic expression in Shakspeare. The great scene between Hamlet and his mother is not lyrical, though it has the measured movement of metrical cadences. It does not suggest the chant, though it is intense to the finest degree. A drama may be lyrical in the noblest sense; an ode must be lyrical in the noblest sense, though, in our time, we have lost sight of the real meaning of lyrical and almost limited it to sweet songs of the type of which Tennyson gives us perfect specimens in "The Princess."

¹William Shakspeare: A Critical Study. George Brandes: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

²The Lyrism of the English Romantic Drama. Paper written for the Elizabethan Society of Toynbee Hall.

It would be unnecessary to show that lyricism was one of the principal qualities of the Greek drama and that, as Newman says, it was founded on no scientific principle; "it was a pure recreation of the imagination, reveling without object or meaning beyond its own exhibition."¹ The belief that holds that there is a wide gulf between the "classicism" of Sophocles and the romantic lyricism of Shakspeare is unfounded. They were more akin than most of us imagine. While Racine and Corneille are nearer to Aristotle than Shakspeare, Shakspeare is nearer to Sophocles and Euripides than Racine and Corneille. The presence of the declamatory, the eloquent quality, is evident in the French tragedians, but seldom does the lyrical quality appear. There is always reticence, the restraint of feeling modulated by rigid rule, seldom the imaginative, emotional outburst, put there by the author without regard to the action of the drama, and never the little song so metred that its every accent and pause suggests the combination of notes by which the composer will make it ready for his harp. When poetical expression is over-abundant and conveys the impression that it might be chanted, or sung or even read to musical accompaniment, it is lyrical. Hamlet's

"Confess yourself to Heaven;
Repent what's past: avoid what is to come,"

is not a lyrical cry; nor is the Queen's outburst,

"O Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain."

But there is lyricism—so overstrained that it nearly becomes bombastic rhetoric—in the dialogue between Hamlet and Laertes at the grave of Ophelia, in the Queen's description of Ophelia's death, and in speech after speech in Richard II. For instance (Act III, 2):

"Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs;
As a long-parted mother with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles at meeting,
So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,
And do thee favor with my gentle hands."

¹ "Poetry with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics."

If Molière's "L'Avare" and Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer" are comedies, Shakspeare's "As You Like It," "Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Tempest," and "The Winter's Tale" certainly are not, and "Love's Labor Lost" and "The Twelfth Night"—in fact, all except the "Comedy of Errors" and "The Taming of the Shrew" are very defective ones. Dialogue and dramatic interest and action, *vraisemblance* constitute a comedy. How extravagant, how impossible, how undramatic, how exquisitely lyrical in every sense is "As You Like It"! As for the characters which have any hold on local reality, they are Elizabethans, though they live in No Man's Land. In essence, all except Oliver are universal. Music is everywhere in the atmosphere of the play. There are intervals of prose, like the expository conversation between Adam and Orlando, in the first act, and all the speeches until the shadow of the tyrant Duke falls upon the scene. There are hints of music, as if the violinists were trying their instruments, but the lyrical quality of the play is not shown until we enter the Forest of Arden. The sentiment of the forest permeates every line until Amiens begins to sing :

"Under the greenwood tree
Who loves to lie with me,
And turn his merry note
Unto the sweet bird's throat,
Come hither, come hither, come hither;
Here shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather."

Then comes the chorus :

"Who doth ambition shun,
And love to live i' the sun,
Seeking the food he eats,
And pleased with what he gets,
Come hither, come hither, come hither;
Here shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather."

There are many passages where the overwrought high-strained appeal to the imagination seems to resemble the

euphuistic affectation which Shakspeare ridiculed in Polonius and Osric,—the speeches at the grave in “Hamlet” are examples. In extenuation, it must be remembered that the theatre of Shakspeare was barren of all those accessories which force stage effects upon our sight to-day. There were no waving leaves where shadows are cast by calcium lights upon tufts of grass at the Globe or the Rose theatre, at the end of the sixteenth century. At Court the Queen’s master of the revels, Edmund Tylney, could command scenic apparatus almost as splendid as Calderon used at the Palace of Buen Retero. But the theatre of Shakspeare, where the royal masques were not given, was forced to appeal through the ear rather than eye.

A boy acted Rosalind or Ophelia, Perdita or Juliet and the fairies in “Midsummer Night’s Dream,” were rosy-cheeked urchins, more suggestive of roast beef and Yorkshire pudding than moonlight and cobwebs. Most of us enjoy more a play of Shakspeare’s read in quietness than presented to us subject to all the accidents of theatrical realism. This is because Shakspeare left nothing to such accidents. With no scenery and sometimes not even a screen, the sides of his platform occupied by loungers, without the means of changing the effect from light to darkness, he is obliged to force the illusion by the imaginative powers of the text. He can not keep the expressions of his characters down to the level of ordinary life; their speech must soar in imagination and it must have in expression musical cadences. The modern opera has its reason in this need to be lyrical. It is artificial; it can never, if it retain its absurd *libretti* or depend on the Wagnerian effects, appeal to the imagination as cadenced lyrical dramas, such as “As You Like It” and “The Tempest;” for the imagination is clogged, held down, by too much realism. The desire to uplift by means of sonorous lyrical words, set to music, is at the root of the creation of the opera. The Church,—if I may be permitted to say so,—has, especially in the Tenebræ, shown how far dramatic suggestiveness may go without dragging the imagination too near reality. Shakspeare was an unconscious psychologist, and he, applying his genius to lesser themes, understood admirably the essential quality of suggestion. When rhetoric seems, as with Laertes, to approach

rant, it is the result of the poet's determination to take the lounging gallants and the citizens and 'prentice boys to forget themselves in the high-pitched passion of the moment,—for this great artist must rely only on the influence of uttered words. His soliloquies—dramatic expediency forcing him to make his character speak to the public the very processes of his secret thought—are unquestioned by men of taste because their seriousness and dignity is supported by fitting musical cadences. Under the master's art-spell, we forget that the sable-hued Hamlet ought to be absurd as he stands—the other characters having conveniently left him alone—not in self-communing silence, but in outspoken analysis of his own mind. Shakspeare meant to bear our imaginations into his world, and he succeeded; he is more of a magician than Prospero.

Perhaps of all the plays, "As You Like It" is most lyrical in structure. "We may liken," Newman says (op. cit.), "the Greek drama to the music of the Italian school; in which the wonder is, how so much richness of invention in detail can be accommodated to a style so simple and uniform. Each is the development of grace, fancy, pathos and taste, in the respective media of representation and sound."

Dr. Newman may have thought of Mozart, but certainly not of Donizetti or Bellini. Similarly, "As You Like It" resembles the structure which underlies the operas of the Italian composers. There are recitatives, the duets, arias, and those particularly English madrigal effects, which accentuate the pastoral feeling when the imagination needs the stimulus of more pronounced music. The Duke S. opens the first scene in the forest with the *recitativo* which closes—

"Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head:
And thus our life exempt from public haunt
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.
I would not change it."

There is a snatch of dialogue between the exiled Duke and Amiens, and the First Lord begins his *recitativo*,—and an

exquisitely lyrical one it is!—the description of the oak and the deer, and the moralizing of the melancholy Jaques. It impedes the action; Molière would not have tolerated it; modern theatrical managers cut it out; it would be permitted only in a musical play. The lyrical phrases change and interweave. Silvius breaks forth,—

“O thou did'st then ne'er love so heartily.
If thou remember'st not the slightest folly
That ever love did make thee run into,
Thou hast not loved;
Or if thou hast not spake as I do now
Wearing thy hearer in thy mistress' praise,
Thou hast not loved;
Or if thou hast not broke from company
Abruptly, as my passion now makes me,
Thou hast not loved.”

When Orlando appeals to the foresters for his fainting old servant, Adam, we hear the same cadences, artfully changed,—

“But whate'er you are
That in this desert inaccessible,
Under the shade of melancholy boughs,
Love and neglect the creeping hours of time;—
If ever you have looked on better days,
If ever been where bells have knell'd to church,
If ever sat at any good man's feast,
If ever from your eyelids wiped a tear,
And know what 'tis to pity and be pitied,
Let gentleness my strong enforcement be;
In the which hope I blush, and hide my sword.”

And when Jaques has ended his sad *recitativo*,—

“All the world's a stage,”

Shakspeare waves his baton and the meditative mood is relieved, but not interrupted by the lusty Amiens,—

“Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude;
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath is rude.”

With a rush the chorus comes in—

"Heigh-ho, sing heigh-ho! unto the green holly:
Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly:
Then, heigh-ho, the holly!
This life is most jolly."

Amiens regains the thread of the melody, —

"Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
That dost not bite so nigh
As benefits forgot:
Though thou the waters warp,
Thy sting is not so sharp
As friend remembered not."

Orlando opens Scene II of Act III with a new rhymed lyrical movement, and disappears to let the inferior Corin and Touchstone talk in every-day prose. In Scene II, Act V, there is the quartette of Silvius, Phebe, Rosalind, and Orlando, with the suggestion of the fugue. It is not set to the music of the composer and there is no direction in the text for musical accompaniment, but no reader could utter it without making verbal music the recurrent cadence:

Phebe. "Good shepherd, tell this youth what 'tis to love.
Silvius. "It is to be made of sighs and tears;
And so am I for Phebe.
Phebe. "And I for Ganymede.
Orlando. "And I for Rosalind.
Rosalind. "And I for no woman.

Silvius has his solo part—

"It is to be all made of fantasy,
All made of passion, and all made of wishes,
All adoration, duty, and observance,
All humbleness, all patience, and impatience,
All purity, all trial, all observance,
And so am I for Phebe."

Phebe. "And so am I for Ganymede.
Orlando. "And so am I for Rosalind.
Rosalind. "And so am I for no woman."

Phebe, after this cadence, takes a new rhythmical modulation—

- “If this be so, why blame you me to love you?”
Silvius. “If this be so, why blame you me to love you?”
Orlando. “If this be so, why blame you me to love you?”
Rosalind. “Who do you speak to, ‘Why blame you me to love you?”
Orlando. “To her that is not here, nor doth not hear.”

The last act is made up of musical cadences, with a short interval of prose. The vocal fugue is imitated, especially in the speeches of Jaques and Rosalind, and the real song of that act is Hymen’s—

“There is mirth in heaven
 Where earthly things made even
 Move together.”

“The Winter’s Tale” is lyrical from beginning to end. The rogue, Autolycus, has some delightful snatches of song—

“When daffodils begin to peer”
 and
 “Lawn as white as driven snow,
 Cyprus black as e’er was crow,
 Gloves as sweet as damask roses,
 Masks for faces and for noses.”

And his part in the trio with Dorcas and Mopsa—

- “Get you hence, for I must go,
 Where it fits not you to know.”
Dorcas. “Whither?”
Shyrsa. “O whither?”
Dorcas. “Whither?”

For the delicate management of the pauses, for musical suggestiveness, for convincing appeal to the fancy, what can be better than the trio of the Shepherd, Polixenes and Perdita, in Act IV, Scene III:

“O Proserpina,
 For the flowers now that, frightened, thou let’st fall
 From Dis’s waggon! daffodils
 That come before the swallow dares and take
 The winds of March with beauty; violets dim,
 But sweeter than the lids of Juno’s eyes,
 Or Cytherea’s breath.”

There is the aubade, in *Cymbeline*, which bursts through the prose of the Clown's speech :

"Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,
And Phœbus 'gins arise,
His steeds to water at those springs
On chalic'd flowers that lies;
And winking Mary-buds begin
To ope their golden eyes;
With everything that pretty is,
My lady sweet, arise,
Arise, arise!"

Over Imogen's body Arviragus speaks :

"We'll say our song the whilst. Brother, begin."

Guiderius. "Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone and ta'en thy wages;
Golden lads and lasses must,
As chimney-sweepers come to dust."

Arviragus. "Fear no more the frown of the great,
Thou art past the tyrant's stroke;
Care no more to clothe and eat;
To thee the reed is as the oak;
The sceptre, learning, physic must
All follow this, and come to dust."

Guiderius. "Fear no more the lightning flash,"

Arviragus. "Nor the all-dreaded thunder stone."

Guiderius. "Fear not slander, censure rash;"

Arviragus. "Thou has finished joy and moan."

Both. "All lovers young, all lovers must
Consign to thee, and come to dust."

Guiderius. "No exorciser harm thee!"

Arviragus. "Nor no witchcraft charm thee!"

Guiderius. "Ghost unlaid forbear thee!"

Arviragus. "Nothing ill come near thee!"

Both. "Quiet consummation have
And renowned be thy grave!"

"These songs," Mr. Symonds says, "cannot be regarded as occasional ditties, interpolated for the delectation of the audience. * * * They condense the particular emotion of

the tragedy or comedy in a quintessential drop of melody. Mr. Pater has dwelt upon a single instance of this fact with his usual felicity of phrase. Speaking of the song in 'Measure for Measure' he remarks that in it the kindling power and poetry of the whole play seem to pass for a moment into an actual strain of music."

It is an actual strain of music, needing neither string nor wind instrument, but only the inspiration of unforced breath. It has all the qualities of music except pitch.

Portia was musical. When it comes Bassanio's turn to choose the casket she is devoured with anxiety. She cannot tell him that the leaden box contains the key of his fate and hers. He, led by deluding fancy, may choose the gold or silver box. She must not speak, she cannot give him a hint in words of hers, but another may sing. She confesses this to nobody, but makes a prelude to her carefully chosen lyric:—

"Let music sound while he doth make his choice:

Then, if he lose, he makes a swan-like end,

Fading in music."

And, while Bassanio comments on the caskets to himself, the song goes on—

"Tell me, where is fancy bred,

Or in the heart, or in the head?

How begot, how nourished?

Reply, reply.

It is engender'd in the eyes,

With gazing fed; and fancy dies

In the cradle where it lies.

Let us all ring fancy's knell;

I'll begin it—Ding, dong, bell."

All. "Ding, dong, bell."

Bassanio had more than the usual vanity of his sex and he was as thoughtlessly selfish as any other spirited gallant of his time, but he had a pretty wit and he catches the hint.

"So may the outward shows be least themselves,

The world is still deceived with ornament."

On the message of this lyric depends the turn of the play, and yet how easily and naturally it is dropped in. It falls

so gently that it seems to be a gliding strain caught as a point of rest in the suspensive interest of the moment, but it determines Bassanio's action.

There are musicians who thank heaven for "A Midsummer Night's Dream" because it suggested Mendelssohn's music. Herr Ambros, in "The Boundaries of Music and Poetry," seems to draw very near to this. "When," he says, "we are listening to the wonderfully elusive, fluttering, skipping, bantering G-minor *Scherzo* (this miracle of instrumentation,) introducing Puck's roguish pranks, we believe everything which the poet relates of him—before our *eyes*, Puck skips into the side scenes; to our ears, he actually flies like the arrow from the Indian's bow; and we believe the ear more than the eye."

This is true—but only after we have known the play and steeped ourselves in the scent of the musk-roses and seen the moonlight on the banks of wild thyme. It is to the ear that Shakspeare speaks,—even a cursory study of his lyrism will make that plain; he speaks through music, but it is a music more evanescent, less palpable, but more directly expressive than Mendelssohn's, because it is a music essential to the words themselves, not a set of musical sounds speaking a composer's impressions of them. Where Shakspeare has given

"to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name,"

Mendelssohn interprets it in music; the G-minor *Scherzo* might mean almost anything gay, if the composer of "Songs Without Words," had not told us of the theme on which he founded it. No; the music of Mendelssohn may suggest, but never so directly and unequivocally as the metred phrase of the lyricist. Shakspeare knew this, and better than this, he knew that his appeal must be by concordant words to the emotions through the imagination. He must make pictures, too. And, in the old days at Stratford, in the homely country lanes and fields, he had gathered all the material for these pictures. The folk-song heard at twilight, the glimpse of the spot in the chalice of the cowslip like a drop of blood, the dying fall of the madrigal as the shepherds went their way

to the shearing, the daisies "smelless, yet most quaint,"—all these had become part of his younger life, and about them sounded the echoes of the glees and rustic dances. Thus the picture and the accented words were one. No realism can altogether ruin the lyricism of "Midsummer Night's Dream," for the poet, forced to soar above the sordid surroundings of his theatre, made an appeal with all the strength of his genius, strengthened by many garnered treasures drawn from nature herself, which Mendelssohn or Berlioz could only suggest, but never reach. The pleasanter dramas of Shakspeare, without the lyricism, would still be the masterpieces of character and philosophy, taken from life, but they would not deserve the name of comedies in Molière's sense, nor could they be justly held to compare with his. They would lack that exquisite, permeative charm that makes them the most beautiful things of their kind under heaven. And the strength of this charm is, in part, due to the fact that even the smallest lyric arises from the feeling of the composition and intensifies it. The melodious "Spring Song" at the end of "Love's Labor Lost," is at once a conclusion and a harbinger. Mendelssohn, the composer, recalls the spring, but only when we know beforehand what he intends to recall; the "Winter Song," has the meaning of an epilogue. And the very bloom of the mood of the Duke, in "Twelfth Night," is accented by

"That old and antique song we heard last night;
Methought it did relieve my passion much,
More than light airs and recollected terms
Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times;
Come, but one verse. * * *

"Come away, come away, death,
And in sad cypress let me be laid."

And the Prince Ferdinand's amazement is turned to sad remembrance by Ariel's song, which is as much a part of the feeling of the moment as the glow is of a ruby.

"Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes;
Nothing of him that doth fade,

But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something new and strange,—
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:
Ding, dong.
Hark ! now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell."

What can be said of these lyrics, except that, whether invented by Shakspeare or borrowed from "antique songs," they were made by him essential to the works in which they appear. While their echoes are with me, I shall write no more ; for as Armado says,

"The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs
Of Apollo. You that way ; we this way." [Exeunt.]

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

A CATHOLIC CENSUS FOR 1900.

Like the kindred subject of Political Economy, statistics have long been considered a fair target by the writers of funny paragraphs and by other purveyors of cheap wit; and even the more dignified and serious-minded have not been averse, on occasion, to having an ill-natured fling or two at the subject. One writer, ambitious to coin a proverb, has said, "there is nothing so unreliable as figures—except statistics;" and another, who leans to comparisons, has given us three gradations of lies, and his superlative degree is "statistics." These humorous folk have been taken so seriously that in some quarters they have begotten a popular distrust of everything bearing the semblance of statistics.

This attitude of mind, however, represents merely a reaction against an opposite extreme. The value of the statistical method of investigation has been so thoroughly shown in certain fields of inquiry that it has had to suffer the penalty of *too* much popularity. It came to be regarded by many as the trade-mark of infallibility, and any statement that could appeal for corroboration to a specious and sufficiently imposing statistical table bid fair to be accepted as convincing and irrefutable. This very popularity of the method brought about its disrepute, for it led to its adoption by two classes, equally dangerous—the unskillful and the *too* skillful. The former, with no adequate training in the handling of the tool with which they worked, have expended much misdirected energy, only to deceive themselves honestly and become blind leaders of the blind; and the others, knowing too well the nature of their tool and its possibilities in tricks of legerdemain, have juggled with tables of figures until these proverbially truthful things have been made to prove the unprovable. And those who have found themselves frequently the victims of the one or the other class of statisticians have played the unreasoning rôle of the dog that attacks the innocent stone hurled at him by an unfriendly hand.

The tricks of statistics are well known to the expert. Nearly every writer or lecturer who treats the subject with any degree of elaboration is as careful to point out the dangers and misuses of the method as he is to explain its correct use and its importance. In spite of constant teaching and constant warning, however, an astonishing ignorance is daily displayed in their use.

Mr. Giffen, the eminent English statistician, in an address before the English Statistical Society, stated the situation thus: "We must all agree in this place, I think, that there is cause both for encouragement and discouragement to us, as regards the prospects of the study in which we are engaged, in the very extensive use of statistics which some recent controversies have occasioned. . . . In these controversies . . . the appeal has been very largely to statistics. Literary journals and magazines, which rather dread figures as a rule, have admitted them into their columns on a liberal scale. . . . But while this appeal to statistics is cause for satisfaction to us, the actual handling of the subjects of our study has been such, I think, as to prove how little it has really advanced, not merely amongst the multitude only, but amongst the classes who are most carefully and highly cultivated. There has been a great hash of figures, indicating that those who use them have hardly the rudiments of statistical ideas, whether true or false. In journals of the highest standing there are the wildest blunders of the schoolboy order. . . . Our satisfaction, therefore, at seeing so frequent an appeal to statistics must be considerably qualified by the nature of the appeal. It is evidently still quite possible for essays to find admission to journals of high standing like the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Quarterly Review*, in which the writers not only make mistakes, but mistakes of an elementary and substantial character, as if in discussing chemistry a writer were to confound oxygen with hydrogen, or as if in discussing geometry he were to confound an isocles with a right-angled triangle. Writers who were capable of making such mistakes in chemistry and geometry, however cultivated in other respects, would either not find admission to the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* or the *Quarterly Review*, or their mistakes

would be corrected by the editors ; but the popular standard for statistics is evidently as yet not so strict as it is for other scientific studies. Any man, it seems to be thought, can handle figures, and writers who are otherwise competent are not afraid to touch them as they would be afraid to touch chemistry, or geometry, or botany, or geology, or almost any science one could name. That our special study should be so little advanced, although there is a dim idea in the public mind of the utility of statistics, must surely be a matter for concern to a society which has been established for nearly fifty years for the express purpose of diffusing right ideas and information. We have still, it is plain, a great work before us to perform."

Mr. Giffen spoke nearly twenty years ago ; but if he were to repeat his statements to-day they would still have a present application, and he could find illustrations for his text that would be strictly "up to date."

An excellent illustration of this has lately been furnished by the use made of the figures taken from the reports of the eleventh census on the subject of churches. Articles have been appearing which set out to show the extent to which the churches in this country have lost their hold on the great mass of the population. As irrefutable proof, the statistics of the latest census are triumphantly quoted to show that out of a total population of seventy millions there are only twenty-two millions who have any church affiliations. From these figures it is sweepingly concluded that less than one man in three is a "church-goer." The slightest examination of the census tables will at once show the utter absurdity of such a conclusion. The census returns give only the number of *communicants* of the various denominations. The age at which one becomes a communicant varies in the different churches all the way from ten years to twenty. Consequently, all below the ages at which they would be classed as communicants must be deducted from the total population before we can have a correct basis for estimating the *proportion* of the population that has, or has not, any church affiliation. When this is done, the groundlessness of the conclusion mentioned will be at once apparent.

Similarly, some one with a peculiar faculty for misinterpreting statistical tables, reached the astonishing conclusion, after reading some tables from the reports of the United States Commissioner of Labor, that something like 83 per cent. of the product of industry went to capital and only 17 per cent. to labor. It is needless to say that nothing short of the profoundest ignorance of the meaning of the figures could have derived such a conclusion from the tables in question. The Commissioner, in the interest of truth, has tried through the public prints to correct the erroneous conclusion, but some new amateur in the field of statistical study every now and then repeats the mistake of his predecessors and the statement starts on its rounds again.

Instance after instance might be cited, similar to these, to show that statistics are still as much given to playing tricks upon the unwary as they were when Mr. Giffen spoke.

Though these things may seem to give a piquant dash of truth to the witticisms and epigrams about the unreliability of statistics, the value and importance of the method can not be seriously questioned. We do not reject logic because there are sophists; nor decry all medical science because there are "quacks;" nor repudiate religion because there are pious frauds. Neither should we discredit the statistical method because it is misused by the ignorant or the designing. Dr. Wright has expressed the situation tersely in his saying that "figures will not lie, but, unfortunately, liars will figure."

The difficulty arises mainly from misunderstanding the nature and the meaning of statistical tables. They are not in themselves final, nor are they a substitute for logic. They are designed merely to give us a basis for inductive reasoning. Tabulated data can give us no license to do violence to the principles of logic and reach conclusions out of all proportion to our premises. The statistical method represents merely the application to the social sciences of the *systematized* processes of observation and induction that have been used with such brilliant success in the field of the natural sciences. The progress of knowledge advances in proportion as the field of observation is broadened, and the fact that the natural sciences have developed so much earlier and so much farther than

the social sciences is largely due to the use in the natural sciences of what we may term the laboratory method. In the laboratory men have been able to reproduce the phenomena of nature with such frequency, and under such diverse conditions, that the field of observation has been immeasurably widened, and valid generalizations have become possible.

The student of social phenomena can not reproduce these at will, nor in any way control them either as to frequency or conditions. He is denied the luxury of a laboratory, and is not permitted the freedom of decomposing and recomposing at will the molecules of his investigations. The material on which he works is too sacred for that. Yet the same hard-and-fast rules of logic bind him in his investigations and conclusions as bind the physical scientist, and he is permitted to reach generalizations only after an equally wide range of observation. So, since the phenomena will not come to him, and appear and reappear at his bidding, he follows the example of the shrewd prophet, and goes to the phenomena. Here it is that he makes use of the statistical method. He ceases to rely on chance observation. Selecting the social phenomenon he wishes to study, he inaugurates a series of systematic observations, extending over a wide area and carried on under a variety of conditions. The enumeration and classification of the results of these observations are presented in statistical tables. Statistics thus represent social observation carried out on a large scale, systematized and classified. The social investigator, when he has compiled his tables of data, is no farther along in his study than is the natural scientist who has experimented in his laboratory and carefully noted down the phenomena he has observed and the conditions attending them. In the case of the one as in that of the other, any principle that the investigator may lay down, or any hypothesis he may advance, will merit acceptance only in proportion to the range over which his observations have extended and to the fidelity with which he has adhered to the principles of logic in drawing his conclusions. Instances are not wanting in either field of specious hypotheses and rigid conclusions foisted on a too credulous world, and unsupported by any adequate basis. In the case

of physical science we do not condemn the inductive method indiscriminately, because a sciolist has failed to understand its use. In the case of statistics we show a tendency to visit on the tool the disrepute that is due rather to the user.

Statistics serve us as a basis for the study and interpretation of social phenomena. The importance of the method in all forms of social study can hardly be overestimated, and there can be no doubt that much of the progress that marks the development of the social sciences to-day is due to the wider use and fuller understanding of the method. Thus the value of statistics is not, as seems to be assumed by those who always bend the knee when the deductive is mentioned, merely to corroborate or to disprove theories already deduced *a priori*. On the contrary, they furnish us the data upon which to base our reasoning in the first place, and the judicious inquirer after truth will try to keep his mind free from theories,—even in germ,—until he has before him all the available data that bear on the subject of his thought.

Perhaps the best testimony to the importance of statistics is to be found in the extent to which they are being utilized by every government of the civilized world. Millions and millions of dollars are expended annually by them in the gathering, arranging, and distribution of statistics. The wisdom of the expenditure is beyond question. It represents the State endeavoring to follow out the precept of the ancient philosopher and know itself. In no other way than by statistical investigation can we know accurately the condition of the social body,—whether it be its political, its economic, or its religious condition that is the object of our solicitude.

We have recognized this truth in Church administration, but we can hardly be said to have done so to anything like the extent suggested by either our need for statistics or the superb organization at our disposal for their collection.

Carefully gathered Church statistics of an extensive kind would serve two purposes, one historical and the other what we may term "remedial." It would be enough to justify them on historical grounds, merely to say that they served the interests of truth. In a country like ours they would further

serve a distinct "missionary" purpose. It is a commonplace to say that English-speaking people, the world over, are influenced more by facts than by philosophy. The average English mind fits its philosophy to the requirements of accomplished facts; and the habit of mind seems to go with the language. Amongst us, consequently, an institution is judged rather by the results it begets in the concrete than by the principles it represents or the philosophy it teaches. A volume of results accomplished would, therefore, be of immense value to us in setting the claims of the Catholic Church before our non-Catholic fellow-citizens. It is not proposed here to substitute tables of statistics for doctrinal sermons as a means of conversion. But an adequate realization of the works for good that the Church is accomplishing in so many different fields would in itself win over many to a further inquiry into the merits of the Church, and disarm much of the unreasoning hostility that prevents us from getting a hearing. We have still fresh in our minds the outbreak of bigotry that resulted in the now moribund "A. P. A." movement. It is perhaps too much to expect that we shall not from time to time witness its recrudescence. Education alone will of course do much to abate such unreasoning dislike of us; but it takes a long time and something more than a training in the three "R's" to educate a deep-rooted prejudice out of a man. As the Church grows in importance and power we must expect to see more such outbreaks. The ostensible basis for these attacks on us was the incompatibility of Catholicity with loyalty to the republic, and this is precisely the argument that affords a certain speciousness, that appeals most readily to the mind of the ignorant "patriot" who has been reared on stories of the diabolism of "the Church of Rome," that lends itself most easily to campaign purposes,—and that can be answered by facts more conclusively than by words. When the charge is furbished up again and brought out for service, no answer could be so effectual or so confounding as the mere statement of the number of the sons and daughters of the Church who, in one capacity or another, placed their lives at the disposal of our country during its recent war with one of the oldest Catholic nations of Europe. We know that they did go forth,

and in large numbers ; but we are without any definite and accessible data. As the years go by and the facts are denied by our enemies we shall be without the data that could crush them. No one who has followed any of the controversies over the part that Catholics took in the Revolution or the Civil War can have failed to note how inconclusive they were, and to have wished that we had at hand more definite data to support the claims we put forward.

Again, what a superb showing would be a compendium of the work that the Church has done in the United States during the last half or quarter of a century in the fields of education and charity. It could not but challenge the attention of thinking men of every creed—and a summary of our work in these lines would likely prove astonishing even to us who know in a partial way the extent of our activities.

Important as would be the historical value of carefully collected statistical data, still more important would be its use for what may be termed "remedial" purposes.

Only through extensive statistical investigations can we hope to know accurately the condition of the Church from year to year. They are essential to our self-knowledge, and necessary to enable us to direct aright our efforts for progress. Without them we do not detect tendencies and dangers until these have developed to the point at which they become glaring. To-day we have no definite knowledge as to the real facts concerning our progress during the present century, or any part of it. In many quarters we hear much boasting of our increase, and we point to the striking fact of the transformation that is now going on in New England. But if we take the country as a whole, is our growth a real or only a seeming growth? Undoubtedly we have grown in absolute numbers. Has our growth been anything like what it should have been, if we consider the natural rate of increase of our Catholic population, the Catholic immigration to our shores, and the number of our yearly conversions?

If in spite of our absolute increase there has been a relative falling off, what is the extent of the "leak?" Has it been general, or only in certain sections? What are its causes? And is the relative *rate* of decrease an increasing or a diminish-

ing one? These are all important questions, but none of them can be answered to our satisfaction, because of the lack of sufficient data.

Granting that there have been losses, an inquiry as to the probable causes would, in the present state of our knowledge, very likely elicit nearly as many explanations as there were persons asked, each one basing his reply on his own necessarily more or less limited observation. The remedies suggested would naturally be as varied as the causes assigned, and would likely prove more or less inadequate, because directed at partial causes. Some approximate idea of the extent of our annual losses, and a comparison of the rate in the different sections of the country, would be of much assistance in determining the principal causes and devising corresponding remedies. Anything like a uniform rate of loss throughout the whole country would naturally suggest some common and widespread cause. On the other hand, if there were wide variations in the rate of loss in the different sections of the country a comparison of these rates and an investigation of the conditions peculiar to the different sections would help very much in locating the real sources of the trouble.

Aside from these general statistics of numbers, there are many other heads under which we might gather data that would be of much use in showing us the condition of the Church from year to year.

Under the head of family, for instance, it would be important to know the number of marriages; the proportion of these that are "mixed"; the ages of the contracting parties; the number of baptisms, and similar facts. Much of this data is now annually reported, I believe, to the ordinary of the diocese for his information and guidance. If the data were elaborated some little and the reports from all the dioceses could be tabulated together, we should be in a position to make comparative studies that would be of considerable value. We could determine whether our marriage rate were an increasing or a diminishing one, and the same of our birth rate. We should know whether the average age at which our Catholic population entered on the marriage state was varying much, and in which direction the variation tended, and the rate at which it

was going on. Comparing these things in different sections of the country, and during long periods of years, we should be able to determine the causes much better than we can by any possibility do now. And we should, further, be in a position to institute comparisons in all these matters between our Catholic population and that of the country as a whole, exclusive of Catholics. These are things that are attracting the attention of careful thinkers everywhere now, and if it were shown, as I believe it would be shown, that the regrettable tendencies seen in the study of our population, as a whole, were absent or were noticeable in a far less degree in the case of our Catholic population taken separately, it would call attention in a striking manner to the influence of the Church as an effective conservator of morals, of the family, and the home. If, on the other hand, such a comparison showed that in spite of all the safeguards that the Church throws around her children in these matters, and of the many channels of grace it offers them, we are no better than our fellows, we should know it, and devise at once means to render effective the possibilities of the Church.

It would exceed the limits of this paper to go into detail as to the sort of data—and the importance of it—that we can, and should gather under the head “Education” alone. Are we keeping pace with the general educational movement of the country? Is as large a percentage of our boys in attendance on our schools as is the case with the population as a whole? Is the attendance on our parochial schools an increasing or a diminishing one, *relatively* to the increase of our Catholic population? What is the situation in this regard as to our colleges? What are the courses offered in our colleges? What are the percentages of attendance on these different courses? To what extent are existing courses modified, or new courses introduced, to meet changes in the needs of the student body? What, if any, are the changes in the requirements for admission and for graduation, made from time to time, as the general standard of education is raised throughout the country? A whole list of such questions will suggest itself readily to any one who has given the subject of education any thought. Our educational system is of vital importance to us, and we

cannot know too much about its condition. The importance of data in this field will not be questioned. Only a short time ago we were all very much startled by a paper giving the results of a partial investigation into the number of Catholic students in non-Catholic colleges. Comments on it went the rounds of all the Catholic press, and everywhere were heard expressions of astonishment. Why should we not have known it all long before? Why should we have waited until some lay individual took it into his head to make such an investigation on his own account? And why, even now, should we not have fuller data on the subject? Why not know as near as possible the whole extent of this defection from our Catholic colleges? Why not collect the data every year, so as to be in a position to determine the rate at which this "drift" is going on, and the success that is attending our efforts to check it?

Again, much valuable data could easily be gathered concerning the clergy and religious communities. What are the annual number of "vocations?" Are these keeping pace with the increase of our Catholic population? If not, is the falling off in anything like a uniform rate from year to year, and over the country as a whole, or does it vary widely in different years and in different parts of the country? Data on these points is always of use in locating causes and devising remedies. It might be interesting to have data as to where those who have vocations for the priesthood have been educated. Helpful suggestions in dealing with our educational problems might come to us from this knowledge. Another important point on which we should have knowledge is the nationalities represented in these annual additions to our priesthood. What percentage of the annual increase in our clergy represents foreign-born, or the children of foreign-born parents, and what percentage represents native-born and the children of native-born parents? This suggestion need not excite alarm, as it has nothing to do with "Americanism," and has no such unworthy motive at its base as the exaltation of one nationality at the expense of any other. But the point of importance is to know whether our American young men are entering the priesthood in numbers in any degree proportionate to the natural increase of our Catholic population.

If not, a serious problem is likely to confront us before long, and the sooner it is foreseen and provided for the better. We can not expect that the older Catholic nations will continue to supply us our clergy in the same proportion that they have heretofore done. We must eventually look to drawing a larger proportion of them from our own youth, and we can not begin too early to study the trend in this matter.

The list thus far given of heads under which data might be gathered is intended to be merely illustrative or suggestive rather than in any way exhaustive. Many other points on which information would be valuable will readily suggest themselves to those concerned with Church affairs, and once the collection of data were begun new fields of inquiry would develop. And on the other hand, the impossibility of getting at reliable data on some of the points suggested here, or the inutility of such data, may be clearer to those in touch with Church administration than to the writer. The merit of the main proposition, that we should devise some system of gathering and preserving accurate statistics of Church matters, is entirely independent of the wisdom or the possibility of investigating the particular topics here suggested.

The gathering and preserving of data, such as has been suggested, would be a comparatively easy task, and its importance would be hard to overestimate. As matters now stand, we are without definite data on many vital points, either for our own use, or to furnish to those in other countries who are anxious to study the development of the Catholic Church in the United States.¹ The Church here is free and untrammelled, as it is in no other land. It has neither State opposition to harass it nor State assistance to enervate it. Its growth, therefore, must be a test of the innate vigor of its own constitution. This growth is being watched by its friends the world over. It is our prophecy and our boast that here in America, under these new and untried conditions,—with a free field and

¹ The writer knows of a number of requests that have come from abroad to individuals in this country asking earnestly for data of one or another sort, and each of those to whom the requests have come has had, after vain attempts to get the information desired, to reply that the data was not available. In one case a department of a foreign government, having under consideration the educational wishes of its Catholic subjects, tried to get data from this country for its guidance, only to find that we had no available data to give it. The foreign government considered at one time the advisability of engaging some one here to gather the data for it.

no favor,—the Church is to demonstrate her inherent strength, and the world is to witness in America the largest, fullest, and freest development of Catholicism, a belief and hope shared by many of our co-religionists in other lands. It is, therefore, of particular importance to gather and preserve all data that is likely ever to prove of value in illustrating the history of the Church in the United States. Thus far the chief sources of information for the country as a whole are the United States Census reports and the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. Why should we leave it to the State to gather the data for our history? And why should the State be more solicitous to “know itself” than the Church?

Granting the importance of the collection and preservation of data such as has been discussed, the question arises as to how this can best be done. Organized as the Church is, we have facilities for gathering statistical data that are unsurpassed. Much of the most valuable data that we need is already gathered in parish registers, in diocesan records and in the books of our educational, charitable and other institutions; and with very slight trouble other records could be kept, or the present records modified as to the method of entries, so that much more data would be available. The important thing in gathering statistics—after accuracy—is uniformity. Slight differences in classifications in reports from different sections might render the data useless for comparative purposes,¹ and make it impossible to combine it together into one whole. An incautious change in the form of the general tabulation, adopted to bring out more clearly some point of present interest, might easily render the data tabulated under the new method difficult or impossible of comparison with that of former years, and thus destroy much of the value of the records for historical use. What is needed,

¹ Thus, for example, in the religious statistics in the latest census only communicants are enumerated in the membership of the different denominations. But the average at which one becomes a communicant in each denomination is not given, except in the case of the Catholic Church. In consequence of this it is impossible to institute any comparison looking to the respective hold of each church on the people; for it is plainly unfair to compare the membership of a church in which membership rarely begins before eighteen or twenty years of age with one in which membership begins at fifteen, or one in which it begins at nine or ten.

therefore, to render our existing organization peculiarly effective for the gathering of valuable statistical data is primarily a directing head—some one who could see to it that this essential uniformity was secured ; who could superintend the collecting of data from the whole country and its tabulation ; who could handle the statistical problems that arise in work of this sort, and who could furnish the text that must necessarily accompany all statistical tables to explain their nature and specific limitations in order that they may be properly interpreted. In other words, this directing head should be an expert statistician, for statistics are things that the unskillful wrestle with to their own confusion and the undoing of truth.

The easiest means to secure all this would be by the establishment here, in the Catholic University of America, of a Chair of Statistics. The occupant of this chair could serve as the directing head in the matter of collecting and preserving Catholic statistics. The fields of investigation could be determined upon and the investigations authorized by archbishops of the country at their annual meetings. The investigations could then be undertaken by the professor of statistics, or rather directed by him, the results submitted to the archbishops at their meetings, and the publication of such of the results as they saw fit could be authorized by them. In a short time we could have in working order what would practically be a Catholic bureau of statistics, and aside from the publication of an annual volume that would challenge the attention of all thinking men, the University would become a storehouse of historical data, the value of which it would be difficult to estimate.

What more suitable time for inaugurating such a work than the closing year of this wonderful century ? The coming century will, doubtless, witness even more rapid and striking development than the closing one. Why not, then, take a great and complete census of the Catholic Church in the United States that shall make known to us its condition, under every possible head, and that shall be to us for all future time what the great "Domesday Book" is to England—a recognized point of departure for all succeeding history.

And when this epoch-marking investigation has been concluded, let us continue in operation the organization we have effected for this purpose, and collect this data regularly and systematically, so that every gathering of those charged with the direction of the Church, from the meeting of archbishops up to ecumenical councils, shall have the whole history of the Church before them for their enlightenment and guidance.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

ON THE STUDY OF ROMANCE PHILOLOGY.

I feel that an apology is due for the presentation of a paper on so trite a subject as the value of the study of philology in general and of Romance Philology in particular. My only hope is that in this way I may succeed in making somewhat better known the object and value of the study and its bearing on the related sciences. In this attempt I have many illustrious foregoers, from some of whom I shall not be chary of drawing *plenis manibus*, both because of the unlikelihood of their works being accessible to all my readers and because of the weight of authority which their *ipse dixit* must carry.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory conception of the meaning of Romance Philology, its purpose and its value, let us first see what is to be understood by philology, and I think we shall agree that it is not linguistics alone, nor is it simply the study of literature, but that it is these two combined; for, as we see from the component parts of the word itself, it is clearly the love of the λόγος, which (as well as e. g. the Spanish “discurso” and “discourse” in Elizabethan English) is capable of two meanings, namely, the inward thought and the outward form by which this thought is expressed.¹ Philology is consequently a compound of literary study and of that which is strictly called glossology, which has to do simply with the phonetic phenomena resulting from the passage of the air through the vocal chords. These phenomena it is the business of the historian of a language to set forth in their chronological sequence, in order to show the changes which the language underwent in the course of its development and to confine each change to its proper territory.² Between these two functions of philology there can be no divorce. At the one extreme is the dilettant, whose desultory reading and impressions have nothing to do with scientific philological study; at the other is the mere

¹ Newman, “Idea of a University,” p. 276.

² W. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. des langues romanes*, Introduction; Suchier, *Le Français et le Provençal* (Tr. par Monet), p. 22.

grammarian, in the narrowest meaning of the word, by whom the poets are thought to have no higher office than to serve as pabulum for his linguistic ingenuity. Here, as elsewhere,

sunt certi denique fines,

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,

and philology fulfills its task only when it includes the minute investigation of a language or group of languages and a broad study of the contents of their works of literature,¹ or, as Professor Cook expresses the same idea, "Language is the organ of literature, and literature yields up its highest significance only to the duly qualified student of language."² The ideal philologist is such a one as Gaston Paris is described by a writer in *La Revue Bleue*: "The biography of a word charms him as the well-made biography of a man; because the history of a word is an historical document, truly human, absolutely incomparable." It tells the life of the author, of the society, of the people, and of the race by whom it was used, and is the only living remain of the past that has come down across the ages. The highest function of the philologist is the acquisition of the reproductive imagination by which we abstract ourselves from the present and become contemporaries of those whose period we study, think as they thought, feel as they felt, and judge men and things from their point of view. In short, it is to relive the life of the past, and thus, through our estimate of it as handed down to us in written documents, to interpret to the present its entire cultural history, the political, ethical, moral, aesthetic and religious ideas, the relation of the author to the society in which he lived and the relation of the literature of the time to that of other periods and of other races.³

This, then, is what we are to understand by philology—in a word, the study of humanity. From the very vastness of the field a general philology is impossible, so that we have need of special philologies, of which Romance is that one whose object and goal is the acquaintance with the intel-

¹ Prof. Alcée Fortier, 16th meeting Mod. Lang. Association, 1898; A. M. Elliott, Johns Hopkins University Circulars, March, 1891.

² The Journal of Germanic Philology, Vol. I, p. 275.

³ G. Körting, Handbuch d. romanischen Philologie, pp. 24, 26; A. S. Cook, 13th Meeting Modern Language Association.

lectual life of the Romance nations so far as it has found and still finds expression in language and in literature.¹ It examines the modifications which the Vulgar Latin underwent in the course of time in the different parts of the Roman Empire, in its organic development into the Romance or Neo-Latin Languages, which are consequently the modern phases of the colloquial speech of Rome as, conversely, this is but their earlier form. In other words, it is the study of the later vicissitudes of the Latin whose history, extending over more than two millenniums and a half, is in some respects more remarkable than that of any other language.² It thus includes the study of the various kinds of mediæval Latin, which, owing to its linguistic and literary value, must not be omitted in the scientific study of Romance Philology, for during the whole of the Middle Ages the Latin went hand in hand with the vulgar tongue and absorbed a great deal of the political, scientific, and religious learning of the times. Nor is it the literary vulgar dialects alone which deserve the attention of the romanologist—that is, those which were fortunate enough to be raised to the dignity of refined literary idioms, but even the despised patois, which, although repressed and driven into the out-of-the-way corners, are none the less deserving of careful study and often throw as much light on the family history as their more favored sisters. Romance Philology is a branch of learning of the greatest charm and highest interest, an unworked shaft of study, not yet fifty years since its scientific discovery by Frederich Diez, although from the very first there was no lack of those inquisitive enough to raise such questions as the origin of the Romance Languages, their relation to Latin and to each other.

Owing to the wealth of material which they offer in almost all the phenomena of linguistic change, the Romance Languages are of the utmost importance in the comparative and historical study of language. Hardly anywhere else is there offered the possibility of observing the natural transformation of one into several different languages and of tracing their use in

¹ Körting, *Encyclopædie u. Methodologie der romanischen Philologie*. I, 156.

² Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 165; Gorra, *Lingue Neo-latine*, p. 1.

writing during many centuries from their first timid appearance in glossaries, translations, and other documents.

From what has been said, viz., that the Romance Languages are the organically developed modern forms of the *lingua rustica* of Rome, it follows that their study is the necessary complement of Latin philology, and that the gap which now generally exists between the ancient and modern phases of one and the same language should be bridged over by the scientific study of the Latin and its vulgar varieties of the intervening period.¹ For it is essential to the latinist to know what has become of the language he has made his specialty, how it is that Latin and French, for example, are but one and the same language under two different appearances. On the other hand it is not less obligatory on the teacher of French to have some knowledge of its origin and history, so as to be able to explain to his students at least the most salient laws which are ever at work in a language, and to illustrate the same with examples from the different stages of the language he is teaching. Grammar is no longer what it was once defined to be, "the art of speaking and writing correctly." "That old definition was deficient on two counts: it was first of all inexact and besides it was too modest, which is also a defect . . . it must enable us to understand the language of our fathers and to enjoy the works of all our writers even though they are several centuries old."² Even though the instructor have not the opportunity or the need of displaying his acquaintance with the earlier forms of the language he teaches, at any rate by knowing more than he is called upon or has occasion to teach, he will feel more secure in directing his classes and in this way will be able to impart that scientific spirit, the spirit of criticism and of methodical research into all the higher phases of the national life which is the most noble mission of higher education.³

Whoever would make a careful study of one of the Romance Languages must make himself as familiar as possible with them all in order to see the relation of one to the other and the rela-

¹Koschwitz, *Anleitung zum Studium der französischen Philologie*, p. 81, — Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* I, 140.

²Brunot, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*. Préface.

³Paris, *Le Haut Enseignement*, p. 86.

tion of the whole group to their older form, the Latin. It is to be sure from the purely scientific point of view that this continual *rapprochement* of the languages and literatures which compose "Romania" is the most useful and the most fruitful. They are continually throwing light on each other to such a degree that it is impossible to examine thoroughly any one of them if one had not a familiar acquaintance with the others.¹ When, for example, the French etymologist seeks to retrace the steps by which a Latin word has passed he very often finds in the Provençal, the Italian, or the Spanish, the information which the French does not give him.² At the very least, although he would not then be fully equipped for solving the questions which will arise in his study of the language to which he has confined himself, French, let us say, at the very least, the student should include a second Romance language in his study, Italian, or better Provençal, which is to the Romance Languages very much what Gothic is to the Germanic wing, and, standing in a still closer relation to the French, being, one might almost say, her twin sister, and the first of the Neo-Latin family to arrive at a literary prominence, gives us forms which must have been the predecessors of the French, or at any rate explain their development, and is consequently of the greatest importance in the deeper study of that or any other of the Romance Languages.³ Even he who aims no higher than to acquire one of these languages for practical purposes will place his knowledge of it on a much firmer basis if it is supported by an acquaintance with the others.

As impossible as is a thorough study of one of the Romance Languages to the exclusion of the others it is no less so if one limits himself to the modern aspects of one or of all of them. It is foolish to imagine that that which now is can be fully understood without first knowing that which preceded it and conditioned its present existence and appearance. To keep to our illustration, the study of French: Old French and modern French are not two separate provinces, but are indissolubly bound together, the one explaining the other, and together

¹ Paris, in "Romania," I, 22.

² Petit de Julleville, Hist. de la langue et de la littérature française, Vol. I, p. IX.

³ Koschwitz, o. c., p. 81—Mahn, über das Studium der Provençalischen Sprache u. Literatur.

they form the one great domain of French ; so that as great a mistake as it would be to suppose that old French can be understood and treated without a constant consideration of modern French, on the other hand, it would be no less idle to imagine that one can acquire a real scientific knowledge of modern French in any other way than on the foundation of a thorough study of old French.¹

What has been said of the necessity of a knowledge of the different periods of the related languages in the thorough study of any one of them is equally true in regard to the literatures of the Romance Languages, which are so closely connected by a thousand ties that "he will not be able to understand fully any one of them who does not embrace them all in his grasp, otherwise at every step we shall find ourselves before effects whose causes we are ignorant of and before causes whose effects we see only in part."² Who could estimate correctly, for example, the rise of the first Italian poetic school or the work of Guido Cavalcanti, Guido Guinicelli and the trecentisti unless he be familiar with the poetry of the Troubadours ? It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one other branch of literature in which the close connection between the different languages is most clearly seen. As the classical scholar would not think of studying the Roman drama, tragic and comic, without at the same time that of the Greeks, from which it was confessedly derived, so the dramatic literature of France, Italy and Spain forms no less a single unit, which is destroyed if any of its elements be omitted. And the old French *fabliaux*, what are they but the storehouse from which, consciously or unwittingly, to mention the most prominent only, Boccaccio, Rabelais, Lafontaine and Molière drew, and which has provided situations for all *genres* of literature to this day ? Then, again, it would be no more unreasonable in the political historian excepting from a course in general history the pages devoted to the Middle Ages than is the study

¹ Zeitschrift f. neufranzös Sprache u. Litteratur, Vol. III. Cf. also Koschwitz, o. c. p. 1. Wer sich darauf beschränkt, es zur Fertigkeit im Gebrauche der heutigen Sprache zu bringen und nur von den neuesten Litteratur und Kulturerscheinungen Frankreichs Kenntniss zu machen, wird immer nur ein blosser Dilettant oder Techniker (sog. Sprachmeister) sein, und hat auf den Namen eines Philologen keinen Anspruch."

² Pio Rajna in "Nuova Antologia," Jan., 1878.

of ancient classic literature and of that of modern times to the utter neglect of the literature of that period which, because of our ignorance thereof, "is sometimes regarded as a chasm in the history of the human intellect." (Fr. Schlegel). A piece of literature is not an isolated phenomenon, but represents a great deal of that which went before it and influences much of that which comes after it. It is worth the while of the classical student to know what becomes of those sagas and personages that he is so familiar with from his reading: as the story of Troy made into a romantic poem of more than 30,000 verses; Alexander and the account of his adventuresome pilgrimage to Jerusalem, replete with tales which for extravagance would have put even the Baron Münchhausen to shame; the fantastic characters into which the good old Greek and Roman worthies were travestied: Aristotle a simpering lover; Vergil the wonderful enchanter able to make himself invisible at will and to turn what he pleased into gold; Æneas prinking himself before a mirror and courting Lavinia in a *salon*; Ovid the master of love, and to the simple-minded people of the Middle Ages the most learned of the Romans, whose book became the vade-mecum of every courtier. But why speak of some when lack of space denies my mentioning all the interesting questions which rise up in mediæval Romance important in the comparative study of literature. In fact few fields offer wider opportunities or richer material for the study of literary questions and folk-lore—the origin, growth and spread of legends, popular stories and proverbs, the history of the drama in all its varieties, the allegory, pastoral and fable. Here, too, we can observe the growth of an epic, for with *Carlemagnes a la barbe blanche* and Roland and Oliver, are we not in as heroic an age as that of the ποδῶκης Ἀχιλλεύς? As regards form as well the romanist investigates topics which have at least an indirect bearing on other lines of literary work, such as the change from the quantitative verse system of the ancients to the accentual of modern times, and the beginnings of rime and of the strophic and metrical forms employed in modern poetry; this is to be gained only from a study of the mediæval verse forms in Latin and in the vulgar tongues.

Romance Philology being the history of the languages and literatures of a group of people in an historical science and consequently of great utility to the student of history proper, for these languages and literatures have developed in closest connection with and dependence on the changing political and ecclesiastical situations in the different lands. "The history of the origins of a language is the history of the origins of the nation. To tell how modern French has been formed is to explain by what succession of revolutions, military, political, religious and literary, the French nation has been established; it is to recall from what crises its powerful unity has emerged." Here we see for instance the causes which were at hand to make one dialect the sterling one in preference to another, as that of the Ile de France in France, the Tuscan in Italy, and the Castilian in Spain. For those who intend to study the political history of any or of all the Latin races the older monuments of their literature must serve as sources, the *chansons de geste*, a rudimentary form of history, charters, memoirs and literature proper, as well as the works of such professed historiographers and biographers as Villehardouin, Joinville and Commynes, who, as eye-witnesses of the events they narrate, are for the most part trustworthy informants on the laws, politics, diplomacy, institutions, wars and rulers not only of their native lands but even of such far-removed countries as Ireland and Palestine. The churchman too will find here an abundance of information on the history of the Church and untouched material in the popular lives and miracles of the saints, sermons and pious stories which are to be found in large numbers in the earlier periods of all the Romance literatures.² To borrow from the article already quoted³ "one must be a philologist in order to be a philosopher, and above all the philosophy of history is all complete in philology, provided, however, that we extract it."

I shall simply allude in passing to the bearing which Romance Philology has, in equal degree with the other philologies, sometimes to a greater degree, on other sciences, as ethnology, political, physical and historical geography and

¹Aubertin, Hist. de la langue et de la litt. française au moyen âge. Préface.

²G. Paris, La litt. française au moyen âge. P. 196.

³La Revue Bleue.

statistics, in consideration of the racial characteristics, dispersion, habitat and number of the persons by whom these languages are spoken; on physiology and acoustics in view of the sounds and the speech organs employed in their production; on logic and psychology in the study of the order of words and in the taste for psychological analysis in which French literature has excelled at all times.¹ It throws a flood of light on mediæval art and music and on the history of the natural sciences, as shown in the *lapidaires*, *bestiaires*, *images* and *miroirs du monde*, *mappemonde* and *chastiments*, the encyclopedias of the Middle Ages on all subjects that one can know anything about and on a good many others. In a word, Romance Philology is by no means the least important of those sciences which together make up the one great *Wissenschaftseinheit*, psychical anthropology.²

But it is above all the knowledge of the life of the past which we acquire from the study of Romance Philology that gives it its greatest value and its greatest charm. It cannot be denied that the older phases of the literature of the Romance nations render inappreciable service to the study of the customs, manners, the whole private life of the time at which they are written. There can be nothing more delightful than to compare the circumstances of the present with those of the past, to see in what we have improved and in what we are inferior, and this information is nowhere to be found so vividly expressed as in language and literature, which after all are the most immediate and the most collective expression of the interior life of a people. The study of the literature of this transitional era gives us a synthesis or picture of the moral status and mental peculiarities, the joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, of that most interesting period of all history, when men were at the parting between the past and the future, the old and the new, "the Middle Ages, which used to be called ages of darkness, rudeness, barbarity, 'the millennium of darkness,' as one writer calls them, but it is universally

¹ "Le moyen âge a même poussé si loin son amour de l'analyse des "états d'âme" qu'il a fini par la dégager de tout support individuel, et qu'il a créé, dans le *Roman de la Rose*, ce qu'on a pu appeler l'épopée psychologique." Petit de Julleville o. c., Vol. I, préface.

² Körting, *Handbuch der Rom. Phil.* p. 33. Gröber, *Grundriss der Rom. Phil.* I, 154.

apparent now that these ages are not to be so called,"¹ ages worthy of perpetual remembrance, in which not only the modern states were taking form, but all our beliefs and general way of existence were shaping themselves. This information is to be had not only in those remarkable works which will ever hold a prominent place among the world's best books, but also in the childlike productions of the common people, their cradle songs, pious, love, and crusade songs, and other forms too numerous to mention, which call up the daily life and morals of the time, the ruling currents, ideas, beliefs, and superstitions. Here, too, we can get the best idea of the lives and characters of the lords and vassals, the Church and the clergy, women and poets, physicians and lawyers, the celebration of feasts, the institutions of chivalry and knighthood, and crusades and pilgrimages, and the disputes between the universities and the orders. Villemain, speaking of the *tenzos* and *sirventes* of the Troubadours, well says: "Provençal poetry was, so to speak, the liberty of the press of feudal times, a liberty more violent, more fearless, and less checked than ours."² By amalgamating the scattered touches we shall have a composite picture of the turbulent and picturesque humanity of the Middle Ages more true to life and more brilliant than is to be obtained in any other way.

The study of Romance Philology is very valuable for the history of Germanic Philology,³ and particularly to the student of English. For three hundred years England was the seat of an important branch of the French linguistic territory in the Anglo-Norman, which, from the conquest by Duke William and his followers until the fourteenth century, remained the official and literary language of the royalty and aristocracy, and for a long time threatened to stifle the Anglo-Saxon, with which however it mingled so thoroughly that almost one-half the English lexique is composed of words of French descent. It is sufficient to mention Chaucer and Spenser to remind one of the indebtedness of English literature to old French and Italian, and there never was a time when English

¹ Carlyle., *Lectures on Literature*. Lecture IV.

² Cf. also *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1879, pp. 647-8; Adolph Tobler, "Romanische Philologie an den deutschen Universitäten," pp. 166, 168.

³ Diez, *Grammatik d. romanischen Sprachen*, French ed. I, 55.

poets did not visit the continent and return laden with poetic spoils, so that, whether from the linguistic or from the literary point of view, the study of English is inseparable from that of the Romance Languages and Literatures,¹ and this fact is so far recognized in some of our universities that students of English are strongly advised, if not required, to follow courses in old French. This is not the place to speak of the commercial value of the Romance Languages or of the mental training to be acquired from their study, in which they are probably neither superior nor inferior to other languages, or of their value in the formation of a good command over one's vernacular.² We all know that the study of language exercises the judgment, since to translate is to reflect, and he who studies a language studies at the same time the thought; when he progresses in the one he will have progressed in the other.

Here in America a whole series of interesting linguistic phenomena is working out. During the fiscal year, 1898-99, more than 84,000 modern Latins of Europe landed on our shores. It is nothing less than a duty to make ourselves acquainted with the traditions and inclinations of these elements which form so large a part of the body politic of the United States. This can in no way be better done than through the study of the languages and literatures in which they find expression. Our new international relations and the paramount part which the Romance Languages play in North, Central and South America bring the duty still stronger upon us. The literature of the Romance nations, especially during the Middle Ages, may be said to be pre-eminently Catholic; it is therefore important that the study of Romance Philology should not be neglected by Catholics, and for this reason, if for no other, it deserves the especial attention of a Catholic University. If we may measure the importance to be given to Romance Philology by that which is to be given to the Romance nations in the development of civilization during the Middle Ages and in modern times it is surely of the highest.³ While not by any

¹ Romania I, 19.

² Cf. Goethe's verse "Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss Nichts von selber eigenen."

³ "Malgré l'influence considérable, et même salutaire, de l'élément germanique dans la constitution du monde moderne, la civilisation de l'Europe est essentiellement fille de la civilisation romaine, comme le Christianisme a été transmis au monde moderne par le monde romain." G. Paris in "Romania" I, 20.

means excluding from the province of Romance Philology the modern phases of the literature of the Romance Languages, indeed I think I have shown that the study would be incomplete should they be omitted, it is nevertheless true that the works produced during those ages in which faith predominated, in the first flush of youth, so rude, wild and full of vigor, give a certain *sursum corda* and serve as an antidote to the filthiness of contemporary realism "which seem to have taken up as its mission the excitement of all low instincts and the abasing of all high aspirations."¹

If the purpose of the teaching of languages, ancient and modern, in our colleges is, as it should be, not merely mental training, which will come of itself, and is, besides, acquired much more directly from the study of the exact sciences, but to educate along historical, literary, and aesthetic lines, then one of the chief means and aids to this end is undoubtedly the study of the Romance Languages in which there exists the greatest number of masterpieces, and which at the same time possess the most original and novel spirit.² To train men capable of conducting their college classes with this end in view and of occasionally engaging in investigations requiring original research is, it seems to me, the primary aim of university instruction in Romance Philology. Its purpose is surely a high and noble one. Prof. Francis March somewhere remarks that the philological study of literature seems next in honor to the creation of literature. Although it may not be within the power of all of us to reach to the ideal, each devotee in his humble capacity will rejoice in feeling his personal importance as a co-worker in the upbuilding of the temple of science.

J. JOSEPH DUNN.

¹Paris. Le Haut Enseignement, p. 40.—L. Gautier, *La Chanson de Roland*, Preface; *España Moderna*, Sept., '96.

²"Je crois donc que la littérature française classique—et en particulier celle du siècle de Louis XIV—a des qualités ou des vertus éducatrices tout à fait singulières, analogues à celles de la sculpture grecque ou de la grande peinture italienne dans l'histoire de l'art . . . elle est d'abord la plus humaine qu'il y ait jamais eue sans même peut être excepter la littérature latine."—F. Brunetière in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May, 1891.

THE ACADEMIC SPIRIT.¹

The Book of Wisdom, Chapter VII, verses 17 to 25, contains explicitly a number of details regarding profane knowledge and the moral and intellectual effects of its possession ; it contains implicitly the principle that profane knowledge has a definite moral value. The exact meaning of the words of the text is a matter of some question ; the import of the principle is perfectly clear. The latter, then, may aptly be taken as the introductory thought in the study of the Academic Spirit offered as the annual sermon marking the termination of the academic year. That learning has a moral value, no one may question ; but since this study aims to show the spiritual and religious value of the Academic Spirit, it seemed only appropriate to take its introductory thought from the inspired word.

When a number of individuals are associated for a common purpose, their activity is directed with more or less uniformity ; the means and the methods employed are largely identical. From this there results a sympathy, a community of interest, a sameness in tone, thought and temperament, which mark the members unmistakably. This something in social groups—so like an atmosphere permeating everywhere with definite elements in its composition—is termed the group spirit. We readily recognize the Catholic spirit, the American spirit, the party spirit. Individuals who enter social groups may go through the formality of initiation in a moment, but they share the spirit of the group only after long association has engendered it. Even those who constitute the group share its spirit in varying degrees. There may be Catholics who possess an un-Catholic spirit just as there may be citizens of our republic who are un-American in spirit.

The power of the group spirit depends practically on the importance of the group purpose and the strength of the bond

¹ The annual Baccalaureate Sermon preached in the chapel of the University, June 8, 1900.

uniting the members. Thus the spirit of a literary club is not as powerful or enduring as that of a religious congregation.

A university is a social group ; its purpose is solemn, vital. The University should therefore possess a spirit ; an academic group must have an academic spirit. There is neither endurance nor achievement nor success for universities which have not the university spirit. What, then, is this spirit ?

The reply need not be exhaustive. Possibly no two would analyze it in precisely the same manner. Hence the answer need not be more than suggestive ; the detailed working out may with profit be left to individual effort.

The purpose of any university ought to be the single and simple service of truth. Conceptions of the nature of truth may vary ; views of the exact function of the university will differ ; its secondary purposes may be disputed ; yet in last analysis the true university can have no other mission than to serve truth ; to add to knowledge, to disseminate knowledge, to train and to encourage the best minds to love truth and serve it. Men come to universities to teach truth or to search for it ; men come to be taught truth and to master the methods of seeking it ; men and women, and even states, make generous endowments for the sake of truth. Thus, universities exist for truth. The basic element in their spirit—we may term it the academic spirit—must be *truthfulness* or its equivalent, *intellectual honesty*. Truth, knowledge, must be loved ; it must be promoted ; it must be defended against error, misrepresentation, degradation. The deep devotion to truth must be everywhere in and about universities. It will reveal itself in the teacher by his directness, courage, zeal, and inspiration ; by his purity of motive and simplicity ; it will reveal itself in the student by his eager desire to master honestly and thoroughly the methods and details of scholarship, seeking only the scholar's reward. This love of truth must then generate the sense of intellectual honesty, delicate, penetrating, true, which will protect a university and its members against the forms of intellectual dishonesty that constantly seek to establish themselves wherever they may. Self will never be preferred to truth nor substituted for it ; every form of intellectual selfishness must vanish like mist before the

sunlight. That form called prejudice, that form called partisanship; that form called egotism, that form called merely selfishness—all must vanish where truth is loved simply and singly, purely and without regard to self, party or reputation. Again, true universities must depend on this sense of intellectual honesty to protect themselves against every form of sham and pretense. It destroys institutional sham wherein unacademic methods, insincere standards, unblushing pretense and even conscious incapacity establish themselves, and once established are with difficulty overcome. Probably no university ever opened its doors but that sham in some form knocked for admission; probably no university council ever began its labors without a battle with unacademic motives which sought to win recognition. Against this danger—and the danger is constant, the strong deep sense of intellectual honesty is the only safeguard. If this sense be in a university, no matter where error, sham and materialism rear their hydra-heads they must perish. The university exists for truth; for truth alone; it must love it, protect it; the academic spirit must therefore rest on love of truth and its eternal companion—intellectual honesty.

Next, it may be said that the sense of *Reverence for truth* is an element of the Academic Spirit. This is practically implied in the foregoing. The cause of truth is holy; it is vital; it is from God; all creation is out of harmony when error exists; the superb possibilities of human life are unrealized where ignorance is found. What then is greater or grander than to make truth reign by mastering it, by protecting it, by teaching it? If the cause is sacred, it merits our reverence: a reverence which will sustain our attitude of noble devotion, which will measure our standards, determine our aims, fix our ideals and protect us against frauds. Reverence for the truth and that alone can adequately protect a university against the tricks of competitive education which the unloving and irreverent introduce and employ in the academic world; it alone will sustain standards at their high level—away from the vile commercialism which threatens; it alone will protect a university against the unacademic demands of mercenary times and the shortsighted appeals of a practical age. When the teacher reverences truth, it is safe; when the student

reveres it, it thrives. For, noble, grand and mighty, it uplifts all to its own level, sends out inspiration, effort, hope to reward incomparably, all who revere it for its own intrinsic beauty. One who has felt the divine thrill will never imagine that truth is less noble or less great than he ; reverence is possible, only when one so believes.

A third element in the academic spirit may be called, the sense of *Responsibility to Truth*. The cause is sacred ; universities are its strongholds. Picked men teach in universities, men tested by a severe and merciless process of selection which when unhindered allows but the tried and true to remain ; picked men study in universities, chosen by a similar process ; chosen not for what they are so much as for the promise of *growth* which they give ; great-hearted men and women and wise states endow universities that these picked men may teach, and these picked men may study, and grow and become the servants of Truth. Opportunity everywhere—university—opportunity—words all but synonyms ; opportunity unsurpassed. They who enter universities accept these opportunities and they are under sacred, unwritten contract with knowledge or truth, to use them well. The sense of responsibility then must be deep, solid, active ; it must strengthen every motive which inspires, encourage every energy that flags, engender zeal, devotedness, endurance. There may be no laziness, no loafing, no idleness in universities. If men wander into them and feel none of the inspiration that comes out from every corner ; if men are within reach of these unparalleled opportunities and stretch forth no eager hand to seize them ; if, I repeat, any regrettable chance have brought such within the sacred walls of any great school, let them depart ; for the sake of truth and conscience, they should go. They have a mission in the world—perhaps a high and noble mission there—but they have none in a university, none for which a university can fit them. In a university they nullify opportunity, cheat noble purpose, endanger traditions, and demoralize mental discipline. What is here criticised is a *moral quality*, not *intellectual endowment*. I am optimist enough to believe that any earnest man can be benefitted and can be of benefit in any university, but I am pessimist enough to think that a lazy, inert man can only harm a school, no matter what his genius.

Another element in the academic spirit is the *Sense of Limitations*. University men must recognize that sciences are partial views of reality; that all views are merely points of view, neither exclusive nor comprehensive; that any calculation may err, and that the noblest and bravest and best may be deceived. Hence the scholar recognizes his limitations, the probability of error in his positions, of fault in his judgments. He is therefore tolerant; never unduly aggressive nor unreasonably narrow; he is diffident of himself and confident of others as far as prudence allows. He will not confuse personality with principle, neither in his motives of action nor in the attitudes which he takes. Truth needs such a spirit in her servants—she can tolerate no other; any other is the product of selfishness or ignorance.

To conclude the analysis, we may say that *Loyalty* to a University is an important element in the academic spirit. Loyalty to its ideals, its purposes; loyalty to itself as an institution. If truth is sacred, universities are sacred; if men are finite, universities are fallible. On their fallibility rests the need of genuine loyalty—the loyalty that loves and serves, it knows not why. No matter how old or how young, how strong or how weak, may be the university, it lives of the loyalty of its members—and it lives of that loyalty alone. It thrives and is mighty only when sympathies, efforts and hopes come up from all sides, from teacher and student, without exception. Helpful suggestion must be abundant, useless criticism unknown; kindly patience always, nervous censure never. The university is more than its individual members, but it is not more than they make it.

Not inaptly might all that has been said be reduced to this simple thought: the academic spirit makes duty to truth the pole-star of academic life; it suppresses all forms of selfishness and purifies motives, because it places the center of thought and life in truth and outside of self.

As secondary elements in the academic spirit, we might mention methods of work, methods which are most conducive to safe and efficient service of truth. This spirit requires that men be thorough, accurate, patient. By thoroughness is meant attention to detail, the doing of things with attention and com-

pletely—great things and small things. By accuracy is meant direct intellectual vision—the nice adjustment of statement to thought, habitual discrimination between what we do know and what we do not know, between blind feeling and intelligent conviction, between what we see and what we imagine. By patience is meant the firm control of self in research, calm adaptation of methods to objects of study and quiet waiting for results, counting no effort lost when honestly made, no effort too exacting when the service of truth demands it. Thus the methods fostered by the Academic Spirit are merely forms of self-discipline, conscious and purposeful self-assertion coupled with self-forgetfulness—all in the love and service of truth.

A university without some sort of a spirit is an impossibility; a university with a false, unacademic spirit, wherein there are no standards, no high sense of noble mission and fidelity to it, is worse than treason to the holiest of causes. Only when the spirit of the university is noble, strong, constant, and such as here hinted at—only then does the true university exist. A school may issue annual catalogues; it may have hundreds of teachers and thousands of students; it may organize expeditions and explore unknown regions—it is not thereby a true university. Nor can it become one until animated by the divinely-intended spirit. The great, grand purpose of the school must be like a guiding light before every teacher and student; the organic relation of that purpose to human life must be understood. Then there may be no isolated acting, working or thinking. All must be organic—co-ordination and subordination are as necessary to a university as to an organism. The crushing force of the marshalled army, the prestige and strength of the far-reaching empire, the soul-inspiring harmony of the balanced orchestra, the life and power of universities to serve truth—to protect and exalt it—all these alike depend forever on the surrender of the individual to the principle of organic unity. It takes tremendous moral effort to realize this and live up to it. The specialist is apt to be an individualist; he is inclined to ignore larger relations. The work of upbuilding the Academic Spirit, then, is

not easy ; giants might expend gigantic moral powers ere it were well done. Struggle is needed ; heroism, thoughtfulness, unselfishness, sacrifice—these are the elements in its composition. But when formed, what a power ! It seizes the student in its strong but gentle grasp, destroys everything unbecoming, and quickly reforms him, till he stands the worthy champion of truth—manly, high-minded, learned.

Brilliant individuals, thinkers as such, never made a university and never can by mere individual intellectuality. Their learning, unaccompanied by noble character, matured manhood and right conceptions of the moral purpose of life and of the university were little less than useless in creating an ideal university, one which should be such a camp as Truth would choose in which to train and equip her young warriors for the battlefield of life. Hence no true university man will ever feel one half as proud of his individual contributions to science as he will of his contributions to the formation of solid, right university traditions, and the establishment of a true academic spirit which will endure in full proportions when he and his science are mere points in the vanishing perspective of life.

The thought drawn from the passage in the Book of Wisdom was that learning possesses a definite moral value. In the Book of Ecclesiasticus we find it stated that the fear of the Lord is the religiousness of knowledge which shall keep and justify the heart and give joy and gladness. May not the academic spirit—directly derived from knowledge and from man's relation to it—may not the academic spirit have a "religiousness which shall keep and justify the heart"—may it not possess a moral and religious value ?

We are, in our individual nature, organically one. There are subordination and coördination in the processes of our being ; unity of purpose in life, substantial union of soul and body ; hence, endless reciprocal relations of parts. Body affects mind and mind in turn influences body ; the intellectual and the spiritual yield very extensively to each other's influence. An impulsive man is not a judicious thinker ; an emotional man is not an accurate observer ; a selfish man is

not objective; a prejudiced man is not always honest in his positions. Scripture tells us that an envious man shall not be a partaker of wisdom. On the other hand mental traits affect spiritual life directly and perceptibly. A mind given to chronic doubt never creates a decisive moral character, marked by directness, stability and prudent self-confidence; minds habitually inattentive to details are not exact in questions of conscience or spiritual life; minds unable to judge things except in relation to self are incapable of much moral self-sacrifice or self-denial undertaken for pure spiritual motives. If intellect is as a lamp to will, if mind is guide of soul, it cannot be otherwise.

Nevertheless, we do find a paradoxical situation among scholars—or if you will—university men in general. The intellectual and the spiritual seem to be removed very largely from each other's influence. How often do we not discover that we know much about "the disposition of the whole world and the virtues of the elements—the beginning and the ending and the midst of times; the alterations of their courses, and the change of seasons; the revolutions of the year and the disposition of the stars; the natures of living creatures," without possessing, because of that knowledge, the moral qualities, enumerated in the second portion of the passage. How often do we not find that intellectual life is positive, aggressive, active—full of plan, ambition; direct and conscious and progressive! while spiritual life is passive, stationary; effort is merely preservative—no plan, no ambition, no ideals, no consecutive effort, and consequently no growth. If that be the case—and as far as it is the case—here must be placed the great moral and religious value of the academic spirit. It should introduce into soul life, into the work of personal sanctification, the very elements most needed.

The academic spirit is itself nine-tenths *moral* and *spiritual*. Where it exists, undisturbed and pure, the ordinary shortcomings of life must perish. In that atmosphere, they can not endure. It emancipates us from self—that self which in myriad ways is the bane of the soul—that self to the undue love of which St. Thomas traces all sin. It purifies motives

and predisposes us to such as are noble and pure. The academic spirit should inculcate calm self-control, control of impulses, of emotions, of inclinations to which may be traced half the sin and most of the imperfections of spiritual life. Through the academic spirit we grow accustomed to the careful, honest formation of judgments in which no logical step is omitted or wrongly made. Conscience is merely a practical judgment which when carefully formed, directs soul life just as God our Father wills it. Why should that spirit not bring calmness in temptation, discretion in doubt? Should not the scholar's toleration be the twin sister of the charity of the child of God? Should not justice, humility, contrition, be strengthened and enlightened by intellectual honesty as naturally and as beautifully as the flowers by the sun?

Far be it from me to wish to confound the natural and the supernatural—the intellectual and the spiritual—the motives of scholarship and the motives of sanctity. I speak of the service that the ideal academic spirit can render to soul life. The relation of the soul to God—the work of personal sanctification—the virtues, supernatural and natural, all have their distinct proper places, and the academic spirit may not usurp any such place. It is here thought of and described as a secondary agent, powerful yet secondary. It is useless to attempt to explain in detail the nature of this relation. No presentation would appear cogent or complete. At least, the details of the relation are not very clear to my own mind. The value of the academic spirit to us spiritually will depend on individual temperament, the accidents and circumstances of life and environment and the sets of motives which actually dominate in us. Hence it seems best to emphasize only the general thought and leave detailed application to the individual. Of this we may be certain—the academic spirit has the greatest moral and religious value. But that value will not be actual unless we make conscious and constant effort to realize the organic law of our being; unless we habituate ourselves to applying in the details of spiritual life the traits and methods which we seek and love as scholars. Without that effort, we shall be little benefited; while we thrive in

mind, we shall warp in soul ; while we grow great before men, we shall become small before God ; while men applaud, angels will look on in sorrow and weep. "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul ? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul ?"

What has been said may be applied to any university, to any one in a university provided he believe in God and immortality. There is, however, a something in this university which is distinctive. It is Catholic. It boasts none other than the Holy Father as its founder. Bishops of the Church are numerous among its directors ; a Cardinal is its Chancellor. Its constitution tells us that the purpose of the University shall ever be to afford to the youth of our country an opportunity for pursuing higher studies in the most important branches of learning under the inspiration of Catholic truth. The university shall honor the Roman Pontiff as the Supreme Ruler and Teacher of the Catholic Church, and shall ever adhere unwaveringly to his apostolic authority as the safest norm for the attainment of truth. Then the Academic Spirit here must contain another element—Catholicity. That we must be individually Catholic is evident. We are called upon to show in blameless lives, noble motives and practical virtue, the splendid proportions of Catholic manhood and Catholic priesthood. But that is far from sufficient. We must be collectively Catholic. The spirit of plenary Faith—deep, learned, progressive, must permeate every tradition, influence every institution, animate every process in the university. It must be the distinctive note of our Academic Spirit—and that spirit should be purer, grander, stronger, *because of its Catholicity*. Our tone and temperament, our points of view, our attitudes and sympathies, all should reveal unmistakably this essential element. Every individual officially related to the academic work of this university—teacher and student—every one of us accepts a sacred trust from the Church. She confides unreservedly in our individual integrity, in our character, in our ability to do or to grow into the power of doing true university work under the inspiration of faith ; she confides in us to the extent

of hoping that we will be unselfish and loyal, co-operating generously till the university become what she expects it to be—the home of science and the bulwark of Catholicity in the new world. Faith and science must flourish here, each resplendent in the other's light.

Spontaneous generation will never bring this about. Conscientious care, methodical effort, systematic co-operation—they alone will give us the tone of collective Catholicity; they alone will place the element of Catholicity in our Academic Spirit and make it productive.

When the Church laid out these foundations she peered deep into the future to take her measurements. She did not build for to-day. She, therefore, set a purpose far beyond us of to-day to achieve; we can only commence. But we must live and think and act under the consciousness that we build for the future. We must forget everything except that the university belongs to the future and that we are *parts* of the university; we belong to it; otherwise, we belong not here at all. Whether or not the university shall some day rise to the proportions in which the Church conceived it—the proportions in which she planned and began it—all that depends entirely, under God, on you and on me; on administration; on teacher; on student. That helpless future looks out to us and speaks in no doubtful tones; tells us what it begs of us to-day. The distinct creation asked of us—the priceless treasure which we can in part originate and establish here and now—is a great, noble, and mighty Catholic Academic Spirit. That we can establish—that we can bequeath to the trembling, expectant future. And this we must do. Unless we do it this great institution, so wisely planned and so hopefully begun, will go down in ruin or live—a mockery and a shadow. But there is no fear. The work is well and grandly under way. Let it, then, go down among the traditions of the university that in its young days all loved it and were loyal to it; that no teacher ever swerved from his simple devotion to truth, his reverence for it, his sense of responsibility to it; that no teacher failed to be the exemplar of what is noble and pure in faith; that no student came without feeling inspired

to mighty efforts, pure life, and ceaseless attachment to his Alma Mater and his Church. Let it go down in our traditions that we lived for our university and worked for it; that we never hesitated at any sacrifice for it, at any labor which its welfare invited. With such a spirit and such traditions the university will be strong enough and one day great enough to realize the fondest hopes cherished for it. Let us do our work well to-day and the future is safe. There is glory in the opportunity.

WM. J. KERBY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Les Grand Traités du règne de Louis XIV publiés par Henri Vast.
Vol. III. Paris: Picard, 1900, 8° pp. 220.

Louis the Fourteenth's ambitious projects for a Greater France have left their traces in a long series of European treaties that belong to his reign, and are yet one of the bases of public order on the continent, despite the transformation of its political map by Napoleon Bonaparte and the modifications of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this third "fascicule" of the work of M. Vast, he offers to the reader the original texts of the several treaties of Utrecht (1713-1714), by which the War of the Spanish Succession was brought to a disastrous close for the Sun-King, and the domestic conditions inaugurated that were to culminate in the French Revolution. The principal treaty is that with England, signed March 31 (new style, April 11), 1713. Its text is in French, as are the other treaties with Portugal, Savoy, and the States-General. That with Prussia, to the great mortification of Louis, who did not admit that Frederic William I. was his equal, was drawn up (for Prussia) in Latin. Two other treaties, Rastadt (March 6, 1714), and Baden (September 7, 1714), settled the relations of France and the Empire. In a luminous introduction, M. Vast resumes the great events that led to the wars ended by these treaties, the purposes of the French king, the operations of all Europe coalesced against him, the failure of the French arms, the long opposition of Holland to any peace that did not consecrate all the ambitions of that nation. These treaties are now accessible in a handy and reliable form; we do not need to go to such a classic as Dumont, who has printed the treaties of a thousand years in his "*Corps Universel Diplomatique*" (1726-1739, 13 vols. in folio) or to the more serviceable collection of Martens (*Recueil des Principaux Traités*, etc., 1761-1888, 70 vols., 8°). For the treaties in question one may read with profit Gérard, "*The Peace of Utrecht*," New York, 1835, Grimblot, "*Letters of William III and Louis XIV*," (London, 1848), and Baudrillart "*Philippe V, et la Cour de France de 1700 à 1715*," (Paris, 1889); also the "*Repertoire de l'Histoire Diplomatique d'Europe depuis le Congrès de Westphalie jusqu'à la paix d'Utrecht*" (1648-1713), in the "*Annales de l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques*" (Jan., 1890). It is interesting to note with what tenacity the merchant-interests of France fought for the rights they now enjoy in the matter of the New-

foundland fisheries. Had not the people of England grown tired of the war, their rights might not have been secured without another trial of arms; it was not, therefore, lightly or without regret that the present situation was created by England. It was Nicholas le Bailliff (Le Mesnager), whose pen and tongue secured this minimum of advantages for his native country. "*L'Europe entière*," said he, in his '*Réflexions générales sur l'état de la négociation en Angleterre*,' croirait perdre son bien en perdant le commerce d'Amérique. Personne ne douterait de cette perte, ne pouvant plus faire ce commerce par l'entremise des Espagnols, dépositaires de toutes les nations, s'il se faisait directement par les Anglais." Such a volume as this might well be in the hands of the teachers of advanced classes in political history; it awakes no little interest in the mind of an intelligent youth when he is shown and made to read some of the great documents on which nations yet base their mutual relations; when he touches, as it were, the results of vaulting ambition, treason, shortsightedness and oppression.

T. J. S.

Daniel O'Connell, Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre. By L. Nemours Godré (2d ed.) Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, pp. viii — 396.

The appearance in a second edition of a *Life of O'Connell* in French is a fresh tribute to the memory of the great Liberator, a proof of the yet abiding interest in that majestic figure of Irish history.

O'Connell's fame is not confined to the limits of his native isle; its heralds are as numerous as the scattered sons of Erin. It is treasured and sung in every clime wherever those wandering pilgrims have found rest and a home. It has leaped the bounds of nationality and finds an echo in the hearts of all who love liberty, religious, civil and political,—who cherish faithfully the memory of the heroes who have done battle in her cause. Such a one was O'Connell; and in an age like ours which boasts of unprecedented growth in the enjoyment of liberty and its attendant blessings, we gladly welcome this new evidence of the immortality of one who was willing to spend and be spent that his country might be free.

O'Connell was born August 6, 1775. In this year so eventful in the annals of liberty for one portion of the English people, the condition of her Irish Catholic subjects was indeed wretched and abject. They were groaning under the full weight of those religious, civil and political disabilities which had been forced on them by a perfidious conqueror despite the pledged faith of a solemn treaty. M. Godré does well to present by way of introduction a summary of this iniquitous legislation of the

Penal Code. It acts as the dark background against which the efforts of the Irish Catholics and especially the labors of the great Agitator can be most clearly seen and appreciated.

On this night of dark injustice appear eventually the glimmerings of a dawn. A great national movement arises in Ireland. A spark from the torch of liberty then flaming across the seas has fallen upon the nation's heart; antagonisms melt away and Catholics and Protestants unite in the common cause of Irish autonomy. Certain civil rights are restored to the almost outlawed Catholic, but not even the generous efforts of a Grattan can prevail on the "Protestant Ascendancy" to relinquish their claim to exclusive political power and representation.

O'Connell's early education was received at Cork. In 1792 we find him at Saint Omer's and later at Douay, until the events of 1793 made it an unsafe residence for English students. The excesses of French republican principles which he here witnessed made him forever an avowed enemy of violent, sanguinary measures for the redress of popular grievances—he had yet to witness the little less terrible crimes which the abuse of authority, in its turn, can occasion. A further relaxation of the penal code in 1793 enabled him to begin his career of law in London. In spite of the barriers which yet shut him out from a position of eminence in his chosen pursuit, his ambition to excel in his profession was very ardent. While in London he was a frequent visitor at the House of Commons, where Fox and Pitt were then commanding universal attention. The oratorical style of Pitt captivated him, and supplied a model for his own future political career. Called to the bar in 1798, he remained in London during the stirring events of that memorable year. Though he deprecated, on principle, any resort to armed measures, from which he could foresee naught but disaster, his natural impetuosity exposed him to no little danger.

The horrors of armed rebellion were soon succeeded by violent agitation consequent on the passing of the Act of Union, that masterstroke of England's iniquitous policy toward the sister isle. This discussion was the occasion of O'Connell's first appearance in political life. It had been a part of England's astute policy to represent the Irish Catholics as friendly to the Union. However true this may have been of some of the conservative or too confiding nobility and clergy, it was a libel on the vast mass of Catholics. A meeting was called to protest publicly and solemnly against this treasonable imputation. O'Connell was the leading orator. He had found his destiny. Henceforth agitation, eternal protest, was to be his watchword against English aggrandizement on the one hand and against Protestant intolerance on the other. The Union, however, was carried June 7, 1800, and Ireland expired as

a nation. There was yet left, however, the promise of emancipation made by Pitt. In 1804 a delegation of Catholics reminded him of his pledge, but obstacles "from a certain quarter" prevented him from making it good. Pitt's conduct on this occasion has been variously appreciated. The mental weakness of George III and his violent opposition to emancipation on fancied grounds of conscience may be urged in extenuation; but the disagreeable fact remains that he later consented to assume control of affairs on the express condition of never again raising the issue of emancipation. Was it expediency, then, and not justice that first induced him to support this measure?

Before O'Connell's advent into public life, the policy of the Irish Catholic party had been either that of patient resignation and hope, or, at most, that of mild and respectful appeal for redress. O'Connell, however, advocated the stronger though yet lawful measure of public agitation; the people, wearied with the futility of the former policies, readily seconded his views. Henceforth he was the recognized leader of the Irish Catholic body.

A union of interests was now projected between the Catholics and Protestants in opposition to the Union. Scarcely, however, had this auspicious national movement begun, when, by reason of the King's hopeless insanity, his eldest son assumed the regency; as the Prince of Wales he had frequently given assurance of his good will toward the Catholic claims; as regent, however, he not only forgot his promises, but at the instance of his courtiers, enacted a number of repressive measures. An attempt was made to suppress the Catholic Committee by legal means; this failing, force was resorted to and a projected meeting was dispersed, not, however, without violent protest on the part of O'Connell.

In the meantime another question preliminary to emancipation had been agitating and dividing men's minds. It was the famous privilege of Veto, by which Government was to be empowered to reject a candidate for a bishopric on the score of disloyalty. This was proposed in 1799 as a condition for emancipation and was accepted by ten bishops connected with Maynooth. Revived later, it was resisted by the people as tending to compromise the dignity of the Church and destroy the confidence reposed in their bishops. The episcopacy, in 1808, condemned the odious measure. The vetoists had recourse to Rome. A rescript came from Mgr. Quarantotti authorizing the clause; but it found few supporters, and was unanimously rejected by the Catholic Committee in 1813. The bill of emancipation, however, even with this restriction, failed to pass the House of Commons. On his return from his French captivity, in 1815, Pius VII., instead of repudiating the action of his vicar, Quarantotti, as the Irish fondly hoped, renewed his approbation of

the Veto; still the clergy and people at large maintained their opposition. The matter finally dropped, but by sowing discord it had served to retard the movement for emancipation.

With the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, the power of France was crushed. England, relieved at length from the constant dread of invasion, was enabled to pursue her favorite policy of coercion in Ireland. The Catholic Bureau was suppressed in spite of loud protests from the Catholic body. The hated Irish constabulary was created by Peel to overawe or beat down all opposition. Added to the divisions already existing, these hostile measures reduced the Catholic cause to a low ebb; agitation itself seemed dead from the very lack of the funds necessary to secure a place of assembly. Only O'Connell's sovereign hopefulness and untiring energy could have tided the sacred cause over this slough of despond, and brought back vitality when life seemed to have fled. Hope sprang up afresh on the occasion of a friendly demonstration from the liberal Protestants of Dublin; Mr. Plunkett again brought the bill before Parliament; it passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. In this year occurred the King's visit to Ireland. The enthusiastic reception accorded by all classes highly gratified him; his heart warmed toward this loyal people, and grieved for their misfortunes; he promised them relief—yet he became later on the unyielding foe of justice to the oppressed Catholics.

In the meantime O'Connell was busy with his plans for agitation. In 1823 he formed, in spite of much opposition, what was known as the Catholic Association, to enlist in support of emancipation all classes in every part of Ireland. Famine and coercive laws crippled its labors for several years. It was at length started after heroic efforts on his part and straightway became a mighty power in the land. The government sought to paralyze this strong popular movement by the arrest of O'Connell on a charge of sedition; failing in this it attacked the association. A bill was introduced into Parliament demanding its suppression. A deputation, including Shiel and O'Connell, was sent to London to plead for the proscribed association and to present the Catholic claims before the English public. The organization, however, was suppressed. Yet the effect produced on the public mind of England was surprising; monster meetings were held, and new supporters were daily gained in Parliament itself. The government seemed at length to become reconciled. The bill was again introduced and passed the second reading. Catholic Ireland rejoiced at the prospect of speedy deliverance, when the cup of hope was rudely dashed from her lips. The Duke of York protested against the measure in the name of the "Protestant Supremacy." Religious intolerance prevailed and the bill was again rejected by the

Lords. But the struggle began afresh; meetings, local or provincial, were held constantly in every part of the land, and from each there went forth the same demands for freemen's rights. The administration was powerless; all its plans were checkmated by the shrewdness and legal learning of O'Connell.

In 1826 came the uprising of the Waterford tenantry against the political dictation of the powerful family of the Beresfords. Under the burning appeals of O'Connell they were aroused from their old lethargy, and though utterly dependent on their landlords defied all intimidation, resisted all attempts at bribery, and returned the friend of their cause by an overwhelming majority. This noble example of independence and integrity was followed elsewhere. The people had found their strength, and, what was far more, the courage to use it. The heart of Ireland beat high with a sense of triumph. In 1827 another attempt was made to pass the bill, but in spite of the favorable reception it had met in the House of Commons only two years before, it was now thrown out after a long discussion. With the repeated changes of the ministry at this time the expectations of the Catholic body rose and fell.

In January, 1828, the famous Wellington Cabinet came to power and relief seemed now far off indeed. Yet the agitation was unceasing. Simultaneous meetings, representing five millions of Irish Catholics, were held in every parish in Ireland, and from each went forth the same appeal for justice. Even this exhibition of moral force failed to soften the hardened heart of the opposition. A new bill was contemptuously rejected by the Lords. Then came the crowning victory at the Clare elections, where O'Connell himself was returned to Parliament by a more than two-thirds majority. Confusion reigned in the camp of the supremacy; Peel himself realized the full significance of the event. Wellington, however, yielded slowly; his suggestion of a change of policy met with an angry response in Parliament. Yet the Catholic body was steadfast and determined. The Ministers feared an insurrection; armed with this plea they went before Parliament; on its strength they forced the consent of an unwilling king. On February 5, 1829, the speech from the throne announced the surrender of the Government. A month later Peel presented the Catholic Bill of Relief. It passed the House of Commons by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight—the House of Lords by one hundred and five.

Thus was gained one of the greatest moral victories of the century. By it the religion of over six millions of people was freed from the shackles with which national hatred and religious intolerance had so long bound it. It may appear strange that the idea of religious tolerance and equality of civil rights should have been so slow in attaining to its triumph at a

time not very far removed from our own, and in a country which stood in the forefront of cultured nations. It is certainly painful to contemplate that even when yielded it was conceded not to the principle of equity involved, but only to the stress of events and on the score of political expediency. But prejudice dies hard, especially when nourished by temporal emoluments and pride of place in Church or State.

The victory was, however, a grand tribute to the Liberator, and in the joy and pride of success he may well have reckoned as nought the labors, the sacrifices, and the dangers he had braved. The difficulties and obstacles had been many—a hostile King and Parliament in England; a proud and jealous Protestant faction in Ireland; dissensions with or among his friends and followers; a lack of sympathy, to say the least, among the Catholic nobility in England, and, to some extent, of Ireland as well; distrust at times on the part of the clergy, and a seeming betrayal by the Father of Christendom himself. Yet energy, courage, tact, generosity and unselfishness dissolved or bore down all opposition until the glorious triumph was achieved.

M. Godré deserves well of the reading public for this second edition of the Liberator's "Life and Work." He has shown considerable diligence in collecting his data, and certainly much literary skill in their disposition and presentation. The result is a well-nigh model popular biography. It contains an abundance of interesting information without any of the dryness of mere detail. Its tone is sympathetic yet free from extravagance. To the French reader it presents an admirable compendium of the larger English lives of O'Connell and the political history of the times in which he lived. The work has merited the much-coveted approval of the French Academy.

Propos of this new life of O'Connell it may be of some utility if a brief bibliography be here appended. It is not meant to be exhaustive, only to place before the reader the principal works in which may be found the materials of this famous episode in the history of human liberty.

I. ORIGINAL AND DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.—Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* (1800-1829); Amherst, *History of Catholic Emancipation*, London, 2 vols., 1886; Fitzpatrick, *Life, Times and Correspondence of Bishop Doyle*, (J.K.L.) Dublin, 2 v., 1861-1881; the same, *Correspondence of O'Connell*, 2 v., London, 1888; Madden, *Historical Notice of Penal Laws against Catholics*, London, 1865; MacNevin, *Pieces of Irish History illustrative of the condition of Catholicism in Ireland*, New York, 1807; Charles Butler, *Historical Memoirs respecting English, Irish and Scotch Catholics*, 4 v., London, 1819-1822; Bishop Milner,

Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics, addressed to Charles Butler, London, 1820; Grattan, Speeches in Irish and Imperial Parliaments, 4 v., London, 1822; Memoirs of the Life and Times of Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan, 5 v., London, 1839-1842; Burke, Works and Correspondence, 8 v., London, 1851; Flood, Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Rt. Hon. Henry Flood, by Warden Flood, Dublin, 1838; Plowden, Historical View of the State of Ireland from the invasion of Henry II to the Union with Great Britain in 1807, Dublin, 3 v., 1808; Hipposly, Observations on the Petitions of Roman Catholics in Ireland, London, 1806; William Parnell, An Historical Apology for Irish Catholics, Dublin, 1807; (Cardinal) Moran, Spicilegium Ossoriense, Letters illustrative of Irish History from the Reformation to the year 1800, Dublin, 3 v., 1874-1885; O'Reilly, Life and Letters of John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, vol. I, Dublin, 1888; Theiner, Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Emanzipation der Katholiken in England, 1835.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECTS.—Justin MacCarthy, History of Our Own Times (1837-1880); Froude, The English in Ireland in the XVIII. Century, London, 3 v., 1872; Lecky, Ireland in the XVIII. Century—; Fr. de Préssensé, L'Irlande et l'Angleterre (1800-1888), Paris, 1889; R. Barry O'Brien, Fifty Years of Concession to Ireland (1831-1881) 2 v., London, 1882; Ball, Historical Review of Legislative Systems in Ireland (1172-1800), London, 1888; De Beaumont, L'Irlande Sociale, Religieuse et Politique, Paris, 2 v., 1881; Hervé, La Crise Irlandaise depuis la fin du XVIII. Siècle jusqu' à nos jours, Paris, 1885; Bellesheim, Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland, vol. III, 1888; Mant, History of the Church in Ireland from the Reformation to the Union of 1801, London, 2 v., 1840; Ball, The Reformed Church in Ireland, London, 1886; Manning, Miscellanies, 3 v., London 1877-1889.

BIOGRAPHIES OF O'CONNELL.—John O'Connell, Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Dublin, 2 v., 1845; Brühl, Irland und O'Connell; Freiburg, 1873; Baumstark, O'Connell, Freiburg, 1873; O'Connell in Wetzer u. Weltes Kirchenlexicon, vol. VI; (2d ed.), Freiburg, 1890; O'Connell Centenary Record, Dublin, 1878; Langlois, O'Connell d'après sa correspondance (Correspondant, 25 Dec., 1888, 25 Jan., 1889); J. A. Hamilton, O'Connell (Lives of Statesmen Series), London, 1888; Keane, Panegyric on O'Connell, Dublin, 1897; Robert Dunlop, Daniel O'Connell and the Revival of National Life in Ireland, New York, 1900. The famous sketch by "Timon" in his "Portraits" and the three days funeral discourse of Padre Ventura at Paris are documents of primary value for foreign appreciation of O'Connell's purpose and methods.

M. O'C.

Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Christlichen Alterthum, eine dogmengeschichtliche studie, von J. P. Kirsch (Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur—und Dogmengeschichte, Vol. I, Heft I.) Mainz, Fr. Kirchheim, 1900, 8° p. 230.

With this study on the ecclesiastical teaching of Christian antiquity concerning the Communion of Saints, Dr. Ehrhard, professor of Church History at Vienna, and Dr. Kirsch, professor of Patrology and Christian Archæology at Friburg in Switzerland, begin a series of "Researches" in Early Christian Literature and the History of Dogma. For the first time Catholics undertake such a work; we wish them the success they merit in a field that is strewn with delicate problems and difficulties of no common kind. Dr. Kirsch treats in the essay before us of the earliest traces in Christian literature and monuments of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. In the remnants of the primitive Christian literature, beginning with the Scripture, he finds no few nor uncertain echoes of this belief,—the prayers of the faithful for one another, the relation of the "chosen just ones" in heaven to the faithful on earth, the angels as guardians of the faithful, the prayers for the dead. The New Testament opens the list of touching "testimonia." Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, the Didaché, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Apologists, the very old "Acta Pauli et Theclæ," and other literary texts furnish phrases of astonishing significance when pressed for all their meaning. In their light we are ready to believe that the following (slightly restored) beautiful epitaph from the Cemetery of Priscilla belongs to the middle of the second century:

Vos precor, o fratres, orare huc quando venitis
Et precibus totis patrem natumque rogatis,
Sit vestræ mentis Agapes caræ meminisse
Ut Deus omnipotens Agapen in sæcula servet.

In a second section of his researches, Dr. Kirsch treats the development of this teaching during the third century,—the spiritual relation of the faithful to one another on earth, their relation to the departed "Sancti," the office of the Martyrs, the prayers for the dead, and the functions of the angels as regards the faithful.

Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Hippolytus, the "Acta Martyrum," furnish abundant confirmations and illustrations of the Catholic doctrine. We cannot resist the temptation to cite the following Greek epitaph on the "little boy," Dionysius, found at Rome in the Ostrian Cemetery on the Nomentan Way:

Διονύσιος νήπιος
 ἄκακος ἔνθαδε κεί
 τε μετὰ τῶν ἀ
 γίων. μνήσκεσθε
 δε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖ
 σ ἀγίαις πρευχᾷς (sic)
 καὶ τοῦ γλύφαντος καὶ γράφαντος.¹

Another precious monument of the same kind and time (third century) comes from Gaul,—it is known as the Epitaph of Pectorius of Autun: “O Aschandios, my father, my heart’s desire, with my sweet mother and my brothers, bethink thee, in the Peace of the Ichthys (Fish) of thy Pektorios.” This is reprinted from Le Blant, *Inscript. Chrétiennes de la Gaule* (I. p. 8, no. 4), and differs only in its eloquence from an epitaph of the same period, yet kept in the Christian Museum of the Lateran (*Inscr. cl.*, viii., n. 19; De Rossi, *Il Museo Epigrafico Pio-Lateran*, tav. viii, no. 19.)

Anatolius filio benemerenti fecit
 Qui vixit annis vii mensis vii die
 Bus xx Ispiritus tuus bene requies
 Cat in Deo petas pro sorore tua.

Finally, in the great Christian doctors of the fourth century, Kirsch finds the complete consequences of this teaching,—in men like Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil of Neocaesarea, John Chrysostom, and many others. Their belief is expounded with much acumen, in considerable detail, and with no small display of critical method and thoroughness. Many of the most convincing passages are printed in full,—the references to the others are abundant. Dr. Kirsch contributes an item to the controversy on the “Apostles’ Creed,” by the pages 214–227, in which he discusses the time of insertion and the meaning of “*communio sanctorum*” in that venerable symbol. It is first met with in the Church of Gaul, in the writings of Faustus, Bishop of Riez (449–462), who in the work on the Holy Ghost mentions these words, as following, “*Sanctam Ecclesiam*,” in the creed.

T. J. S.

¹ “Dionysius, an innocent child, lies here with the Saints. Remember in your holy prayers, both the writer of the epitaph and the engraver.” This and many other pious acclamations and prayers may be found in Dr. Kirsch’s “*Acclamationen und Gebete der altchristlichen Grabschriften*,” (Köln, 1897.)

The World's Best Orations, edited by David J. Brewer. (Justice David J. Brewer, United States Supreme Court, Editor-in-Chief; Edward A. Allen and William Schnyler, Associated Editors; Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart, M. P., Chairman of the Advisory Council; ten volumes; Ferd P. Kaiser, St. Louis, 1900).

The power of the orator is too subtle a thing to be put entirely into words. The words are at best only the dead husks of the vivifying personality. Yet they are the near approaches to important men and important questions of history; and the anthology that gives us the best of all orations in a convenient form has fulfilled a good purpose. The rigid laws of classicism, the Greek *rhetoric*, have crumbled into mere tradition; the modern psychological view of oratorical persuasion has taken its place.

The editors found themselves in the position of men who might err, from the oratorical or literary point of view, by leaning too decidedly to the demand for historical sequence and interpretation. The translation, in the second volume, of Bismarck's "Plea for Imperial Armament," is most valuable historically, but the reader who looks only for "gems of oratory" might look upon it as cumbering the work. Sir Charles Dilke has included Lord Beaconsfield's reply to his celebrated attack on the expenditures of the royal family. "The Meaning of Conservatism" is one of the most brilliant of Beaconsfield's speeches, but it might easily be overlooked, in a compilation of this sort, were not its object more comprehensive than literary or oratorical. Justice Brewer's guiding hand is evident in the selection of certain speeches usually neglected in similar anthologies. Webster's and Clay's and Patrick Henry's and even Proctor Knott's Duluth speeches are in nearly all, but it is not easy to find Andrew Hamilton's fine discourse "For Free Speech in America," delivered in 1735. Guizot's addresses are well known, but Flaxman's are hard to find. One is always sure to see copious extracts from Burke and Fox and Jeremy Taylor, but the typical sermons of Newman, Monsabré and Agustino da Montefeltro are not often given. As a means by which the change in the speaker's point of view as to the oration may be studied, Judge Brewer's anthology is excellent. Demosthenes and Cicero, Bossuet and Bourdaloue, David Dudley Field and Albert Gallatin, Lowell and Cardinal Gibbons here offer material most valuable for analysis of the processes of progress from the mannered and "classical" methods of the past to the simpler and less pompous technique of the present. The rhetoric no longer controls; the introductions of Cicero's time, which might be prefixed to an oration of almost any kind, have given way, in our time, to things less conventional; and the dramatic efforts of Bossuet, so carefully rehearsed and considered, would be risky if

attempted to-day even by a man of genius. Lowell's "Democracy" and the discourses of James Cardinal Gibbons are among the best examples of the modern manner.

From the historical side, the Hon. George Boutwell's speech on the "Impeachment of President Johnson," and the late Hon. Richard P. Bland's "Parting of the Ways," have great interest. Henry W. Grady's noble discourse on "The South and the Race Problem" is here, too. The volume containing the example of Archbishop Ryan's sermons has not yet reached us,—as the ten volumes are not yet completed. We trust that examples of some of the greatest addresses at the receptions of the French Academy and one of the most logical of Herr Windhorst's speeches,—and there are many fine ones,—will be included. The compilation is so broadly conceived, that we shall expect to find no really great name in oratory omitted. The publisher has evidently spared no means of making the mechanical part of the volumes worthy of the design.

M. F. E.

Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. London: Macmillan, 1900; 2 vols., 8°, xiii — 423; 382.

"If England is converted to Christ, it will be as much due, under God, to you as to any one." These words of Cardinal Newman, directed in 1857 to the subject of the memoir before us, give the keynote of a life that was well worth the writing. Ambrose Lisle March Phillips de Lisle was born in 1809, and died in 1878. He is therefore a child of this century, and one need not be surprised to see in him all the lights and shadows, the ardors and the shortcomings of his time. Sprung from the higher gentry of England, it was his good fortune to fall under the influence of a worthy French *émigré* priest, whose exemplary life and holy teaching so won the heart of this son of predilection that at the age of sixteen he was converted to Catholicism, and was baptized "in a poor Irish pavior's cottage" outside Loughborough, in his native Leicestershire. Thenceforth his life was given over to the cause of religion, of which he remained to the end a tireless apostle, gathering the bitter with the sweet, but ever faithful to a few guiding principles that lent unity and consistency to his career. One of these was the corporate reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The way of individual conversion did not displease de Lisle,—on the contrary, no lay Catholic labored more zealously or fruitfully to bring over to the Roman pale every choice soul with which he came into contact. But he believed that one day the entire organization of Anglicanism could be won for the cause of unity; that prospect sustained and gladdened him to his death. In

these pages are told the vicissitudes of the various "schemata" by which this end was to be obtained, some that found no favor at the centre of unity, and others that were welcomed there and raised to the dignity of a universal work. That portion of de Lisle's correspondence which deals with corporate reunion is highly interesting, and ought to be read by all who would understand the latest decisions of the Holy See and their preliminaries that now cover a period of two generations. Wiseman, Newman, Manning, Lord Talbot, Pugin, Father Ignatius, Montalembert figure in varying degrees in these letters, all of which are marked by elevation and candor of views, and that more than ordinary optimism which seems to have been the secret of his perennial enthusiasm.

De Lisle was an ardent patriot. Indeed, it was largely his patriotism that dictated his philosophy of England's conversion—so mighty a commercialism needed the counterbalance of a religion at once universal and mystical, if it would not run the risk of parting forever from the spirit and teachings of Christ, and thereby enter on the sure road of decline and death. Though a Conservative, de Lisle was always a friend of Gladstone, whose opinions and principles concerning Turkey he shared. As a youth of fourteen, he had reasoned himself into the view that not the Pope, but the Great Turk, was Antichrist. His most important literary venture is a work entitled "Mahometanism in its Relations to Prophecy" (1855). For this work, whose inspiration de Lisle accredited to the apocalyptic commentaries of the Spanish Jesuit Lacunza, Mr. Purcell claims "a not unimportant share" in the formation of the actual public opinions in England concerning the Religion of the Sword.

Such a life as this resolves itself easily into a history of Catholicism in England, written from the standpoint of an active leader in all its public enterprises. True to the hereditary instincts of his race and station, de Lisle was always a man of action and initiative,—the patient and prayerful attitude that awaits the improbable or the impossible could never be enough for a child of pushful Albion. This gentleman of rank, who might have compounded on easy terms with his conscience, taken his ease, improved his fortune, and won the highest recognition in a great and ancient state,—perhaps taken the helm of government,—chose to be an apostle of Catholicism, and to bring to his work all the directness, vigor, frankness, liberality and common sense that an English squire could be supposed to possess. He is concerned about the spread of Catholicism in his native Leicestershire, and gives abundantly for the organization of parochial nuclei. He founds with mediæval munificence the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Bernard, almost on the site of the famous Grace-Dieu Abbey of the old Catholic days. He inaugurates and sustains relationships that culminate in the Oxford Movement, and

the conquest of Newman, Manning, Wilberforce, Faber, and that host of "intellectual" converts whose apparition is the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of nineteenth century Catholicism. He rejoices to see the hierarchy re-established and to witness the "second spring" of a holy religion that daily absorbs more and more his own extraordinary energies and gifts. He would have Oxford and Cambridge visited again by the Catholic youth of England,—had he lived twenty years more, he would have seen Leo XIII withdraw the prohibition of his predecessor. The ancient "Gregorian Chant," the truly "religious" Gothic architecture, the reverential service of God in the liturgy as once practiced by believing men and women, were very dear to his heart,—he wrote much and wisely on them, was the intimate friend of Pugin and surest "kenner" of his genius. In a social and literary way de Lisle was ever among his Anglican brethren a promise, a hope, a prophet of the desired reunion of the churches of England with the mother see of Rome. His was truly a Gregorian heart that would easily have found its place among the Santa Olaras of the Laudian time.

This intensely English soul was also intensely modern, and felt keenly what seemed the needless multiplying or retention of obstacles to the acceptance of the claims and rights of Catholicism. Loyal himself beyond a doubt or a suspicion, he would have the way of the repentant "erring" made as easy as possible; he would stretch the cloak of charity till its divine fibre could yield no farther. He saw in this light all the phenomena of the larger life of the Church on the continent and throughout the world. Doubtless sympathy, intelligence of actualities, a prophetic instinct of the good results of a moderate and cunctatory policy, are excellent things. But the conditions and needs of the wider and manifold Catholicism need also to be considered; many a policy that, isolated, would work suitably,—or could be tried,—is not unlikely, given the present rapidity of communication, to cause more than equivalent trouble and difficulty in some other part of the body Catholic. That mighty "balançoire" of Catholicism, the Holy See, was never more needed than in the critical era through which we are now moving, in which there is going on a shifting of conditions and interests such as the world has not seen from time immemorial. Though an Inopportunist during the Vatican Council, de Lisle accepted loyally the decision of the Church, and rallied to its defence in the years that followed. Bishop Ullathorne could praise his work in the *Union Review* as "singularly good and able and to the main point." This brings out another peculiarity of the policy of de Lisle, his writings in non-Catholic reviews. They were always welcomed, and brought with them into the camp of the enemy some aroma of true Catholicism ever gentle and patient and to

sacrifices inclined. De Lisle was none of your "fecial priests" of journalism; rather was he one of those who linger on the border until open hostilities force him across, ready to spring back with the olive branch when the smoke of battle ceases. *Beati mites!* Who would not willingly be accused on the last day, before the Judge of hearts, of excess of mansuetude, pity, belief in the honesty and good will of others?

These volumes are only partially the work of the late Mr. Purcell, the author of the "Life of Cardinal Manning." They have been completed and revised by the son of Ambrose de Lisle. In them will be found many touches of historical realism, bits of heightened color, such as our age loves to find in biographies,—we often want to *see and hear* rather than *know* the man we read about. We are affected, not always judiciously, by the modern cry for fulness of detail, exhaustive presentation of circumstances, the mania of the minute. Another age, more mediævally architectonic, will think that we were like the melancholy Jaques' "fool i' the forest," who

"hath strange places cramm'd
With observation, the which he vents
In mangled forms."

There is always room for criticism and recrimination where correspondence is not published in complete form, and where the reverse cannot be seen in all the letters that dovetail with those laid before us. It is possible to apply to such works that reproach of subjectivism which historians make against the author of "Memoirs" and "Journals." The writers do not necessarily falsify—only, their point of view is restricted, personal. This reproach can even reach the compilers of "State Papers" and "Documentary Histories." Men like Theiner could lay themselves open to it. How much more easily does the modern biography, half comment, half document, lend itself to adverse criticism as soon as it rouses situations that lay a-slumbering? We do not think these general remarks applicable to the two beautiful volumes before us. They contain pages of notable beauty, *e. g.* (pp. 190–194) de Lisle's "Prayer for the Reconciliation of the Anglican Church to the Unity of the Catholic Church." This commentary on Ps. XXI, written in 1862, runs in the shape of a dialogue between the "Ecclesia Anglicana" and the "Christiani Catholici orantes Deum pro insigni Ecclesia Anglicana." I copy a paragraph written out of the heart of de Lisle, typical of his conviction and his purpose:

"*In te speraverunt patres nostri, speraverunt et liberasti eos*; but how different was it in the happy days of our Fathers; in Thee did they hope, they hoped and thou didst deliver them. Truly they were thy

people, and thou wert their God, *ad Te clamaverunt et salvi facti sunt : in te speraverunt et non sunt confusi*. Yes, O my God, well may I repeat this sweet declaration of their faith and thy goodness towards them, for who is there that knoweth it not? Was not England in those happy days of our forefathers called throughout all Christendom the Island of Saints, was she not called out of chivalrous devotion to thee, the portion of thy blessed Mother *Dos Mariæ*? and was not thy holy Church in this kingdom famous among all the Churches of the Saints? *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*. But now alas! how changed is all that! how faded is all the glory and brightness of my former days; all my mirth is turned into bitterness. I am become a very worm of the earth, at the mercy of every scorner that passeth by. No longer do we hear of the famous English Church—nay, they even deny that I am a Church at all, so disfigured am I with the weight of my calamities, *sum vermis et non homo*; I am become the reproach of men, that is of Catholic Christians, and the scorn of the common people, that is of the meanest sectaries *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*. *Omnes videntes me deriserunt me; locuti sunt labiis et moverunt caput*. Yes, every looker-on derideth me; they whisper against me, shaking their heads with contempt.”

T. J. S.

Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abyssinern. Ein historisch-exegetischer Versuch von Dr. Phil. Sebastian Euringer. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1900.

The occasion of this essay was a startling statement made a century or more ago by James Bruce in his “Travels to the Sources of the Nile” and recently accepted and endorsed (though not without astonishment on his part) by Dr. Riedel, to the effect that (1) the Abyssinian Church interprets literally the Canticle of Canticles, and (2) forbids the reading of that book to all save the aged priests, for whom, Bruce adds, it is favorite reading. Dr. Euringer, who has been for some time preparing a critical edition of the Canticle of Canticles in the Ethiopic version, has found abundant evidence of the erroneous character of the first part of this statement, while he holds, from an Abyssinian priest, that the second part of it is equally false. Several readings of the Ethiopic version are radically opposed to a literal interpretation of the Canticle. For instance, the sixth verse of Chapter I is so worded as to make evident that in it not the material sun, but Christ, the spiritual sun, is understood. Numerous marginal glosses point clearly to the general acceptance of an allegorical interpretation. For instance (Cantic. II, 11) we read: In the day of His espousals; that is “In the day of His crucifixion, in the day

of His passion, in the day of His death, in the day of His espousals." Not less cogent are liturgical strophes with which the text is interspersed. After III, 5, "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem," etc., we read:

"The Logos, the Son, my brother skipped between the mountains,
 Bending He looks through the lattice, and peeps through the window,
 With thy flesh he united the burning beauty of his Divinity.
 Maria, since through thee we found confidence
 We call thee the wood of the ark."

Finally in an Ethiopic manuscript of the British Museum, we find a commentary with the following title: "The Canticle of Canticles, concerning the Son and the Christian Church and his Mother." So much for the first statement of James Bruce, who evidently "n'a rien perdu pour attendre." Dr. Riedel will not need to trouble himself any more in order to account for the Abyssinian Church being influenced by the Nestorian doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Dr. Euringer adds to the above the testimony of an Abyssinian priest who stoutly denies the custom of a literal interpretation of the Canticle of Canticles in the Abyssinian Church (Schismatic or Catholic). He also denies the statement of Bruce that only the aged priests were allowed to read the Canticle. "Nobody in the Abyssinian Church," said he, "is forbidden to read the Canticle of Canticles. The Book is commented on from the pulpit; it is taught to the children. . . . It does not contain anything dangerous except for the wicked-minded."

It would be unfair not to add that Dr. Euringer's treatment of his subject is far more thorough than demanded by the occasion. It speaks well for his former teacher Père Lagrange, to whom this excellent "opusculum" is dedicated. Judging from Dr. Herkenne's work (*BULLETIN*, April, 1899), who in his turn styles himself a pupil of Dr. Euringer, the good seed sown by the able Professor of the "Ecole Pratique d'Etudes Bibliques" in Jerusalem, "fell into the good ground and grew and brought fruit . . . in patience." May it be "to the hundredfold!"

H. H.

La Vie de Saint Didier Évêque de Cahors (590-655) par René Poupardin. Paris: Picard, 8°, 1900. Pp. xx-64.

In M. Poupardin's text of the life of Desiderius of Cahors we have the almost contemporary story of one of those great Gallo-Roman bishops who stood for religion and civil order in the centuries that followed the collapse of the Roman power in the West. He could be put into the portrait gallery of the best men painted by Gregory of Tours; indeed he is spiritually of the race and stock of Gregory. Original texts of that

period are rare; hence the timeliness of this edition. The reader will gain a better impression of that old world of change and disorder from the reading of such texts than from many an elaborate essay. Especially is this so if he prepares himself by reading those inimitable "Récits Mérovingiens, in which Amedée Thierry has told in a kind of "causerie" that is charmingly "gauloise" the lights and the shadows of the sixth and seventh centuries in Frankish Gaul. Very curious is the reference (p. 89) to the Irish hermit Arnanus, an "inclausus" who was "amicus fidelissimus" of Desiderius, and who was "ex genere Scotorum veniens." Four centuries later we shall still meet these "inclausi" (reclusi) at Cologne, Mainz, Fulda and elsewhere in Germany. But their first continental experience was in Gaul, where the first Scotie cloisters of Columbanus and the scattered "Hospitia Scotorum" had long been drawing ascetic souls from Bangor and Clonmacnoise and Iona. There is (p. 30) a brief but picturesque sketch of the household of some one of those great Gallo-Frankish bishops who so disliked Columbanus. "Non ibi (in the palace of Desiderius) canes fastidium, non sui studium inrogabant; non hujuscemodi quadrupedia voluptuosa potius quam necessaria intererant, non simus jocum, non istrio risum, non scurra cachinnum excitabat, sed totum quies, totum gravitas, totum patientia occupabat." The work is also very valuable for the history of architecture, especially the origin of Lombard or earliest Romanesque architecture. T. J. S.

Saint Jean Chrysostom, (344-407), par Aimé Puech. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8° pp. 200.

No better hand than that of M. Aimé Puech could undertake a popular account of the life of the greatest of Christian orators, and one of the most apostolic bishops who ever lived. By his excellent treatise on the "Morale de St. Jean Chrysostome," M. Puech brought out the sincerity, purity and evangelical simplicity of St. John's conduct at Antioch and Constantinople. In that supreme struggle between the spirit of paganism yet viable in the worldliness and the materialism of the times, St. John was a figure not second to any of the great martyrs of the third century, a Cyprian, an Origen, a Pionius. For all its external Christianity the civil power at Byzantium was not and never could be *fondièrement* Christian,—there lurked in its marrow a malediction of imperialism that necessarily revealed itself *data occasione*. What Demosthenes was on the Pnyx for Philip, that was John for the "saeculum" enthroned and crowned, whether it was manifest in the oppression of the poor, in the whirl of vanities, or in the malevolence of luxury reprovèd and withstood. M. Puech brings out very strongly the unadorned native Pauline character of St. John's moral teaching; the novelty of the Christian homily which he raised to be one of the great

instruments of human persuasion, even if he did borrow its form from the Stoic preachments of a previous age; the historical and ethical character of his exegesis as opposed to the Alexandrian allegory and the rigid literalism of Antioch. It is to the Bible, especially the Prophets, that this great Speaker of Christendom owes the puissance and sublimity of his images, the security of his logic, the unity of his argument,—after him Bossuet will draw at the same deep fountain, and the world will hear once more the divine tones of that eloquence which first charmed the world from the lips of Isaias. Guide of souls, professor of Christian ethics, friend of youth and its model amid the blandishments of two cities that sheltered, as no cities before or since, the vices of East and West, this incomparable man translated into Christian life all that was best in Plato and Zeno, and interfused it with the new leaven of humanity,—the tender, merciful, loving spirit of Jesus. M. Puech is an artist in the sketching and shading of character,—his comparison (p. 196) of John and Ambrose is both true and delicately done. It is harder to agree with him when (p. 9) he maintains that he was among the Fathers “un de ceux qui furent le plus complètement détachés de la civilisation antique.” Chrysostom was long the disciple of Libanius. What that meant may be seen from the excellent study of M. Harrent on “Les Ecoles d’Antioche.” As the outer forms of paganism wore away, it centered its hope more and more on its philosophers and teachers, its letters and arts. The influence of Stoics and Sophists was very great in the world into which Chrysostom was born; and precisely in such academies as, that of Libanius, tolerated because of the stress they laid on conduct and ideal morality. Is it not here that John caught the first impulse to that life of *πρακτική* that he was afterward to illustrate? Is not this one reason why he stands off so among all other Christian fathers? M. Puech has given us an exquisite sketch into which he has woven the pietistic perfume of Neander’s beautiful portrait, the narrative charm of that of Amedée Thierry, the literary skill of Paul Albert’s sketch of the popular orator, the theological acumen of Bardenhewer, and his own well-earned sense of the apostolic earnestness and “droiture” of the greatest Greek who ever confessed Christ. The book is replete with citations; the author rightly says it is the best way to make Chrysostom known.

T. J. S.

La Vénérable Jeanne d’Arc (1412–1431), par L. Petit de Julleville.
Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8°, pp. 200.

The most learned of the modern historians of French literature has undertaken this sketch of Joan of Arc for the Lecoffre collection, “Les Saints.” Needless to say that the documents of Quicherat and the

later works on her life are worked over with equal skill and eloquence. Notably rapid and picturesque are the descriptions of the process of the Maid, her death and her rehabilitation. In M. de Julleville's narrations the spirit of French nationalism permeates every page; Jeanne is the nation incorporate, betrayed, agonizing, but never despairing. French patriotism is very holy and compatible with the highest demands of the Catholic religion; so much so that in 1456 the nation will compel the rehabilitation of the saintly virgin's memory, and in 1869 the cause of her canonization will be introduced at Rome, with this effect, that in 1894 Leo XIII will sign the decree that embodies the favorable conclusions of Cardinal Parocchi, "Relator" of this famous initiatory process, with whom were associated the Bishop of Orléans, where the primary inquest was held (1874-1888), and Father Captier, the present Superior-General of Saint Sulpice. The decree is given in a French translation (pp. 193-200). These valuable little volumes of "Les Saints" ought to be in the library of every school, academy, and college; they contain something modern and fresh in hagiology.

T. J. S.

Striefzüge durch die Biblische Flora, von Lepold Fonck, S. J.
Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900; 8vo., pp. xiii — 167.

During the last two centuries considerable attention has been given to the vegetation of the Holy Land, and many treatises have been written upon it; the greater proportion of them by authors who were at once critical biblical students and men of some attainments in systematic botany. The author of this recent treatise cites no fewer than forty-two titles of works which deal either directly and specifically, or else incidentally but effectually, with the subject of Biblical Botany.

A number of such works have been written by men who had little or no field knowledge of Palestinian plant life, but who had their information from the writings and plant descriptions of various oriental travelers, supplemented by herbarian collections, and by published figures of vegetable denizens of the eastern deserts, plains and mountains.

The present writer is no mere compiler. The title of the work, *Excursions in Biblical Botany*, as it may be rather freely but inaccurately translated, implies that he is a field student as well as a worker in herbarium and library. And the pages which he has written exhale the freshness of the plant world as it exists out-of-doors. He has seen and studied, and lucidly describes his subjects as they appear in their native haunts. Such work, when well done, gives the reader a vivid insight into this fascinating realm of nature.

It is not a systematic Flora of Palestine which the author has given us; nor is there so much as a formal catalogue of the plants of the country. And yet the work is decidedly more than a series of dissertations upon the plants mentioned in Holy Scripture. The reader is taught, for example, that certain plants now common and everywhere conspicuous as growing wild through the Holy Land, such as the prickly pear and some of its allies, are natives of America, and made their appearance as bold and striking figures in the Palestinian landscape, within the last three centuries.

The matter of the volume is arranged according to the ecologic principle; an arrangement which, though not scientific, is very convenient for a work of popular botany, such as this in a measure must be considered. Moreover, it is in perfect harmony with the idea of an excursive study of the vegetation of a country.

In the first chapter the reader is introduced to the plant denizens of the seaboard; such as the Date Palm, Tamarisk, Ivy, and Prickly Pear; the sand beach flowers, salt marsh herbs, the Papyrus and other aquatics.

The second chapter treats of the very different growths which clothe the mountain districts; the Oak, Olive, Mulberry, the Ceratonia or St. John's Bread, the Cedar, Fir, and other trees, with the various shrubs and flowering plants that form the mountain woodland undergrowth.

In the third are discussed the thorny and thistly plants of the more elevated and half desert plains, among which are a number of classic medicinal plants. The fourth excursion leads through field and meadow of the more fertile districts of the Holy Land, and treats of the various fruit trees, the vines, the garden plants, edible and medicinal, such as have been under cultivation there from ancient times, together with those of modern introduction. And the concluding chapter, or excursion, treats of the peculiar plant products of the Dead Sea region; the Apple of Sodom, Colocynt, Gourd, Balm of Gilead, Rose of Jericho, and other plants celebrated in ancient lore, both legendary and sacred.

The whole treatise is one which will not fail to obtain recognition as one of the instructive and readable among the many books on Biblical Botany, and will hold permanently, we think, a place among the best of them.

E. L. G.

St. Peter in Rome and His Tomb on the Vatican Hill, by Arthur Stapylton Barnes, M. A. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co (Benziger, New York), 1900, large 8°, pp. 395.

Since the Reformer Ulrich Velen, early in the sixteenth century, first denied the presence of St. Peter at Rome, the controversy has gone

through numerous phases. For the Catholics it was a "dogmatic fact; for the Protestants a short path to the overthrow of all papal pretensions as being built upon the sandy basis of a lie or a myth. In the "Dissertationes Selectae" of Fr. de Smedt, chief of the Bollandists, may be found a brief summary of the original texts and the lines of argument by which the Catholic historians have always vindicated successfully this original position. How many earnest and honest critics outside of the Church they have convinced may be seen in Gebhardt and Harnack's commentary on the first epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians. Father Barnes enumerates in the first chapter of his work a series of the most erudite Anglican writers who have held the same correct views—notably Whiston, no slight critic, who says that "the thing is so clear in Christian antiquity that it is a shame for any Protestant to confess that a Protestant ever denied it." Of one of the arguments usually advanced by Catholics the "Speaker's Commentary" (Barnes, p. 5), says that there is "no alternative but to accept the old unvarying testimony of the fathers, who must have known the sense in which the statement was understood throughout Asia Minor, that St. Peter here (I Peter, V. 13) designates Rome by the title of 'Babylon.'" Fr. Barnes might have added the just and judicious words of one of the greatest of Anglican divines, Dr. Hort, in his "Judaistic Christianity" (1896), and of Sanday and Headlam (Romans, 1895).

Of late years the monumental evidences have been brought forward in greater number. So eminent a scholar as Lanciani, the best known of the topographers of classical Rome, does not hesitate to say that "for the archæologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence." ("Pagan and Christian Rome," p. 125.)

But the work of Father Barnes is not about St. Peter *at* Rome, rather about St. Peter *in* Rome. It is a full account, not of all the Roman monuments connected with the Head of the Apostles, but of his tomb *in Vaticano*, from the moment of his burial down to the rebuilding of St. Peter's,—in other words a history of that Church, inasmuch as it is the shrine of the Apostle's relics. It is a long story—the "memoria" of Anacletus, the attempted ravishment of the body by the "brethren out of the Orient," the "tropea" of Gaius, the "Platonía" yet visible at San Sebastiano and lately illustrated by Mgr. de Waal, the Constantinian basilica and its unequaled vicissitudes of one thousand years (325-1400). In the rebuilding of that mighty monument of mediæval faith—sole great ecclesiastical relic that linked all time from Nero to the Hapsburgs—several curious and significant incidents happened in connection with the last resting place of the Fisherman.

They are related by Father Barnes in language that is clear without being too technical. One may say that in the book for the first time appears a complete and readable English account of the religious significance of St. Peter's. Many illustrations and full-page plates accompany the text. Others occur to us as worthy of a place, but where so much is offered it is boorish to look for more. The work of Father Barnes might fairly claim a place not alone in the library of every priest, but of every Catholic layman who loves the unity of the Church, and knows that for eighteen centuries, through good report and evil report, that unity has been secured by adherence to the Rock of Peter. How naturally the words of Cicero (*De Divinat*, I, 40) suggest themselves as we turn the handsome pages of this work: *Quis est enim quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas!*"

T. J. S.

Bilder aus der Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst und Liturgie in Italien, von Stephen Beissel, S. J. Mit 200 Abbildungen. Herder, St. Louis, 1899. 8°, pp 328.

Father Beissel sustains his reputation for popular presentation of archæological themes by the eight charming chapters in which he illustrates from the early Christian monuments of Italy the principal elements of the liturgy of our Christian forefathers. Thus, the cemeteries with their mysterious corridors and later their sculptured sarcophagi; the basilicas from their earliest origin to the yet extant and noble specimens at Rome and Ravenna; the stadia and processes of the Christian art of painting, especially "al fresco;" the monumental art of mosaic; the details of church furniture and altar plate; the use of decorated tapestries, and embroidered hangings. In the seventh chapter we are treated to a brief discussion of the little baptismal chapels that the ancient Christians loved to build beneath the shadow of their more imposing houses of assembly. In the eighth the author, with much skill and picturesqueness, describes a great Pontifical Mass in the eighth century—the previous pages have made the reader familiar with the material objects that come into use during this grandiose ceremony. It is a fresh and vivid commentary on the "Ordines Romani" of Mabillon, and is alone worth the book. I cannot see that there is anything of importance added to the materials of Dr. Kraus in his monumental "Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst" (Berlin, 1897). Father Beissel covers pretty well the same ground; but he is always eloquent and instructive in his exposition. This work is a little marvel of condensation without sacrifice of essentials.

T. J. S.

Die Englischen Martyrer unter Heinrich VIII und Elizabeth (1525-1583) Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 16 Jahrhunderts, von Joseph Spillmann, S. J. Herder, St. Louis, 1900, 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 262, 439.

By papal decrees of 1886 and 1895 sixty three Englishmen, victims of the hate and the injustice of Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth, were declared to have suffered death for the sake of the Catholic religion, deserving therefor the veneration of all Catholics. It is the history of their steadfastness that Father Spillmann relates in these two very eloquent and moving volumes. Previous to their "beatification," the story of their sufferings had been related by Dodd in his history of the Catholic Church in England; by Bishop Challoner in his "Memoirs of Missionary Priests, etc.," 1741-42; by Canon Flanagan; in Brother Foley's Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus; in the London Oratorians' "Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws," in the "State Papers," "State Trials," and in several contemporary or later biographies, *e. g.*, of Moore, Fisher, and Campion. Within this decade Fathers Morris, Bridgett, Knox, Gasquet, Pallen and others have added both materials and criticisms by writings of a high standard. Apropos of their fine works we may reprint the just remarks of Augustine Birrell (*Res Judicatae*, New York, 1897, p. 289): "It is pleasant to notice that annually the historian's task is being made easier. Books are being published, and old manuscripts edited and printed, which will greatly assist the good man (the future historian) and enable him to write his book by his own fireside. The Catholics have been very active of late years. They have shaken off their shyness and reserve, and however reluctant they may be to allow their creeds to be overhauled, and their rights curtailed by strangers, they have at least come with their histories in their hands and invited criticism. The labours of Father Morris of the Society of Jesus, and of the late Father Knox of the London Oratory, greatly lighten and adorn the path of the student, who loves to be told what happened long ago, not in order that he may know how to cast his vote at the next election, but simply because it so happened, and for no other reason whatsoever."

The pages of Fr. Spillman recall the purple and the gold manuscripts of the Middle Ages—the gold of the martyrs' confessed faith that mingles with the purple tide of his blood. How strange that those deep and evil passions, which were not loosened in the Anglo-Saxon soul when Roman and Irish monks solicited his conversion, should roll in so forbidding a flood when it was a question of rooting out that religion after one thousand years of beneficence! Is not this the reason of it: the people of England had fallen politically under a worse than Ottoman despotism?

In vain did the poor leaderless masses start "pilgrimages of grace," and the like. The evil and blightful doctrines that found their expression in the transfigured feudalism of Shakspeare's Richard II. were now putting forth their sure fruits. Churchmen and statesmen had fed them. "Der gemeine Mann" no longer counted except as a taxable quantity.

"Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king;
The breath of wordly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord." (Richard II, III, 2.)

This baneful root of Norman despotism, imported by the too-masterful Conqueror, and foreign to the genuine concept of Christian monarchy, had grown, unchecked, in the fifteenth century among a people deceived by their temporal prosperity; the great churchmen like St. Thomas à Becket, Grosseteste, and Stephen Langton, had ceased to multiply under royal pressure on the canonical electors, and for other reasons; the power of fearless mediæval Rome, before which the contemporary Henrys, Philips, and Johns were wont to quake, was overlaid with wordly and unworthy accretions that were not, but seemed to be, of its essence. Never were the Christian barriers of Western tyranny laid so low as in the sixteenth century, that more than Neronian century of unchecked absolutism. If any one would note the distance travelled since the death of that great man, Pope Gregory VII, let him read Gosselin's "Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages," or Hergenroether's "Church and State." We know now that the English people never abandoned deliberately the Catholic faith of the Roman Church; they were robbed of it. But the passion of liberty had grown dull in the hearts of the people for excess of life's good things, and the comforts of earth had tempted too successfully a large portion of the clergy. A pagan philosophy of life, the Renaissance philosophy of refined sensual enjoyment, ever the fruitful mother of tyranny, had been for a century eating its way into the schools and homes of England, largely, perhaps, through that Italian travel so fiercely condemned by Roger Ascham in his "Schoolmaster." Men loved pleasure and ease, the goods of the present life that never dawned so temptingly as in the reign of the eighth Henry. The high and moulding ideal faith that once led knight and peasant to die in the Orient,

"For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks and Saracens,"

was now strangely dull and tamed. A philosophy of gold, with all that it meant, was turning the heads and hearts of the multitudes of Europe.

Nowhere more surely than in England, where it then mounted the throne that it has never since quitted. Religion was no longer the "summum bonum", no longer worth dying for. Only, as an immortal protest, some noble few came forth and laid down their heads upon the block that record might be made in heaven of the continuity of virtue, faith, and courage; of the love of the kingdom celestial and the contempt of this valley of tears. As the ages go by, the identity of the Acts of the first Christian martyrs and those of the English martyrs will grow ever clearer, and we shall one day scarcely know whether we are listening to Fisher and Moore before their judges or to Justin before Rusticus. In both cases the summit of tyranny had been reached, the blending of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal; there could be but a minim distinction between the divine "Genius" of Caligula and that "State Headship" of the Church which evil Thomas Cromwell fixed in the still more evil brain of the most monstrous man who ever weighed down an ancient throne and a Christian people. May they never again be confounded; for, in the words of Trajan to Pliny, "*pessimi exempli et non nostri temporis est.*"

T. J. S.

Les Esclaves Chrétiens, depuis les premiers temps de l'Eglise jusqu'à la fin de la domination romaine en Occident, par Paul Allard, 3d edition: Paris. Lecoffre, 1900, 8vo, pp. 494.

This new edition of a little classic in early Christian literature is very welcome. In three books—Roman Slavery, Christian Equality, Christian Liberty—M. Allard condenses, with his known skill, a world of accurate erudition, taken at first hand in the remote and scattered sources where it lies hidden from the ordinary student. What were the conditions of Roman master and Roman slave when Christ came? Did such conditions differ in the cities and on the great estates? How did the first Christians treat the slaves who joined them? Were they martyrs in their turn, or even apostles? Did the Church recognize their marriages? Did she emancipate them? What was her influence through the Christian slave on the philosophy of labor? Under what circumstances did slavery gradually disappear after the triumph of Christianity? These are all questions of profound interest for the student of social origins, conditions, and institutions. Their discussion to-day brings us back to the solid beams on which Christianity lies, and which may not be trifled with, at peril of its yet unbroken influence over the poor and lowly, from whose ranks it has ever been recruited, and whose instinctive devotion has more than once preserved for it that internal liberty without which it must perish. The reader who desires to follow the story of slavery in the Christian church will do well to read another work of

M. Allard: "Esclaves, Serfs et Mainmortables," (Paris, 1886); also the article of Lallier in the *Correspondant* (t. xxx, 1852), on the "Suppression de l'Esclavage par le Christianisme," and the "Lectures on Slavery and Serfdom in Europe," by Dr. Brownlow, Bishop of Clifton (London, 1892). An admirable summary of the general history of the Empire from the Christian viewpoint is to be found in M. Allard's late work on "Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain." (Lecoffre, Paris, 1900.)

T. J. S.

Seneca—Album: Weltfrohes and Weltfreies aus Seneca's philosophischen Schriften (with an appendix on Seneca and the Christian Religion), von B. A. Betzinger. Herder, St. Louis, 1899. 8°. Pp. 224.

Truly a little vade-mecum for every Christian thinker! Out of the philosophical writings of Seneca Dr. Betzinger has gathered several chapters of "thoughts" that represent the highest and purest views of the great Stoic on the world and life. Joy and freedom, healthy, unalloyed, personal,—the joy of a clear-seeing mind and an unselfish heart, freedom from the multitudinous artificial, the common and the degrading,—such is the keynote of the wonderful teaching of the master who once formed a Nero and yet consoles a multitude of chosen disciples. Under the allegory of a day's journey our author disposes the "life-wisdom" of Seneca—he becomes our guide along the broad and dusty road of time and life, up the toilsome ascent, amid the obstacles of nature and self. Then come the cool and healing zephyrs of the hilltops and the reposeful calm of earned peace. Here follow noble apothegms on the love of our kind and the common weal, as well as glimpses of another world half seen through the rent and wavering veil of time and life. Footnotes accompany the German text, referring to the parallels that the New Testament offers to the thoughts of Seneca, parallels so striking that they have persuaded Bishop Lightfoot to believe in the personal acquaintance of Seneca with the substance of the Gospel preaching. The very keynote of the Pauline preaching—our Christgiven internal liberty issuing in a joy that permeates and transfigures the whole soul—"Gaudete, iterum dico—gaudete" is the basic thought of the "pédagogie intime" that Seneca exercises in his epistles and elsewhere. "Hoc ante omnia fac, mi Lucili: discis gaudere" (Ep. 23, 3). We may say of these parallelisms what Seneca himself said of the life-truths current among the ancients: "Ingens eorum turba est passim jacentium; sumenda erunt, non colligenda" (Ep. 33, 3). They caused Tertullian to cry out, "Seneca saepe noster," and to utter the profound thought that all such sayings were "testimonia animae naturaliter Christianae." In the abnor-

mal loosening of inherited principles and views of life that marks our time men may well harken back to a similar epoch when the republic verged into the empire of Rome; when an enormous flood of vice, wrong, and corruption, settled upon humanity and left overtopping its black waves only a few such summities as Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius. In them lay the germ of hope for the restoration of the Gentile world—"sanabiles fecit nationes;" from that class came Clemens and Lucina and Pomponia Graecina and Manius Acilius Glabrio. These Stoics are our Christian "primitifs," as their philosophy is the true bridge between the "praxis" of the Orient and the "contemplatio" of the Greeks. It would be a service to all Christian youth, and even to those who have crossed the meridian of life, if this little work were given an English dress and adapted to the needs of our society.

T. J. S.

The Gods of Old and the Story that they tell, by Rev. James A. Fitz Simon and Vincent A. Fitz Simon, M. D., London; T. Fisher Unwin, 1899, 8° pp. 455.

This is another ingenious and learned attempt to prove that the names of the Greco-Roman divinities are really but the nomenclature of such science as the ancients possessed, only "the word-picture of a condensed knowledge that has immediate reference to the construction of the universe, of earth and to the things of earth." Thus, Hesiod and Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace and the whole corps of writers who have handed down the old mythology, were really writing about geology and astronomy, about matter, force, life, mind, and all their manifestations! The authors of this thesis prove the antiquity of their contention by citations from the Orphic Hymns and from Seneca,—those allegorizers and minimizers of ancient theology. They might have added that the thesis has been brilliantly sustained by Lord Bacon in his "Wisdom of the Ancients." In the preface to that work he says: "Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is, that concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables. . . . The like indeed has been attempted by others; but to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous labors have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy and grace of the thing, whilst, being unskilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of commonplace, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real import, genuine interpretations and full depth." It is this greater "skill in nature" that adds a certain value to the work before us. But why expend time and thought on the spinning of such delicate webs? If there were anything to it, it was an esoteric knowledge, confined to

the adepts of the "mysteries." Politically and socially the old mythology always passed for its face value—Cyprian, Eusebius, Arnobius, Augustine, scarcely mention the Plutarchian allegorizings,—the mass of mankind clung to the most realistic orthodoxy of paganism as against an all-spiritualizing Christianity.

T. J. S.

Serfs et Vilains au Moyen Age, par Henri Doniol. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. 299.

M. Doniol partially reprints in this work an essay on the "*Histoire des classes rurales*" published in 1857, confident that its premises and conclusions need little modification. In close condensed chapters he follows the gradual expansion of the mediæval working man through all the phases of slavery, "*colonatus*" servage and "*vilenage*" until he emerges in the fifteenth century a proprietary peasant. Chiefly on the soil of France does he follow out this evolution, and particularly during the flourishing centuries of feudalism when the seigneurial principles bore hardest on the laborer. The old fendal law, the "*coutumiers*," Beaumanoir, the labors of Guérard, the "*Établissement*" and other texts furnish the erudition which M. Doniol enlightens with critical good sense. He brings out clearly the distinction between the *fief* and the *fisc*,—the former a gage of security to the laborer, the latter the source of all his just complaints, because it then made him over to his immediate master as to the only public authority. Hence a personal "Justice," variable, irresponsible, immediate, inevitable, wanton, incapable of reform, necessarily selfish and narrow. It took all the great transforming elements in mediæval society to break this cage of the laborer's activity. War, the king, luxury, the crusades, debt, broke the nobles little by little,—not, however, before both in England and France they had committed those endless violences against the laboring peasant that Froissart describes. But the peasant had a "*patiente et valeureuse ambition du mieux*;" his human endurance was beyond belief. Neither the tentative justice of the high Middle Ages nor the gradual concessions saved the mass of the people. It was some old innate, indestructible, almost aboriginal Keltic virtue of manhood and independence. As to the thousands of mediæval "*Seigneurs*" who divided the public authority in the time of its most minute decentralization, M. Doniol renders the following hard judgment: "They caused the laboring man so many evils that even within recent times his condition seemed less a juridical status fixed by laws and decision than a series of compromises between the liberty, peace, and recompense indispensable for the peasant's

personal existence (on which hung the existence of society) and the excessive demands, extortions, even ravages, of his spendthrift masters, ever driven by their increasing needs to the verge of spoliation" (p. 292).

T. J. S.

Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite, publiée d'après les MSS. par H. François Delaborde. Paris: Picard, 1899; pp. xxxii—166.

Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant en français et en latin, textes et étude critique publiés par John E. Matzke (Leland Stanford Junior University) avec une préface historique par Ch. Bémont. Paris: Picard, 1899; 8°, pp. liv — 33.

We have here two volumes of the valuable "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire," composed of editions of annals, chronicles, treaties, charters, ordinances, biographies and other documents important in throwing light on the history of particular epochs and great institutions.

1. The Life of Saint Louis is composed of two parts: In the first we are given, not a continuous biography of the holy king, but an account of his virtues and pious habits, to each of which a chapter is consecrated; the second part consists of a collection of his miracles, based on the investigation in connection with his canonization. In his interesting preface on this work, the MSS., the sources and editions, the editor shows that the name of the author was Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, who says of himself (p. 5), "j'avoie esté confesseur par xvij ans (1277-1295) de noble dame de bone memoire ma dame Marguerite, reine de France, jadis femme du benoiet Saint Loys," and afterwards confessor of her daughter Blanche, at whose request and on receipt of the copy of the inquiry of canonization he undertook, from his own recollections and those of the royal family, to relate the life and miracles of his saintly king. The original text which William wrote in Latin has entirely disappeared and has come down to us in this French translation, which is probably not the work of William himself. We regret that only one of the two parts, the first containing the life of Louis IX, is contained in the present edition, for the other is infinitely precious to those interested in the private life and manners of the 13th century. Although the life of Saint Louis by William lacks the charm and vivacity (see what he says, p. 6) of that by Joinville (who is mentioned among the witnesses concerning the canonization: Monseigneur Jehan, [*seigneur de*] Joinville, chevalier, du dyocese de Chaalons, homme d'avisé aage et mout riche, eneschal de Champagne, de l'ans ou environ' p. 8) with which it should

be compared, it is none the less extremely rich for the life, pious practices, and personality of the king, and to quote the words of the editor, p. xxv, "on ne voit donc pas qu'il y ait lieu de déplorer, autant qu'on l'a fait jusqu'ici, la perte des documents ayant servi à la canonisation de saint Louis, puisque le livre de Guillaume de Saint-Pathus en a conservé toute la substance."

2. This redaction of the laws of William the Conqueror forms part of a series of works intended to make known to the new rulers of England the ancient English law. It should be studied side by side with similar texts of the same time, which inform us of the law and legal procedure such as they were during the last years of the Anglo-Saxon régime. Professor Matzke, in his critical introduction on the MSS. and editions, gives a series of convincing proofs (p. xxx et sq.), historical, textual and linguistic, in regard to the relation of the Latin and French versions, which are given in parallel columns, and shows definitely that the Latin is a translation of a version now lost and that the original form of the laws attributed to William the Conqueror is many years posterior to his death and should be placed somewhere between 1150 and 1170.

In this collection of laws we can easily distinguish three parts: the first deals with attacks against the *pais a seinte iglise*, the *pais le rei* and of the *humes de sa baillie*, robbery, homicide, assault, peter-pence, witnesses at a trial, royal roads and their policing, etc.; the second regulates the condition of workmen and serfs, and of children whose father dies intestate, etc.; the last treats of judges and judgments, hospitality to be given to strangers, pursuit of thieves, etc. The work is valuable not only for the history of English law and in the study of old French, of which it is an important early monument, but also, from the large number of Anglo-Saxon words it contains, for the study of old English.

J. J. D.

Correspondance de Le Coz, Évêque constitutionnel d'Ille-et-Vilaine, par le P. Roussel, de l'Oratoire. Paris: Picard, 1900, 8°, pp. 430.

Every year increases the historical materials for a final judgment on that most wonderful decade of human history with which the eighteenth century came to an end. The story of the ecclesiastical vicissitudes was soon told in works like those of Barrel, Carron, Artaud; the memoirs of Consalvi, Caprara, Pacca, de Pradt; the collections of Roskovány, and countless private memoirs and correspondences rounded out the incredible story of the revolutionary storms. Since then we have had the publications of Thierry, d'Haussonville and Boulay de la Meurthe.

The correspondence of Grégoire has been given to the public by Gazier (1890). So, too, that of Cardinal Maury (1891). We have the

life of M. Emery, by Méric (1885), while the great works of Taine and Albert Sorel contain, one would think, the last words on those days of blood and ruin. Yet here is the seventeenth voluminous work from the Paris "*Société d'Histoire Contemporaine*"—the last in a very remarkable collection of letters, memoirs, journals, etc., that throw fresh light on those occurrences of the Revolution that chiefly concern the Church. Claude Le Coz (1740–1815) was constitutional bishop of Ille-et-Vilaine (with residence at Rennes in Brittany) from 1791 to 1802, in which year he was nominated by Napoleon to the archiepiscopal see of Besançon, where he died in 1815, his episcopal life being about equally divided between a state of schism and canonical union with the head of the Church. This volume contains the correspondence of the first portion of his episcopate, chiefly his letters to Grégoire, at Blois first and later at Paris. They show an honest and upright heart, secretly tired of the schism and desirous of returning to the pontifical unity. Though he presided over the two national councils (1797, 1801) his letters show that they were held against his wish and that he considered it better to come to some understanding with Rome. He is Gallican to the backbone, though very reverential to the See of Rome. His letters to Mgr. Spina and to Cardinal Caprara on the eve of the Concordat are of importance for determining the attitude of the ten constitutional bishops whom Napoleon, despite the wishes of Pius VI., placed on the list of the new episcopate. The story of the Vendée rebellion is lit up by some lurid flames from these letters; they show the reverse of a terrible struggle where our sympathies are usually with the loyal Bretons. Of Le Coz as archbishop of Besançon the editor says that "*au milieu des circonstances les plus délicates il fit preuve de rares aptitudes*" (cf. "*Revue des Questions Historiques*" 1892, pp. 169–207, and 1888, pp. 507–539). Whatever judgment we pass upon his acceptance of the civil constitution of the clergy and his schismatical attitude, one must say that he defended bravely the celibacy and dignity of the clergy, saved the lives of more than one "insermenté," and braved for these things the rage of Carrier and Robespierre. Had the latter not fallen beneath the guillotine while Le Coz lay in the dungeon of Mont St. Michel, the bishop would have been sacrificed as other constitutional bishops were. His letters denote a cultivated mind and a great fund of native Breton shrewdness and tenacity. The wretched Gobel represents one extreme of the "constitutionnels" or "assermentés,"* Le Coz the other. Let us hope that the correspondence of his years in Besançon will yet see the light; he seems to have had much to do in the long struggle between Pius VII and the victor of Marengo.

T. J. S.

Alliteration in Italian, by Robert Longley Taylor. New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company. 1900. xv+151 pp.

Dr. Taylor, of Yale University, is to be congratulated on his success in fulfilling the purpose, of his dissertation, which the preface tells us are "to present a more stable terminology and definition of alliteration in general. It pays more attention than has been done before to alliteration in the popular language of the Italians," and examines "the use of the figure of speech in certain literary groups not yet investigated."

To begin with, certain expressions which, though alliterative, have received names because of certain peculiarities other than alliteration are ruled out of this discussion: (1) *figura etymologica*; (2) *replicacio* (the repetition of the same word or of the same root); (3) *geminatio* (the repetition of a word juxtaposed), and (4) the various kinds of *jeux de mots*, e. g. (a) *tautogramme verses*; (b) *asticcio* (the employment in the interior of a line of a word which is equivocal with the end of the line; (c) *bisticcio* (the assemblage of two expressions which differ only by a vowel or two).

Alliteration Dr. Taylor divides into two classes, termed loose and strict. By strict alliteration is meant "the binding or contrasting by means of the same initial sound, of similar parts of speech syntactically coördinated." This is the only kind of alliteration possible of investigation. On the other hand "the binding or contrasting by means of the same sound wherever placed, of dissimilar parts of speech syntactically without coördination," belongs to the other class which is called loose alliteration (p. 9). From this follows the definition: "As to form, strict alliteration in Italian is the repetition of a sound or sounds at the beginning of coördinated similar parts of speech and it reaches its highest development when such sound or sounds fall at the beginning of the tonic syllable." As to their meaning, the separate terms of alliterating groups may be synonymous, antithetic or synthetic, and alliteration is used for rhetorical or mnemonic purposes or for the sake of perspicuity. Theoretically there are three kinds of alliteration, (I) necessary or unavoidable alliteration, necessitated by the national idiom or metrical form; (II) unnecessary or avoidable alliteration, (a) willed, (b) unwilled, mechanical or non-teleological. These may be reduced to (I) and (II), since the investigator recognizes the impossibility of deciding between (a) and (b), in other words, of determining the poet's intention to alliterate, and suggests the investigation of the MSS. in order to discover the erasure of non-alliterating formulas and their replacement by alliterating ones. Fortunately we have the material for such an examination in the works of at least one poet in the critical edition of Petrarch's *Rime* by Mestica. Dr. Taylor has himself given an interesting comparative study

of the use made of alliteration in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* and in the *rifacimento* of the same by Francesco Berni "in which every change that Berni made as well as every word which he left untouched is the result of deliberation." The comparison shows the "Berni holds alliteration as an art means in high esteem." Some interesting problems in connection with this phase of the subject are referred to the psychological laboratory, as "How much predisposition to alliterate exists in the average of men? Does such predisposition vary with different mental or physical conditions? What is the relative ease with which the mind alliterates?" Chapter III contains an excellent list of stock alliterative phrases directly descended from Latin and of alliterative expressions in the popular speech. By way of introduction to the investigation of the use of alliteration in the artistic poets is given a list of examples of strict alliteration in the poetry of the ultramontanes, and, contrary to expectation, "an investigation of the Italian troubadours as to their use of alliteration, either strict or loose, shows that the thirteenth century was not especially favorable to alliteration; indeed there is no period of Italian literature where there is less alliteration" (p. 55). One of the most important parts of the work (pp. 57-74) is the author's contradiction of Kriete's statement (*Die Alliteration in der italienischen Sprache*) that in the *Divine Comedy* there are "nur ungefähr ein Dutzend alliterierende Verbindungen," but Dr. Taylor adduces an alphabetical list of not less than 104 cases of strict alliteration in Dante's works, frequent instances of *geminacio* and a few of *figura etymologica*. Worthy of observation is the decided decline in favor of this figure of speech in Italian poetry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A chart is given which shows graphically that of the twenty-seven prominent poets examined, ranging from Dante to Carducci and Alcardi, Petrarca is most prominent in his liking for the figure, with one instance in 71 lines and Boccaccio least so with only one instance in 621 lines. The average is .78 per cent. and it is quite singular that Dante stands just at this mark with one instance in 128 lines.

According to the definition of alliteration quoted above, the pairs, *infanti* : *femmine* (65); *forza* : *sofisma* (ib.); *sermone* : *mente* (66), *sospiri* ; *pianti* (67); *veloci* : *lente* (70); *aperta* : *piana* (ib.); *puro* : *disposto* (ib.); *dispettoso* : *torto* (71); *udire* : *dir* (72); *aperse* : *punse* (73); *circa* : *vicino* (74); *carta* : *incostro* (76); *intempestivo* : *tardi* (ib.); would not be cases of strict alliteration, as they doubtless are, and are catalogued as such. To bring them under this heading it is suggested, with much diffidence, that the definition be amended to read somewhat in this wise: As to form strict alliteration in Italian is the repetition of a sound or sounds at the beginning of coördinated similar parts of speech (e. g., *colli*:

campagna), or at the beginning of the tonic syllable (e. g., *infanti*: *femmine*), and it reaches its highest development when the alliterating syllables are at the same time tonic and initial (e. g., *ferma*: *fissa*. In

Provato ho assai, Madonna, di ciauxire

Vostra biltade e lo *piacer piacente* (p. 1), and

Ahi quanto, a dir qual era, è cosa dura,

Questa *selva selvaggia* ed aspra e forte (p. 62),

are not the italicized groups instances of *replicacio* rather than of *figura etymologica*, since they are not in any of the constructions of the latter mentioned on page 1, but fulfill all the conditions of the former as defined on page 2, while in

E *vinta vince* con sua beninanza (p. 60),

vinta: *vince*, in which the nominative case is cognated with the verb, is an instance of *figura etymologica*.

The example of strict alliteration in popular speech (p. 43)

Casa mia, casa mia, bella o brutta

Che tu sia, tu mi sembri una badia

is interesting because of the existence of another version, not less common,

Casa mia, casa mia, che picina

Che tu sia, tu mi sembri una badia,

in which there is no play of alliteration. It is possible that the latter version is the original one and that given in the text a case of willed alliteration.

Dr. Taylor's work is unquestionably a valuable contribution to the storehouse of Romance science. He has touched upon all the phases of the subject of "Alliteration in Italian" which would occur to the investigator; the definitions, some of which are quoted above, are admirable, clear cut, terse and yet comprehensive; the lists of examples well arranged and very copious, and the printer's errors (*Di Lollis* for *De Lollis*, p. ix, and *dure* for *dura*, p. 15; p. xv, l. 31, *Morganti* for *Morgante*; ib. l. 31, *Pilippo* for *Filippo*; ib. l. 27, *Macchianelli* for *Macchiavelli*) which have crept in are surprisingly few considering the lexicographic nature of the work.

J. J. D.

The Troubadours at Home, by Justin H. Smith. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1899. 2 vols., xxx + 493 and 496 pp. 8vo.

"To bookish folk like us what could be more interesting than the genesis of a literature? What shall be said when it is a modern literature, the most cultivated literature of its age, the literature not of a nation, but of a civilization; in short, the literature of Europe and America?"

It is a far cry from the XIIIth to the XXth century, but it is not so much a difference of seven hundred years which makes the feelings of the troubadours so foreign to our own times as it is that we have almost lost sight of those articles which made up the *Credo* of the Middle Ages, the laws of chivalry, "to believe, obey and protect the Church, to love one's country, to defend the weak of every sort, to be brave, true, faithful and liberal, and always to stand for the right." These were the principles upheld by the troubadours, and an infusion of this romantic or chivalrous spirit into our realistic age of egotism and woman's rights is devoutly to be wished. Mr. Smith's book tells us what are the sources of our knowledge of the world of the troubadours, their position in society, their life, lives and personalities, their ideas and works, the origin, development, decline, death and influence of their poetry, their music and technique. We are told that the purpose of the work is to place this literature before the reader somewhat as it originally appeared, and to make the troubadours stand out as living persons in their proper environment, singing their songs as they made them—only in another language. It is precisely from this point of view that the work is most valuable. It will not, of course, replace the study of the language of the troubadours and of their works in their original dress, but it offers within convenient compass a mass of material, not always well arranged to be sure, but setting us at ease with the assurance that the author has based his account on the results of the investigations of the masters of *romanita*, to whom he is always careful to refer the reader for his authority, volume and page. It is only occasionally, when Mr. Smith draws his own conclusions, reads into the poets or advances opinions of his own, that our equanimity, produced by the work as a whole, is ruffled. But what a relief it is, after the utterly unreliable English books on the subject, to find a work of this kind which will, doubtless, remain for a long time the best to be had in English, not only for him whose idea of a troubadour extends no farther than an acquaintance with Verdi's melodious opera, but also for the specialist, in this at least, that he will enjoy the fresh and racy narrative and description, and this new way of looking upon an old theme. The plan of the work reminds us somewhat of that which Becker employed with such success in his *Charicles* and *Gallus* on the private life of the Greeks and the Romans. It is an account of a journey during 1895 and 1898 through the Midi, over the ground trod by the troubadours. Some of the author's experiences in his quest of the picturesque and the historic were quite amusing and are entertainingly told, as his arrest at Pamiers, and examination before the *commissaire*, such a character as we might meet with in *La Comédie Humaine*.

It is hardly to be expected that in a work covering so vast a field a few inaccuracies, misstatements and misconceptions should not have crept in. With all due deference to the Professor of Modern History in Dartmouth, we beg leave to differ in regard to much of Chapters XXII, XXIII and XXIV. We fear that a love for antithesis, epigram and piquancy has led Professor Smith to say things which he does not intend to be taken literally, but merely as exaggerations for the sake of effect. It is disappointing after reading a page of brilliant description to be referred to a note which tells us that the incident related is purely imaginary and that we know nothing of so and so's personal appearance, or that "Brunenc's bay stallion is merely a guess." It may be that we are so lacking in imagination as to fail to grasp the full content of such passages as "Her (the Countess of Dia's) voice had the color of Alban wine, with overtones like the gleam of light in the still, velvety depths of the goblet; and when she smiled, it was as if she drew from the harp a slow deep chord in the mode of *Æolia*" (I, 100), or of the remarkable description of the still more remarkable landscape (I, 397), in which Mr. Smith outsymbolizes the symbolists; the passage deserves more than a second reading. It is interesting to know, however, that Peire Vidals must have been a tenor, for we are told that his high B still haunts the crannies of the ruined castle of Saissac. The book is full of color, incisive, fresh and cool, and not once dull; clever and smart sayings flash out on every page; but above all Mr. Smith's skill as a versifier is nothing short of marvellous when we consider the difficulties to be overcome, that, in addition to preserving the thought and spirit of the original, its metrical form, even to the rime-sequence, is religiously followed. Among the best specimens of his art may be picked out his rendition of Raimbautz de Vaqueiras' famous *Carros* (I, 70) and of Aimerics de Peguillan's:

"Si cum l'albres que per sobrecargar
 Franh se mezeis e pert sou fruit e se"—
 "As when a tree too rich a harvest bears."

Chapter VIII may be mentioned as most full of information on the intellectual world of the troubadours, Chapter XXXI, "Egletons: A Day's Journey in the World of the Troubadours," as likely to be the most interesting to the general reader, and in note 12 (II, 453-460) the arguments of M. Gaston Paris against the genuineness of the story of Jaufres Rudels and his "*amor de lonh*," "one of the sweetest and most touching symbols of man's eternal aspiration towards the ideal" (G. Paris), are taken up point by point and combated most adroitly, and, as it seems, conclusively.

The name of the publishers makes it almost unnecessary to say that the two volumes are well bound and printed. There are copious excursions, very often more valuable, being more scholarly, than the body of the work, a map of the south of France and no less than 178 illustrations, taken mostly from photographs. The work is heartily recommended to all who wish to become acquainted with the "Troubadours at Home: Their Lives and Personalities, their Songs and their World."

J. J. D.

Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated ? An Inquiry. By Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O. P. Boston : Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1900.

The impression generally received from historical works dealing with the life and times of Savonarola is that he was a recalcitrant monk whose indignation and zeal against current abuses caused him to forget his obligation of obedience and led him even to the length of disregarding ecclesiastical censures. That he was really banned by the Church is accepted as an established fact, and no incident in his career offers more difficulty to his apologists than the decree of excommunication formulated against the unfortunate friar by Alexander VI. Not a few of his admirers do not hesitate to proclaim his merits and virtues not less than saintly, but an excommunicated saint would be a rare figure in the Church's calendar. Father O'Neil's work, therefore, combating as it does the time-honored recognition of the reality of Savonarola's censure, while it pretends to deal with only one detail of his history, is a very serious vindication of his proper place in Catholic opinion, and is calculated to excite considerable interest.

That the Pope intended to excommunicate the friar, no one can doubt. In 1496 a papal commission was appointed to investigate Savonarola's case, and the members were informed of Alexander's determination to punish him as superstitious, disobedient to the Holy See, schismatic and heretical. Letters sent subsequently from Rome to Florence make it only too clear that Savonarola's actions had been regarded as subversive of the Pontiff's influence and policy, and contain threats of censure which are directed principally against the Dominican. And it is also certain that the Pope actually promulgated a Bull carrying his intention and threats into execution. In a papal letter, published in May, 1497, it is expressly said that since Savonarola has disregarded the excommunication previously threatened against him, "he has incurred it, and under it with damnable pertinacity still lies." If this does not mean that Savonarola was excommunicated, words fail to express the idea. Immediately afterwards Alexander ordered Savonarola's excommunicate state to be proclaimed in the churches of Florence.

The question, "Was Savonarola really excommunicated," would seem to be already answered by both the words and the acts of the Pope. And yet few will turn from a perusal of this present work without at least entertaining most serious doubts as to the validity of Savonarola's excommunication.

The thesis sustained by Father O'Neil, while not a favorite with Church historians, is by no means a new one. Savonarola himself, a canonist of ability, is the author of a long disquisition, in which, with many appeals to learned authorities, he supports his contention that the law had not been fully observed in essentials in his case, and that consequently the sentence was of no effect. His staunch friend, Pico della Mirandola, went more exhaustively into the matter in his "Defence against the unjust excommunication." The well-known attitude of saints like Philip Neri and Catharine of Ricci is hardly compatible with a belief that the object of their esteem had been marked with the final seal of the Church's rejection and reprobation. And this tendency to regard Friar Jerome as more sinned against than sinning, and his condemnation as the result of misleading information given to the authorities in Rome, has found louder voice in more recent times in biographies and in special studies like Father Lottini's "*Fu Veramente Scomunicato Il Savonarola.*"

It is necessary to bear in mind that the question dealt with is a purely legal one, and bears solely on the fact of excommunication. It is not even intended by the author to decide whether or not a valid excommunication could have been inflicted for any of Savonarola's actions. He confines himself strictly to an appreciation of the justice and validity of the censure actually pronounced, and because censures are surrounded with so many legal conditions and technicalities, many of them affecting validity, it is clear that in the present case we must not content ourselves with deciding whether the actions of the censured party merited censure, or even whether the Pope actually declared him excommunicate. The crucial question is, was the law fully observed as regards its requirements for validity? If not, the censure was null and void, and Savonarola was not really excommunicated. Father O'Neil's conclusion is that in Savonarola's case there was no process, no proof, no judgment, such as are demanded by the canons; the necessary citations and warnings were never given; and hence the sentence of excommunication is void. The argumentation is based entirely on documents bearing on the case.

In November, 1496, there appeared a Bull threatening excommunication *latae sententiae* against any one who should impede in any way the incorporation of St. Mark's Convent in the new Tusco-Roman province. The persons against whom this threat was really directed

were the prior of St. Mark's, Savonarola, and his friends, and it was equivalent to a warning. Failure to heed the terms of this letter would certainly entail excommunication. In May of the next year another letter appeared, in which Savonarola was pronounced excommunicate for three reasons,—because he preached pernicious doctrine, to the scandal and loss of souls, because he refused to go to Rome when summoned by the Pope, because he declined to unite St. Mark's Convent with the newly-formed Tusco-Roman congregation. Father O'Neil's statement that there was no Bull of excommunication issued, either of infictive or declaratory sentence, is hardly reconcilable with this last papal edict. But the manner in which the author disposes of the reasons alleged in the Bull leaves nothing to be desired. The charge of pernicious doctrine is dismissed as groundless and a fabrication of the Arrabbiatti. Neither it nor the precept to visit Rome could serve as ground for an anathema, inasmuch as neither had been the object of warning or threat of censure. The third reason is the most serious, and, to prove it insufficient, recourse is had to a comparison between the Bull of excommunication and the letter in which the menace of censure is found. The latter document simply warned all persons not to interfere with or impede the union of convents under pain of excommunication. And yet the Pope says in the Bull of excommunication that he had ordered Savonarola to unite the convent of St. Mark's to the new province, under penalty of excommunication. The difference between the statement actually inserted in the earlier edict and the reference to it in the final one is very material. This discrepancy more than suffices to justify the contention that Friar Jerome was never excommunicated. For the last Bull issued did not inflict excommunication; it merely declared that it had been incurred because a certain command had been given and disobeyed. And since this command was never given and consequently never disobeyed, it is clear that the friar was punished for disobedience of which he had not been guilty. In other words, the excommunication was without cause, and therefore invalid.

This is not the only argument advanced by the author, but is by far the most conclusive. The attitude of the Dominican order, the tendencies of later Popes, the devotion of different saints, the celebration of Mass by the victim on the day of his execution, have at best but a confirmatory force, and in presence of a valid sentence of excommunication would be worthless.

The work is modestly termed an inquiry. The author disavows any pretension to decide the matter finally. And he is careful to emphasize the fact that we are not concerned with an *ex cathedra* papal decision, but with a disciplinary pronouncement in which the Pope relied for

information on persons who longed for the downfall of Savonarola. Especially to be commended are the profuse citations from original documents with which the work is enriched, and the very complete bibliography given in the appendix.

J. T. C.

La Mort Civile des Religieux dans l'ancien Droit Français,
par L'Abbé Charles Landry. Paris: Picard, 1900.

The religious life, founded on the teachings of the Gospel, and developed and formed by the Church, is something purely ecclesiastical. It owes its creation in no wise to the authority or care of the civil power. The peculiar effects, however, of profession in an order, and the increasing wealth and influence of various religious houses, rendered it inevitable that secular law should turn its attention to the consequences of vows. Neglect of a circumstance which affected so vitally the rights of citizenship was not to be expected. And so there sprang up on all sides a body of legislation framed with special reference to religious. The first labors in this direction form an interesting portion of the later Roman law. The development of the Church in Northern Europe saw the incorporation of similar provisions in the *leges Barbarorum*. And modern codes have not failed to determine the attitude of the State towards individuals who have voluntarily cut themselves off from participation in the ordinary life of citizens.

So long as the State contented itself with recognizing the jurisdiction of the Church and supported with its edicts the pronouncements of Popes and councils, there was no reason for complaint. But jurists cried out that public interests were at stake, that the monasteries would eventually displace all other property holders, and that it was necessary to place some check on an evil that was growing only too rapidly. Hence arose the numerous incapacities attached by law to religious profession, which bore on a number of important matters, but which were especially hard in reference to property rights. The religious was civilly dead; his condition differed but little from that of a criminal.

A study of the consequences of this civil death during the later years of the monarchy is the task which the Abbé Landry has undertaken. While he professes to consider only the state of the law in one country at one particular epoch, his citations from the canons are so numerous, and his appreciation of the different questions raised is so just, that the book forms an important contribution to our too scant literature on the status of religious.

J. T. C.

Catholic Mysticism, illustrated from the writings of Blessed Angela of Foligno, by Alger Thorold, London. Kegan Paul (Benziger, New York), 1900. 8vo., pp. 196. \$1.10.

Mr. Thorold is favorably known as the translator of the "Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin, St. Catherine of Siena," an exquisite gem of mystical literature. The present translation of the "Eighteen Spiritual Steps" of the Blessed Angela of Foligno places within reach of all another rare monument of Christian psychology. In a preliminary essay he treats in a discursive way of the mystic or ecstatic spirit as the *principe générateur* of all logical consistent Christian life, of the relation of the mystic to the ecclesiastical authority, and of the history of mystical life in Catholicism. Here are, perhaps, the best pages of the book, a touching, because felt, portrait of Saint Francis of Assisi (pp. 80-85). On p. 51, we find the following thought well put, in language that with little modification may be applied to ourselves: "The impression is prevalent in England that what is called Roman mysticism rests on some strained and fantastic view of the obligations of religion due to the fertile imagination of the Latin races. On the contrary, the fundamental element in the psychology of the Catholic mystic is nothing but recognition to the full of the consequences of creation. A modern spiritual writer (F. Faber), who has often been accused of 'Italianism,' most truly says: "If Christianity were not true, the conduct of a wise man who acted consistently as a creature who had a Creator, would strongly resemble the behavior of a Catholic saint. The lineaments of the Catholic type would be discernible on him, though his gifts would not be the same."

T. J. S.

L'Année de l'Eglise, 1899, par Ch. Egremont, Deuxieme Année, Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 664.

This welcome publication, the first attempt at an ecclesiastical Statesman's Year-Book, appears for the second time, greatly improved. So far, the current history of the Church in all the great nations of the world is given. To each people or state are allotted a suitable number of pages. In time these volumes will be indispensable for the historian. We hope that in the future statistical tables will be added, showing the actual condition of the clergy, churches, missions, etc. A brief alphabetical bibliography of the most reliable printed sources available for the current ecclesiastical history of each nation would be of great service; it is not so easy for the average scholar to find out, *e. g.*, the best annual authorities for the church history of Switzerland or Denmark. This excellent guide would also be improved by the introduction of a good

system of paragraphing and the use of bold-faced type at the head of each paragraph. We should also like to see done for the principal nations a résumé of the best works published in each and treating directly or indirectly of ecclesiastical subjects. Such a résumé has been made for France. This year an admirable summary of the public activity of the Holy See is placed at the beginning; it would be difficult to condense more useful information into a smaller space. T. J. S.

The Life and Letters of Thomas Kilby Smith, Brevet Major-General United States Volunteers, 1820-1887, by his son, Walter George Smith. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

The value of this handsome and carefully edited volume has been attested by the serious attention it has received, both in England and this country, from authorities in military affairs. During the two years since its appearance it has proved of great service to students of military and social conditions at the time of the Civil War. General Thomas Kilby Smith writes without affectation of his thoughts, his intentions, his feelings; but he is by no means introspective. These letters record facts, and the effect of facts, and there is as little analysis of conditions of mind for the sake of such analysis as there is in the Commentaries of Cæsar. Their pages are full of minute details which only a man, sure of the acute intelligence, as well as the sympathy of his correspondents, would put upon paper. As the study of the mental attitude of a noble soldier and as a document which will serve to help towards the clearer understanding of social conditions during the Civil War, it is worthy of very careful study.

M. F. E.

The Criminal: A Scientific Study by August Drähms, Resident Chaplain State Prison, San Quentin, California, with an Introduction by C. Lombroso. Macmillan, New York 1900. Pp. 402.

This volume presents an extended study of crime in its personal and social aspects. The author has the double advantage of having studied carefully and of having had extended contact with criminals as a resident chaplain. As an exposition of current thought and of the tendencies in dealing with criminals, the work is clear and direct. At times the language fails to be as simple as it might, *e. g.*, p. 142; many will take exception to the author's use of the words belief and believe, p. 162. The book is very useful as a summary, irrespective of the theories which the reader may hold regarding the great questions of criminology.

W. J. K.

General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. By Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. Benziger Bros., 8°, 1900.

This large octavo volume of 600 pages is intended as a text-book for theological students during their course in the Seminary. It will serve equally well as a work of reference for the use of the busy priest on the mission and for the educated laity in general, including professional and even literary men, all of whom have, for a long time past, felt the need of some such work as this for handy reference. Many of the standard works on this subject are ponderous tomes in still more ponderous Latin, which few of the laity have the ability, and fewer still have the inclination, to read.

Father Gigot's work is didactic in form. His language is simple and clear, though not always perfectly idiomatic. His style is concise and written, not with the open hand of the rhetorician, but with the closed fist of the logician. His learning, his painstaking research, and his ceaseless industry are manifest in the well-digested materials that fill this large volume. His method of exposition and his whole manner betray the experienced professor. He never forgets that he is writing an elementary text-book for students, for he carefully avoids all uselessly embarrassing side-issues. He leaves much to be developed by the professor; while, by means of copious references to the best authorities, and an unusual abundance of foot-notes, he facilitates a more thorough study of the subjects handled, and makes it possible for the student to continue his researches almost indefinitely. The chief topics are printed in heavy type,—a great advantage from a didactic standpoint, for it helps the student to get, and to keep, his bearings in a field of studies so vast and so varied as to be bewildering.

After a dozen pages of preliminary remarks on the various names, the number, the divisions, and the arrangement of the sacred books, on the unity, the beauty, and the influence of the Bible, and on the object, the methods of study, and the principal divisions of General Introduction to Sacred Scripture, the author divides this first volume into four parts, as follows: Biblical Canonics (six chapters), Biblical Textual Criticism (nine chapters), Biblical Hermeneutics (seven chapters), and Biblical Inspiration (three chapters).

In the first part the author discusses the gradual formation of the collection of inspired books into a body of sacred literature, distinct from all others. The History of the Old Testament Canon, which for many reasons is more interesting than that of the New Testament Canon, is traced from its first beginnings in the days of Moses down through the ages to its close, not long, perhaps, before the time of Christ. Whether the threefold division of the Old Testament into the

"Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms" is sufficient indication that there were three successive stages of development in the formation of the Old Testament Canon, is discussed with the author's usual sobriety and moderation. His chief aim is the impartial statement of all the facts in the case, after which the conclusion is found to lie on the surface.

In the second and third chapters, the author relates the history of the Old Testament Canon in the Christian Church from the time of Christ to our own day, and discusses the interesting problem of the origin and nature of the differences that existed between the Alexandrian and the Palestinian Canon of the Sacred Books, together with the strangely alternating opinions on the subject in the Eastern and Western Churches.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the history of the Canon of the New Testament; while the fifth and sixth chapters contain an interesting description of the Apocryphal literature on the two Testaments.

In the second part of the book, Father Gigot explains the nature, the scope, the divisions, the methods, and the results of Biblical Criticism in general. After which Higher Biblical Criticism, or the critical history of the human origin of the sacred books is described in broad outlines, a more detailed study of the subject being reserved for the Special Introduction to the Old Testament. As to Textual Criticism, the object of which is to produce an edition of the text as conformable as possible to the archetypal copy, the author points out the materials available for the purpose. They are the manuscripts in the original languages, the Ancient Versions, and the Quotations from any of these forms of the text in the works of early ecclesiastical writers. The principal rules for determining the relative value of various readings are also indicated.

In the first division of Textual Criticism the author describes the Hebrew language, its growth and decadence, its written characters, the substitution of the Aramaic for the older Phœnician alphabet, the gradual growth of the Talmud and the Targums, the vicissitudes through which the Hebrew text has passed, the introduction of the vowel-points, and other devices adopted by the Massoretic Doctors to prevent the further corruption of the text, and the curious history of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The history of the language and the text of the New Testament is similarly treated.

In the second division of Textual Criticism we have the history of the principal Ancient Versions of the Bible. These are the Septuagint (chapter 12), the Syriac Peshitto (ch. 13), the Vetus Itala and the Latin Vulgate (ch. 14), and the English Versions (ch. 15).

The third part of the work, Biblical Hermeneutics, occupies three

chapters. It is interesting to note the strange exegetical methods followed by the Rabbinical and Hellenistic Schools, and the influence they are said to have exercised on the writers of the New Testament. In this connection it is no less instructive to remember what widely divergent views have been held at different times and by ecclesiastical writers of very opposite schools, and to know that their orthodoxy was never thereby called into question, or made an object of censure or even of suspicion.

The fourth part of the book is an Appendix on Biblical Inspiration. This comprises three chapters, the first of which relates the history, the second gives the proofs, and the third discusses the nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration.

In this, as in all other parts of the work, the method is not dogmatic, but critico-historical,—the method brought into vogue, or at least advocated by Richard Simon, and followed in nearly all departments of biblical research. Therefore, the reader need not expect to find a series of categorical propositions defining with mathematical accuracy, and deciding *a priori* the precise nature, extent, and effects of Inspiration. The results of this method are instructive. For the history of the many varying theories as to the nature of Inspiration makes it clear that certain fluctuations of opinion, even within the pale of the Church, were but the outcome of more or less transient circumstances,—a consideration not to be forgotten in forming an opinion of the origin and nature of certain tendencies noticeable even among some Catholics since the time of the Reformation.

To a great extent, Father Gigot plays the role of narrator of facts and exponent of the views of others. In this precisely consists the chief merit of his work and of his method. He supplies the facts and we draw our own conclusions. However, his own opinion, when expressed at all, is characterized by moderation and scholarly reserve. Those readers who are not satisfied unless they find positive decisions and trenchant definitions, with an anathema appended to them by some irresponsible person, will be surprised to see how often the writer, after quoting all the authorities and weighing all the arguments for and against a position, thinks it more honest to suspend judgment than mislead the student by an overhasty conclusion from insufficient evidence.

In the present state of Biblical science, a prudent reserve is the usual accompaniment of extensive learning; for mere subjective certitude is not necessarily a proof of the objective certainty of a writer's position. Indecision is not always considered a defect by those best qualified to judge; for there are many decisions that decide nothing, and leave knotty questions just where they find them. Biblical introduction presents an almost uninterrupted series of problems bristling all over with difficulties, and it is both edifying and refreshing to find an author

of Father Gigot's acquirements modest enough to admit from time to time that there are some vexed questions for which he has found no satisfactory solution.

C. P. G.

Le Drame de la Passion à Oberammergau, Etude historique et critique par Georges Blondel. Paris, Lecoffre, 16°, 1900.

This booklet is a welcome offering from a Paris house that deserves well of Christian letters. In it the traveller will find an excellent guide to the Passion Play at Oberammergau, that last remnant of the great dramatic "mysteries" of the Middle Ages. As the railroad now reaches the village, the pilgrimage is no longer difficult. Whoever is privileged to look on this magnificent *Christus Patiens* will want a friend of experience and sympathy to make known to him the origin and beauties of the great play, as well as the human interest of the little village of sculptors in wood, the creation of good and simple works in the thirteenth century and henceforth one of the world's civilizing and religious influences. Let all such read these papers; they are also well adapted for private reading, being accompanied by maps of the stage and the vicinity.

T. J. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Sermons for Every Sunday in the Year. By Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A. M. New York: Pustet. 1900. Pp. 351.
- General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. By Rev. Francis E. Gigot, SS. New York: Benziger. 1900. Pp. 606.
- The Church of Christ the Same Forever. By D. McErlane, S. J. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. 1899. 8°. Pp. 163.
- Jesus Christ; A Scriptural Study. By Rev. James H. O'Donnell. Boston: Hurd & Everts. 1900. Pp. 54.
- The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By Herbert Cardinal Vaughan (2d edition). Herder, St. Louis. 1900. 16mo. Pp. 127.
- The People of Our Parish, being Chronicle and Comment of Katharine Fitzgerald, Pew-holder in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1900. 8°. Pp. 254. \$1.00.
- Fabri Conciones, (Selected) Sermons of Rev. M. Fabri, S. J. Translated from the Latin by Rev. M. T. Conway, Christian Press Association Publishing Company, New York and San Francisco. 1900. 8°. Pp. 311.
- Cosmologie Hindoue d'après le Bhâgavata Purâna par A. Roussel, prêtre de l'Oratoire. Paris: 1898, T. Maisonneuve, 8°, pp. 399.
- Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes coptes et les diverses collections canoniques, II^e vol. Dissertation Critique, par M. Eugène Revillout. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1898. 8°. Pp. 626.

PUBLIC LECTURES, 1899-1900.

During the winter and spring of this academic year two courses of public lectures were given in the Assembly Hall of the University. In the Wednesday Course the general topic was Social Economics. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor and Honorary Professor of Social Economics in our University, delivered ten lectures on "Socialism;" Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Associate Professor of Sociology, two lectures; and three lectures by Dr. Charles P. Neill, on politico-social topics. The subjects of the Friday Course were taken from Philosophy, Literature, Philology, and the Natural Sciences. The lectures of the course were delivered by Dr. Edward L. Greene, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Professor of Botany; Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy; Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, Professor of English Literature; Rev. Dr. John J. Griffin, Professor of Chemistry; Rev. Dr. Richard Henebry, Professor of Celtic; and Dr. John J. Dunn, Instructor in Latin. In addition, Dr. James Field Spalding, of Concord, Mass., gave two lectures on topics of English Literature.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright: "Communism the Forerunner of Socialism."
December 6.

Socialists generally do not like to be accused of holding communistic views, yet communism, properly considered, is the mother of socialism, because communism is a philosophy belonging largely to the domain of property. As the idea of individual property grew out of common ownership or community of goods, so communism seeks to drive individual property back into the communistic state from which it emerged. The idea of separate, individual ownership is a growth of comparatively recent date, and is the result of great social changes and of progressive developments extending over vast epochs of time. Communism seeks to reverse these changes and carry communities back to the infancy of tribal relations.

Socialism, while not advocating the communistic ownership of lands, in the sense of ancient communism, does advocate the ownership by the state of all lands and all tools of industry and the control of the same for the benefit of the whole. The distinction between the two, communism and socialism, is the distinction between simply pure democracy and a republican form of government. Communism is extreme democracy; that is, everything being

done by the community at large, without any separate, or even share, ownership in property. Socialism is extreme republicanism; that is, socialism seeks to have all things controlled by the representatives of the people. Communism has been denominated democracy gone to seed, and socialism, republicanism gone to seed.

One cannot consider modern socialism in all fairness, and with the spirit of justice, without considering the historical and comparative views of communism, nor without considering the experiments in socialistic government. All such experiments, whether in communism or socialism, have never resulted in the establishment of a state. The idea that socialism is a new philosophy or system is incorrect, as there are instances of socialistic efforts running all along through history, both in ancient and in medieval times, and comprehending Europe and Asia. In ancient times it was the habit of new leaders or men who desired to come to the front as such to advocate a general division of lands and of wealth. Even in the time of the Gracchi bonds and evidences of debt were collected and burned. The idea was to restore in a measure individual equality.

Communism as a system or a philosophy has always been a revolt against injustice and social and industrial incongruities. It has been the cry of reformers, coming from the heart as well as from the head, but it has also been the cry of the extreme demagogue, who wished to curry public favor by advocating the division of property. All communistic experiments having a political basis have been failures.

In this century there have been many efforts to establish communities where all goods were in common, and even wives and children held in common, but these experiments have been established more particularly upon a religious than a political and industrial basis. This country has seen many such experiments, but nearly all of them have proved failures. They flourish for a period only, because the communities trade with the world, which is not communistic. The lessons of communism are among the most valuable in the study of social economics.

"Romantic Socialism." December 13.

So far as socialism relates to property and the control of industrial enterprises, it is communism, but systematized communism. So far as it relates to social inequalities, it attempts to grasp results without the progressive but always plodding processes of development which pertain to all other lines of development whether moral or material. In what socialism wants to see accomplished, in relation to many of the social questions, there is much not only to indorse with warm approval but to claim warm sympathy. It is this sympathy which led to many works which may be called romantic socialism. There were two classes of ro-

mantic writers, the principal ones writing back of the French Revolution. They were Sir Thomas Moore, Bacon, Morelly, and Baheuf. The romantic writers since the Revolution were St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Marlow, Cabet, and, in a certain sense, Louis Blanc. These writers are called writers of romantic socialism because they were given to speculative schemes for social regeneration, not treating man as he is, but as they would have him, and they paved the way for Marx and La Salle.

During the 20's and 30's of this century there was a wave of transcendentalism, revivalism, and social reform which passed over France, England, and the United States. Fourier's romantic schemes impressed many men, and phalanxes in accordance with his plans were organized both in France and in this country, one of the most noted here being the Brook Farm experiment in Massachusetts.

Robert Owen's romanticism, as that of all others, grew out of warm sympathy with labor generally. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that this wave of feeling which has been mentioned should result in many experiments, most of which, however, proved to be failures. That in 1842, in Algiers, by Marshal Bugeaud, and that in Paris after the insurrection of February, 1848, are prominent examples of failures.

It is curious that in all the writings of later days on socialism, including the romanticists, little or no mention is ever made of the practical attempts to establish a communistic or socialistic community. All of these attempts relate to the history of our own country. Our forefathers had something of the socialistic in their make-up, and the settlement at Jamestown, as well as that at Plymouth, was started on a semi-communistic plan. At Jamestown the settlers had come without wives and children, and each man worked not to acquire property for himself and his family, but to further the general purposes of the colony. A premium was thus at once put upon idleness. So President Smith applied his strong hand, and informed the colonists plainly that they must all understand that hereafter he that will not work shall not eat.

The same experience accompanied the settlement at Plymouth. Under the conditions of agreement formed at Leyden in 1620 between the pilgrims and the merchant adventurers, it was provided that all profits and benefits from trade, traffic, or otherwise should remain in common stock until a division, and that all such persons as were of the colony were to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions out of the common stock and goods. It was soon found that this plan would not work, and that it was practically a premium upon laziness, as at Jamestown. Individual efforts, initiative, and results were necessary to bring the Plymouth colony out of its dangers.

A few such practical experiences destroy all the results of romantic socialism. Since the French Revolution, which may be said to have divided the romantic from the scientific schools, socialism has occupied a different attitude. Between the two schools came Marx and La Salle, representing more than their predecessors what may be called the scientific socialism of the present age.

"Modern Socialistic Platforms." December 20.

Enough has been said in the first and second lectures to establish the historical basis of communism as the genus and socialism as the species of a great social and industrial philosophy. It is not essential that we should discuss the village communities of India or of Russia, or the Teutonic idea of the community, or the growth of monastic communism of the fourth century, none of which belong particularly to the development of modern socialism. It is only essential that the historical and philosophical comparisons be understood that modern socialism may be brought into clear light.

The recent demands of the socialists, when examined, do not strike us with any feeling of alarm. They seek a reduction in the number of hours of labor in a day, and in proportion to the progress of production. They ask for the legal incorporation of trade unions; that the United States should have the exclusive right to issue money; that Congress shall provide for the scientific management of forests and waterways and prohibit the waste of natural resources. They advocate a progressive income tax, and a tax on inheritances; compulsory education, with free books and other necessities essential to enable children to receive the benefits of education. They ask for the repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws, and the granting of the unabridged right of combination. They insist upon the collection of official statistics concerning the condition of labor, the prohibition of employment of children of school age, and of the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. They also ask for the abolition of the contract labor system in prisons and in other places. They insist that all wages shall be paid in lawful money and that there shall be equalization of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed, together with laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law; also, that no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

Now, these demands are not revolutionary, in a political sense. Most of them are approved by conservative economists, and many of them have already and long since been incorporated in the laws of States.

Their more radical demands are that the United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and

all other means of public transportation and communication; that municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises; that all public lands shall be declared inalienable, and that land grants to corporations or individuals shall be revoked whenever the conditions of the grants have not been complied with; that all inventions shall be free to the public; that the unemployed shall be employed by the public authorities, whether by the county, city, state, or nation.

To carry out these later demands would result in an industrial revolution, and yet there are many men who are not socialists, who have no sympathy with socialistic methods when political and with the socialistic party, who believe in them and do not hesitate to advocate them. There cannot be much danger in the present socialistic platform as adopted in this country.

In addition to the foregoing, the socialistic labor party makes some political demands, the more important of which are the referendum and the initiative; the abolition of the veto power of the executive, whether in national, state, or municipal affairs; the subjection of all officers to recall by their representative constituencies, free administration of justice, and the abolition of capital punishment. These general demands contain the germs of all socialistic demands as to property, namely, that the resources of life, the means of production, public transportation and communication—in other words, lands, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canals, etc.—become as fast as practicable the common property of the whole people through the Government. This is French and German socialism to-day. It is the active principle of socialism, and is the same in both continents, and is virtually the same socialism taught in the past by its greatest advocates.

“The Relation of Single Tax Doctrine, Nationalism, Anarchism, and Nihilism to Socialism.” January 10, 1900.

The lecturer did not undertake to discuss the merits or demerits of the single tax doctrine, the purpose of which is to abolish all taxation save that upon land values. As the essence of socialism is “to each man according to his needs from each according to his abilities,” the doctrine of Henry George is a species of socialism, although Mr. George himself was not a socialist. The author of the doctrine admits that, carried out, it would result in public ownership of land, not through the confiscation of all land, but through the confiscation of the rent on land values, thus allying his doctrine to the principles of the socialists.

Anarchism is the antithesis of socialism, although the anarchists and the socialists are aiming at the same end, in one sense; as illustrated by their combination in the international working men's asso-

ciations founded in 1864, when they worked together in agitation with diametrically opposite theories, the socialists wishing to avoid inequality by increasing state interference, the anarchists by abolishing it. Each was trying to secure equality in conditions. The anarchists wished to have property held by communistic associations of workmen, formed freely without political compulsion. The socialists, as represented by the social democrats, wished to have property and all the instruments of production held by the community through a political revolution which should change the nature of the state, although preserving it to some extent. Philosophical anarchists do not advocate violence in securing their ends, but believe in the power of moral principles similar to those of the early Christian church, hoping by the adoption of such principles to do away with the necessity of law, with the result of bringing all to an advanced individualism. This allies the anarchists, in the results to be obtained, to the socialists.

The nihilists, representing on one side the extreme of Russian revolutionists and on the other those who believe that by doing away with particular forms of objectionable government they can secure universal equality, are erroneously supposed to be partisans of universal destruction, having no constructive elements in their program, but this is not correct of a large section of the nihilists. Nihilism has for its immediate object the overthrow of the autocracy, reckoning, however, solely upon the power of the proletarians. They give prominence to the agrarian question, appealing largely to the masses of the peasantry on the one hand and to liberty-loving, educated people on the other. The chief weapon of nihilism is organized public opinion, through which it is hoped that the government can be compelled to yield to the demands of the people, which "include alike the conception of the right of the people to political freedom and the conception of their right to satisfy their material needs on the basis of national production." This allies the nihilists to the socialists, who believe that the state should conduct all production, industrial as well as all other public functions.

Nationalism, which grew up after the writings of Edward Bellamy, is simply a modified and mild state socialism. The adherents of the doctrine believe that the state should gradually take over to itself function after function and industry after industry until finally it should control all.

"Social Democracy and State Socialism." January 17.

When the word "socialism" is used without restriction or explanation one generally means the socialism of social democracy, but this species of socialism has as many phases as writers upon it. It is on the whole, however, what might be called primitive social-

ism, or more nearly, as Schaffle defines it, communistic socialism, because it means the entire revolution of government and the management of industrial affairs through groups, communities, etc. While social democracy has been advocated in some form through all periods of history, its greatest modern advocate was Carl Marx. State socialism, as against social democracy, covers the theory that the State should extend its functions by taking over gradually, and as conditions warrant, the means of production, transportation, etc.; that there should always be the State back of everything, but that the State should look more thoroughly after the economic conditions than formerly. Ferdinand Lassalle may be considered the most important advocate of State socialism as against social democracy. He believed in the extension of co-operative movements, backed by the State, and while he did not project the modern State socialism of Germany in its fullness, he was, nevertheless, a powerful advocate to bring about State socialism.

Curiously enough, State socialism has been seized upon by States themselves as a buffer against social democracy. The compulsory insurance laws of Germany constitute a strong instance in this direction. It was thought by the late Chancellor Bismarck that by the introduction of such insurance the tendency of social democracy could be restricted. State socialism is beginning to gain everywhere, as evidenced by many laws enacted in different countries under which the State assumes more and more the patronage of private industries and enterprises. Social democracy makes but little headway, because its advocates, as inducements to adherence, are apt to take on the doctrines of the State socialists instead of their own, hoping that after State socialism has proved a success social democracy will have sway. The German State socialists, as represented by Dr. Schaffle, do not hesitate to declare that social democracy is an impossibility; that the true line of work, not only to offset social democracy but to really improve conditions, lies in what they call social reform, which is a species of State socialism. They repudiate the whole doctrine of collectivism.

"Municipal Socialism." January 24.

Municipal socialism belongs to state socialism, the tenets of municipal socialists being the same as those of state socialists, except that municipal socialists in the United States do not claim that the municipality should take over to it productive industry, but only those public utilities which are carried on for the general benefit of all citizens. All cities in all times have been socialistic in this sense. It has been only a matter of degree. Rome had its public aqueducts and other enterprises for the benefit of its citizens.

In the last twenty years municipal socialism has made great advances in its achievements. The construction and care of streets,

docks, ferries, are among the earliest enterprises of municipalities. Water works and the lighting of streets have long been the care of city governments. There are in the United States, in round numbers, 3,475 water works, of which 1,700 are conducted under private enterprise, and 1,755 by municipalities themselves. In gas the municipal control or ownership has been rare. There are 965 gas works in the United States, of which only 14 are owned by municipalities, all the rest (951) being conducted by private corporations. In electric lighting plants the municipalities have taken a wider action. There are 2,651 such plants in this country, 2,194 being private and 457 owned by municipalities.

The success of municipal works, whether in water, gas, or electricity, depends very largely upon the integrity of management and the business principles put into it. Private works are more carefully managed, as a rule, because profits are at stake; but with the same kind of management, with the same care as to cost and the preservation of all the interests of the public, there is no reason why these public utilities should not be conducted under municipal control or ownership with as much success as by private corporations, and this has been the result where such conditions prevail. These utilities partake somewhat of the character of industrial production; hence their ownership or control by the municipality exercises the public more than other matters, like the construction and care of streets, docks, and ferries, or the removal of garbage, the establishment of public libraries, parks, art galleries, etc.

Many cities of this country and Europe have long indulged in the socialistic plan of furnishing music, lectures, and other entertainments free to the public. Some cities have also done much in the improvement of the slums by establishing municipal dwellings, as has been done in Glasgow and London, especially in the latter city by the London County Council. The erection of free baths is now attracting the attention of the public everywhere as an enterprise in which the municipality should engage for the health and well-being of the whole public. The management of street railways has never been undertaken in this country by municipal governments, but in England and in some of the cities on the Continent this has been done, but with questionable success so far.

There are many natural conditions antagonistic to municipal ownership and control of utilities. There are also many conditions essential to success. Civil service, purity of the government, and a most enlightened public sentiment, are essential for the proper management of municipal enterprises. In small cities and in towns where the public comes in close contact with the officials these conditions are the most favorable. On the whole, the question as to the extension of municipal enterprises is one of business, and not of socialism.

"Co-Operation a Phase of Socialism." January 31.

The essential principles of socialism are association and solidarity, and these apply to co-operation; in fact, they are the essential principles of society in all its movements. Co-operation is, therefore, allied to socialism, and the experiments under it, although individual and fragmentary, not seeking at present universal application, are but attempts to apply the underlying principles of socialism itself.

Etymologically, co-operation means to labor together. It has an industrial significance. Its application to productive industry is still largely experimental, and the experiments that have succeeded in most instances are not purely co-operative, for pure co-operation involves the etymological significance. Men must labor together in order to co-operate fully. Simple co-operation means where several individuals furnish not only the capital and material for production, but the labor also. They share the expense of management and divide the profits. This form of co-operation has never succeeded for any length of time, because each co-operator soon judges the amount he receives in relation to the amount of labor contributed, and as skill and capacity vary in individuals, dissatisfaction arises when the division of profits is equal.

Co-operation, as proposed by its early advocates, contemplated a social transformation, introducing into the operations of industry and trade—that is, into the operations of production and distribution—such principles as would overcome the evils that attend competition. It aimed to reconstruct society upon the communistic basis, its motto being "Each for all and all for each," rather than the common one of "Every man for himself." Individualism it deemed contrary to the general good, and it sought to substitute for individualism some system of joint endeavor through which the laborer, the capitalist, and the consumer should be brought into relations of mutual help rather than to remain in their usual position of rivalry.

Ideally, something like this is still hoped for by ardent co-operators, but practically no such social transformation has yet taken place. Competition still flourishes, and the reconstruction of society upon a communistic basis is not to-day the chief end of co-operative endeavor. The co-operation of the present that is highly successful relates to the distribution of products rather than to production. It is co-operative trade, not co-operative labor. Co-operative distribution has in some cases paved the way to experiments more or less complete and more or less successful in co-operative production. In the sense of mutual effort, co-operative distribution has one its greatest triumphs.

Mr. Holyoke, author of "History of Co-operation," defines it as, in the social sense of the word, a new power of industry, constituted

by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist, and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality by which honesty is rendered productive. It is the concert, he says, of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment. This definition would apply very well to socialism, because the later writers on socialism, or rather the more enthusiastic adherents of it, describe the new state to grow out of socialistic endeavors as the co-operative commonwealth.

Co-operative distribution, so called, is not co-operation, because it does not take into consideration the welfare of the producer. In co-operative distribution the consumer simply shares in the profits derived from his own trade. Such co-operative enterprises are simply gigantic middlemen, transferring all the evils of competition from one class to another, and not reforming society, as original co-operators expected.

"Phases of Industrial Socialism." February 7.

The principles of co-operation have been extended beyond those relating to distribution and ordinary production, as cited in the last lecture. Co-operative agriculture is beginning to be a feature of farming which promises great results. Creameries are conducted in England, on the Continent, and in this country on the co-operative basis, the producers of milk contributing their product and taking their share of the results. So in the purchase of agricultural implements by small farmers, especially where machinery is too expensive for a single farmer to purchase it, the principles of co-operation are being applied. Products are sold through co-operative methods, thus avoiding losses which the individual producer ordinarily sustains. There are agricultural syndicates in Europe which market products and purchase fertilizers and all the things needed for farming. Through this fraud is prevented and cost reduced. The fruit unions of California may be cited as phases of this question. So may co-operative housekeeping wherever it has been tried, and the insurance known as mutual benefit, where the insured pay an assessment whenever a death occurs. This is pure co-operation, and belongs to the primary school of elements of socialism. Co-operation is socialism, in the sense that what it seeks to do is in the direct line of socialistic theory to cause labor, when expended with equal judgment, to bring to all the same reward.

Arbitration as a phase of industrial socialism offers many interesting considerations. It is in reality an attempt of society to regulate the affairs of producers. Arbitration methods, whether private or State, are a declaration to employers and employees that if they cannot adjust their affairs in such a way as to avoid annoyance to the public the community will undertake to assist them.

Labor exchanges, as carried on in this country, are a novel development of the co-operative movement, and are quite socialistic in their nature. The distinctive characteristic of the labor exchange from other forms of co-operation is that its advocates regard true co-operation impossible within one industry. So under the labor exchange any member deposits with it any product of his labor and receives therefor an exchange check of the same denomination as the officers of the exchange think would be the local wholesale price in money. These goods are then marked up to the usual retail price. The depositor uses his check to buy from the exchange anything he finds there that he wishes. By virtue of this redeemability in goods, though never in legal money, private merchants and others are to some extent induced to accept these checks as money, but sometimes at a discount. At the present time all profits are devoted to the extension of the movement. The labor exchanges are being watched with a great deal of interest to see their development and how far they will contribute towards increasing the trend to socialism.

The various methods of profit-sharing between employer and employee, the Metayer system, or farming on shares, share fishing, and such matters all belong to the movement to secure the ideal of the later socialists—the co-operative commonwealth.

“Socialism of Labor and Capital.” February 14.

In the preceding lectures the subject of the doctrine of socialism as a force in bringing the world to it has been discussed, but there are other forces not particularly allied to the body of socialists or connected with the socialist labor party which are giving impetus to the socialistic idea, and these are organized labor and organized capital.

The first attempt to bring the wage-earners of the world into the socialistic ranks was through The International, organized in London in September, 1863. It grew out of Marx's vehement demand of the working men of the world to unite. The International, however, took on the different sentiments of different countries, and became socialistic here and anarchistic there, while in England and the United States it was simply an advanced position for trade-unionism. It came to an end after the insurrection in Paris in 1870 through the extravagance of its demands. It brought to it men of various thought, like Carl Marx on the one hand and Bakounin, the Russian apostle of nihilism, on the other. In the United States, as in England, The International was at first considered a mere union of organized labor in all countries. When its real character was ascertained trade-unionists left it.

The next great effort was not an international one, but one of great importance—that was the establishment of the Knights of Labor, which sought to make industrial and moral worth, not

wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness. This order was quite socialistic in its various features, seeking, as it did, harmonious wages of all trades. There have been many efforts to revolutionize the American federation of trade-unions, the chief effort being at the Denver congress in 1894, at which time the federation declared for municipal ownership of street cars and gas and electric plants, and for the nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines; but it defeated the broad, socialistic program providing for the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution. Attempts have been made to capture trade-unionism in England, and in 1890 the new trade-unionism, so-called, secured the control of the congress at Liverpool. Since then the conservative element has been brought to the front again, and socialism has largely lost its control. In so far as labor unions seek a monopoly of labor, they are allied to other monopolies, and help to create the idea and familiarize the people with state ownership.

As against labor capital is doing much to create socialistic thought and familiarize the public with the idea of supreme control of industry. Socialists look upon trusts and industrial combinations as the entering wedge in this respect. Socialism, like trusts and combinations, undertake to eliminate competition among members of great groups. The interstate commerce act of 1887 was a socialistic movement, because it declared the right of the government to demand just and reasonable railroad rates and gave the Interstate Commerce Commission supervision of rates. The next great measure is that which will provide for the pooling of freights, and subsequently of passenger traffic. This brings to the Federal Government the practical control of the railroad systems of the United States, and establishes a monopoly, the very essence of government itself. The nature of the state need not be discussed; monopoly is its essence, and many people see in the attempts to control railroads and great industries by small groups of men that educational influence which will compel all men to see that the state itself may take their places. As it is, ten men control the 2,050 railroad corporations of the country, not directly, to be sure, but as a matter of fact.

Experiments in public control and ownership will be costly, but business principles will prevail. Gradually, although slowly, governments will take on different functions relative to industry and transportation, but it will be because the public is satisfied that the government can transact certain classes of business better than private individuals. It is not socialism broadly, but business principles, which the public will accept. We need have no fear over the socialism of labor or of capital.

"True Socialism." February 19.

In this discussion of socialism I have not approached the subject as a political economist nor as a socialist, for I am neither, but I

have undertaken to show the strong and the weak phases of socialism as its principles have been variously applied. Its failures are innumerable. Its achievements have surprised conservatives, and yet these achievements have been adopted and their results assimilated without revolution. Wherever socialism has been a success it has been the result of the application of business principles in the socialization of industries. One cannot fail to comprehend the efforts of socialists in any era in which they have worked as indicated by their statements and conceptions of an advanced moral principle, which must form the basis of any possible higher state of civilization in the future; of the duty of regarding the common interests of all in preference to pure and undisguised self-interest as the ruling spring of human action, and of the principle of true socialism, which is not every one for himself, but looking also on the things of others; nor should we fail to see the evils which socialists aggravate to crimes by their exaggerations.

The mass of socialists in the old and the new world are actuated by the highest and the purest motives, and their efforts have led and are likely to lead in the future to the conviction that the true interests of the individual and the community are best served in making true, humane feeling our guide in the conduct of life. They stumble on the fallacy which has attended the life and work of Count Tolstoi. He thought by leveling himself down he could bring all up. He did not seem to recognize that the true socialism of the affairs of this world was to be secured by bringing all up to his standard. He impoverished himself that he might help the impoverished. He should have enriched the impoverished and brought them to his own high level.

The vital essence of the American character is overpowering individuality of our citizens. Social democracy and American character are, therefore, at war with each other, and the two cannot exist. The chief aim in all socialistic schemes has been to remove competition, but the competition under socialism, with individual selfishness remaining, would be far worse than that which exists at the present time. Their proposal that each should receive according to his capacity—that is, salaries or profits, any name but wages, should be proportionate to the work done as to quality and quantity—is nothing but competition under another form. M. Thier wittily summed up one of the crucial weaknesses of socialism when he said: "You can readily get a man to die for his country, but you cannot get him to make pig iron for his country." This is eminently true. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* does not apply to the conditions of a cotton mill, but if human beings can be induced by any principle or set of principles to work for the interest of country as well as for themselves—that is to say, socialize their labor and all their efforts for the benefit of the whole community—then they will bring

in the true socialism, the socialism which recognizes every man's right, and that no man's right should be carried out at the expense of injustice to others. This socialization can take place only under the broadest and strictest application of that body of principles which we call religion. It represents the true socialism of the citizen by the parable of the ox standing between a plow and an altar, ready for service or for sacrifice. It is this that makes constructive socialism; it is the evolutionary, not the revolutionary; it is that form of socialism which is embodied in a religion, which holds in its power the church, the state, industry, commerce, and the whole social fabric.

Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby: "The Idea and Nature of Society." Feb'y 28.

The attention now paid to the study of social phenomena is partly the result and partly the cause of a change in the attitude of men toward society; the commonplace view has been replaced by that of the scholar. This series of fifteen lectures devoted to the study of social sciences is therefore thoroughly in accord with the temper of the times.

An examination of the many ways in which the word society is used reveals to us that in all possible social groups there must be purpose sought by the united efforts of members. The individual alone is relatively or absolutely helpless. The sense of this necessity impels him to unite with others. We may then present the following as elements in the development of human society or of particular social groups: (a) Common purpose; (b) the individual as such helpless to attain it; (c) organized action; (d) necessity the spring of all association; (e) capacity its limitation. We may apply this analysis to the various orders of being, its value will then appear. In the mineral kingdom, individual objects exist and develop, and are relatively independent as a general rule. We find among them neither necessity of union with others, nor capacity for such union nor any possibility of purpose. All the elements of our analysis are therefore negated. In the vegetable world, we find that plant requires plant, tree requires tree in order that it may begin to exist. Nothing more is required. We find then one necessity—a corresponding capacity—a single purpose in the union of plants. Advancing to the animal kingdom, we find varied purposes, corresponding necessity and capacity for association among animals. But all the purposes and capacities seem to reduce themselves practically to the necessities of physical existence. We find among them no progress—no change—no retrogression—everything is fixed. Advance to man. Regarded merely as animal, he has necessities that are greater, more varied and pressing than the mere animal, and which make necessary constant association with fellow men. But through reason, man's distinctive capacity, new and higher necessities enter his life and countless possible purposes lend to human

association, a variety, meaning and character which give majesty and power to it. Capacity for progress opens an endless vista of purposes for associated life; man's yearning for self-development impels him to seek their realization; nor does his capacity limit him in his seeking.

Man's capacity for association is general; his necessities and purposes are specific. At first glance, the spectacle of human society seems one of confusion. Federations, empires and races; parties, professions and schools; caste, class and religions all seem confused. Yet by applying our analysis, we may classify all in such a way as to reveal clearly the wonderful play of association in human development. Every group, be it the athletic club, the political party or the State, reveals the same philosophy, the same logical processes in origin, development and preservation. We have seen in this study the origin of social groups; in that to follow, we will take up the relation of Social Traditions to their development and preservation.

Dr. Charles P. Neill: "Development of Political Institutions." March 21.

Democracy was one of the earliest forms of the political life of the Aryan people in the Western world. But the democracy of the ancient world differs from our modern idea of democracy in two ways: In the ancient states citizenship was limited to the few, and in some cases over four-fifths of the inhabitants were disfranchised and entirely outside the pale of citizenship. But if we consider only the citizens of the state, these early democracies were purer forms than our own. In them every citizen took part in the government of the state directly and personally, and not, as with us, through the medium of an elected representative. Representative government was unknown to the ancient world, and it was because of their inability to devise such a form that these early democracies were destined ultimately to perish. A pure democracy, in which each citizen sat in the general assembly that made laws and ruled the state, was possible so long as the state was only a single city and its environs. It was manifestly impossible if several cities should coalesce into a greater state, or if one city should extend its dominion over a wide expanse of territory. Thus, the absence of any effective principle of representation prevented the city-states of Greece from ever uniting and forming one mighty and enduring democratic state. The isolated city-states fell one by one under the dominion of Macedonia, and Greece only attained unity when she had lost democracy. So too, Rome began in democracy, but knowing no such device as representation a democratic state became impossible when Rome had grown to include all Italy, and still more so when the state had grown to embrace the world. With the passing of the Roman Republic, a democracy became only a memory in Southern Europe.

But long after it had ceased in Greece and Rome, it endured in all its early purity amongst the Teutonic tribes of Northern Europe. When, after the fall of the Western Empire, the Northern invaders set up their states on the old Roman soil, a coalescing of systems took place, and the feudal régime emerged. In its development the trend was away from democracy and toward absolutism, until popular government had disappeared from all the larger states of Europe. It required the upheaval that marked the close of the last century to restore it to Europe. But its history in the group of islands lying off the Western coast of Europe was very different from its history on the mainland. The invading hosts there set up the institutions they had known at home, and they worked out their development uninfluenced by Roman survivals or by the existing political systems of the natives. Here, too, as in the ancient states, the pure democracy disappeared with the growth of the state in size, and finally gave way to an aristocratic monarchy. But in the administration of the smaller areas of township and shire a device had been adopted that was destined to preserve the form of popular government, and ultimately lead to its restoration. When the area of the shire became so large that attendance on the assembly of the shire became too onerous a burden for the mass of the population, the plan was adopted of sending up from each township in the shire, as its representatives, the chief officer of the township and four chosen men. During the struggles between the Crown and the Baronage at the close of the thirteenth century each side sought the aid of the "third estate," and adopting the well known plan of representation so long in use for the court of the shire, the "commons" were from time to time invited by one side or the other to send up chosen men to represent them in the great council of the nation. By the beginning of the fourteenth century this plan, copied by chance, we may say, from the court of the shire became the accepted practice, and after that time the aristocratic council that had, centuries earlier, supplanted the great popular assembly, was never summoned without the representatives of the commons being summoned also. Thus the pure democracy of the early time had disappeared and been supplanted by an aristocracy, and this in turn is supplanted by what in the course of centuries has come to be a representative democracy.

"Phases of Economic Growth." March 28.

The present social struggle is a phase of economic growth. Social struggle must always accompany changes in either the social structure or the prevailing popular philosophy. Changes in the economic structure of society may bring it about that existing economic institutions press more and more heavily on one portion of society, until this portion inaugurates a struggle to recast the social structure

with a view to readjusting burdens. Or, changes in the popular point of view as to human rights, may bring it about that institutions long existing, and long accepted, may come to be challenged and judged in the light of new principles. The social struggle now going on around us is due to the operation of both these causes. Since the close of the preceding century the philosophy of democracy has been winning acceptance rapidly and steadily in the Western world, and everywhere political society has been recast to bring political institutions into closer harmony with the principles of democracy. At the same time, changes in the economic structure of society have been carrying us as rapidly and steadily in the opposite direction and rendering economic institutions less and less in harmony with the spirit of the age. Just at the moment when it seemed that the long struggle of humanity to realize the fullest measure of its rights had borne fruit, the laboring class awoke to the fact that the rapid change in economic conditions in the century elapsed since the Industrial Revolution had rendered impossible of attainment in economic relations the very principles for which all the centuries of political struggle had contended. In consequence the old struggle for human rights is renewed, and it now takes on an economic rather than a political character. The present struggle is due to the attempt to force our existing economic institutions into harmony with the concept of the laboring man as a human being and entitled to all the rights and consideration that human dignity implies. The Catholic Church has always stood for this concept of the laboring man; our whole body of political philosophy is in harmony with it; and an increasingly large number of thinking men are voicing the principle in our current discussion. But our existing economic institutions in their actual working deny, and even outrage the principle. The only law we recognize as governing our economic relations is the law of supply and demand, and the effect of the operation of this law, unchecked by any ethical principle, is to degrade the laboring man from the dignity of a human being to the level of a machine. The problem confronting society at the opening of the new century is to force our economic institutions into harmony with our ethical conception of "the human laboring man." The plans proposed for the attainment of this end range all the way from proposals to modify this or that particular institution, to plans for the complete overturning of the existing economic order, and the substitution of an entirely new régime. Thus profit-sharing, co-operative production, labor organizations, strikes, consumers' leagues, the single tax, socialism—these are all means proposed for the more or less rapid attainment of the same end. Our problem is, first, to sift the new ethical interpretations that are put forward as the basis of the demands for change, and determine which of them are valid; and, second, to force our economic institutions into harmony with these, at whatever cost. In this work the student of

ethics and the student of social institutions must co-operate, and neither can hope to accomplish much without the aid of the other. The study of society and social institutions is approaching the dignity of a science, and no moral or religious leader should essay to deal with the great problems of the day without availing himself of all the light that modern social study has placed at his disposal.

Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace : "The Concept of Immortality in the Philosophy of St. Thomas." December 8.

The starting point in the discussion is the relation between soul and body. These are not, according to St. Thomas, two separate substances, nor are their functions merely parallel. The soul is the principle of all vital activity whether conscious or unconscious. It co-ordinates the functions of the organism and maintains the identity of the individual life. Death implies the falling away of the bodily elements from their union with the soul. It must also bring about important modifications in the activity of the mind, especially in those processes which depend upon organic function. But the soul itself survives and preserves intact its higher powers of intellection and volition. This survival is not conceived by St. Thomas as an absorption into the Being of the World; what he insists on is personal immortality. Nor does he admit that the soul passes through successive incarnations. He points out, however, that the particles of matter which from time to time have entered into the organism and shared in its life, persist as realities after their release from the vivifying influence of the soul.

"The Argument of St. Thomas for Immortality." December 15.

The mere fact of consciousness is not a guarantee of immortality; the brute is conscious, but is not immortal. The desire for immortality, though full of significance, is not put forward by St. Thomas as the principal argument. And while he maintains that the soul is simple and therefore indivisible, he does not thence infer that it must survive. His contention is rather that the soul possesses in its own right and not by a grant from the organism, the title to existence. In support of this view he shows that, whereas all bodily functions originate in the soul, there are certain forms of mental activity which issue from the soul itself. Strictly speaking, it is more correct to say that the brain depends upon the soul than to say that the soul depends upon the brain. Hence, at death, the dissolution of the organism does not involve the lapse of the soul into nothingness. In other words, the main argument used by St. Thomas rests upon the self-supporting subsistence of that principle which is the source of our intellectual processes and, jointly with

the body, the source of all the activities that make up our life. Immortality is thus the continuance by the soul alone of that life from which the organism has lapsed.

Dr. Maurice Francis Egan: "Literature and Life." January 12.

Dr. Egan, in his first lecture, speaking of the definition of literature, said: "Literature is so closely the expression of life and the changing conditions of life, that we can hardly limit it, except by life itself. Literature, as far as it can be described to-day, is more than the reflection of life; and it is much more than it seemed to be to the Athenian Greeks, the Augustan Romans, the French of the time of Richelieu or the Italians of the Renaissance; for, in their eyes, it was a narrow thing capable of rigid definition."

In his "Comparative Literature," Professor Posnett says that works of literature, whether in prose or verse, "are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the greatest number of the nation rather than instruction and poetical effects, and appeal to general rather than specialized knowledge." Mr. Posnett goes on to say that "every element of this definition clearly depends on the limited spheres of social and mental evolution—the separation of imagination from experience, of didactic purpose from aesthetic pleasure, and that specialization of knowledge which is so largely due to the economic development known as 'division of labor.'"

On close comparison with the thing defined, Professor Posnett's definition proves as unsatisfactory as hitherto all definitions have proved. It is plain that the "Inferno," "Paradise Lost," and the first part of "Faust" are noble works of literature. And it is plain that the object or effect of these three masterpieces is not to give pleasure—even that higher pleasure of which the Utilitarians admit the existence. There are great poems, like "Sordello" and "The Ring and the Book" of Browning, that are beyond the liking or understanding of the greatest number. Admitting that the *Inferno* is literature, and, leaving out the question as to whether it appeals to the many or not, we cannot help seeing that Professor Posnett's definition does not touch it. I accentuate his definition because it is largely accepted and because Professor Posnett assumes that it is scientific. Literature cannot be judged as literature by the Utilitarian criterion. To make it a matter for the suffrage of the greatest number is to take it into the ground now occupied by politics. Erudition or science or experience are only unpoetical when the poet is too small for the weight he attempts to carry.

If we deny the value of this definition, how can literature be defined? I am not sure that the big word literature can really be defined. I am not certain that the great and overhanging subject it stands for can be rigidly described. But it seems to me that to-day literature is the expression in writing of thought, experience, observation,

emotion, mood, knowledge personally expressed. Newman comes very near to this in his definition of style. *Scientia*, pure and simple, is not literature; for it is pure truth; but *scientia* expressed in a personal manner, according to certain canons of taste, is literature.

"The Pedigrees of Books," January 19,

The mission of literature is to express the qualities of men and to express their qualities personally. The modern interpreter of literature who yearns to bring it under the term science is attempting the impossible. Its highest function is to express life. Literature of itself must, until the world shall all be one way of thinking and feeling, be as varied as Milton's leaves in Vallambrosa—for no two leaves are exactly alike, though they are all leaves.

Still the value and beauty of literature is best studied by processes of comparison which may be called scientific. Every book has its pedigree, and the ancestors of books, like the ancestors of people, cannot be entirely separated from the soil in which they grew. The sentimental romanticism of Goethe, as evident in the "*Sorrows of Werther*," is due to the influence of "*La Nouvelle Heloise*" of Rousseau, and Rousseau was also the father of "*The Sentimental Journey*," but before Rousseau we find that other sentimentalist, the Abbe Prevost, whose book, "*Manon Lescaut*," was the predecessor of "*Paul and Virginia*." "It is evident," to quote from Joseph Texte, "that the literature of the modern epoch—and perhaps of all epochs—neither develops nor progresses without imitating or borrowing. It is necessary in order to make original works germinate, to prepare the soil with the debris of other works."

The mere investigation as to whether one book is an imitation of another is not so important or vital as the analysis of beauties that have stimulated greater beauties in another book.

A great book is not like an atom in an exhausted atmosphere—since, I believe, we are told that there is no such thing as vacuum. It touches other books on all sides. It makes of each nation, as Joseph de Maistre says, "a contemporary posterity," and of each individual who reads it a "centre of permeative influences."

Mr. Egan gave examples of the pedigree of books and of the influence of author upon author. Among these were the descent of Tennyson from Theocritus and Sir Thomas Malory, of Emerson from Plato and Montaigne, the kinship of Keats and Maurice de Guérin.

"Modern Literary Movements," January 26.

"All psychological or social movements are the results of successive conditions and reactions, the laws of which have not yet been formulated, and which have had their counterparts in the past ages of the world. To speak of any movement as exclusively literary—that is, as exclusively expressed in letters—would be incorrect; for the aspirations of the human race do not confine themselves to the expression of letters."

Mr. Egan analyzed and traced the development of classicism into romanticism, of romanticism into realism, of realism into naturalism, the return of romanticism through the Preraphaelites and the rise of symbolism. This change he pointed out in the several great divisions of literature, the drama, the novel. Beginning with Shakespeare he pointed out the romanticism of the drama up to the restoration, the ascendancy of classicism under Addison and Pope, the rise of democracy with the novel, the romantic revolt of Victor Hugo, of Scott, the realists Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, De Balzac, the French naturalist, and finally the tendency to romanticism of the present day, and its development in France into symbolism.

"If the poetry of Chaucer is romantic in spirit, it is only so in the sense that it was bound to no narrow treatment of subject or to no fixed models or imitation outside the poet's intellectual taste. The introduction to the *Canterbury Tales* is realistic. No modern novel could, in the best sense, be more so. 'The Knight's Tale' is romantic, if you will, because it clothes the Greeks of the old legends with the panoply of the Middle Ages. Theseus, the Greek, becomes a Duke, and the apparatus of the story of Arcite is brought down to the point of view of the fourteenth century. If we call Chaucer romantic because he represented life as he saw it and delighted in his own time, why not call Homer romantic?

"If Pope and Addison were aristocratic and classical, 'icily regular, splendidly null,' they preceded an era of democracy. The time when Addison could assume the mantle of Dryden and become an autocrat of literature was rapidly passing. The day of the patron was passing. The great Dean Swift might go about among his noble friends extorting guineas for his "little Papist poet, Pope;" but the years were at hand when historians, poets and all book-makers were to appeal to the people, not to a coterie. The Hotel de Rambouillet and the year 1600 were gone forever; the ladies, whose criticisms made or unmade Corneille, who encouraged the young Bossuet, and displaced a court preacher because they could whisper to that arbiter of letters, the Cardinal Richelieu, that he used non-academic words, had passed like the snows of last year. The time was coming when the democratic idea which did not concern itself with kings or princes was to find expression in letters and to dominate. In France it came out in the romantic revolt of Victor Hugo; from '94 until his time, it had been as sordid in letters as the *Marats* and Robespierres, who let loose the hurricane of Revolution. It was an appeal of the individual to individuals. In France it was a conscious revolt, with principles and a formula. In England it expressed itself in a new vein of history; but, first, in the novels of Fielding and Smollett.

"Macaulay announced his theory of the historian's changed point of view, and faithfully put his theory into practice. The memoir, the diary, the letter became the material for the writer of history. It was no longer a question of the progresses of Louis XIV or of the plan of Waterloo; the lives of the men who fought, the social conditions of the families who staid at home—all these were now things for the new investigation. The legend of Stephenson sitting by his mother's fire and discovering the action of steam replaces the story of King Alfred and the burned cakes in the neat-herd's hut; the picture of Franklin and his kite found more admirers than that of the foolish Canute and the advancing waves. In fact, the waves had soused the king; and, if a monarch had burned his cakes, people saw no reason why he should not eat them or go without. Macaulay's method was exaggerated by Froude, with whom history became the personal expression of untruth. History to-day concerns itself with humanity, and it may be called the expressed psychology of the people, for the people are no longer incarnate in the person of the king.

"Few writers on Christianity have acknowledged its debt to the imagination. They have tried, following the lead of reformers, to support it by common sense—when the fact is that the highest form of religion has as little to do with common sense as it has to do with the stock market. The apostle who made himself a fool for Christ's sake was as much beyond the understanding of the average man of common sense as the ordinary reader of cheap magazines is below the poet of the Apocalypse. Sir Walter Scott, pioneer of the movement of aspiration, used the form of prose and the form of the novel; he was fortunate in that; the imagination of England caught fire. He showed that there were forgotten splendors in English faith and love. He repeopled the cathedral and the abbey; he showed that the England of the Middle Ages was not the England of Fox's 'Book of Martyrs.' He cast aside the curtains of the commonplace and the English beheld a new world all their own.

"Balzac's *mise en scene* is as realistic as Dickens', but he is often as romantic and grotesque as Dickens. Still, he is held in France to have begun that misnamed realistic movement which ought to have had for its motto 'Anything that the Devil does we shall deem it our mission to exaggerate.' Realism, analytical realism, was acclaimed tumultuously. Balzac, the De Goncourt's, Flaubert, followed one another. England already had as realists as to method, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot; and a realist who pretended nothing, who assumed nothing, who had no relations with the French school, but who belonged to the school of Miss Austen. This was Anthony Trollope. It was truly said of him that so long as men and women of the English upper middle classes existed, he could go on writing. 'Barchester Towers' and 'Orley Farm' are

the most typical examples of English realism, after 'Pride and Prejudice,' in our language. Mr. Howells and Mr. James have given us new men other good examples, tinged somewhat the self-consciousness of 'A Modern Instance,' 'The Rise of Silas Lapham,' and 'The Portrait of a Lady' and 'Washington Square.' Of these 'Silas Lapham' shows plainly the influence of Balzac.

"Realism itself could not escape analysis; the newer men wanted to dry it as the chemist dries alcohol. Every drop of water must disappear. And then the Darwinian movement was affecting life. Realism, after all, must be synthetical, since even the most scientific of the new school was forced to call in the aid of the imagination. There was the difficulty. Besides, Balzac—even the all-seeing Balzac—hesitated to say some things; Flaubert had his reserves. The movement of realism was hampered by prudery and it was not sufficiently scientific. It must be scientific; it must hitch, as it were, a potato cart to that roaring young steed, Evolution.

"In the fine arts we have been much affected by a movement which is partly literary. It was a stream flowing from the great romantic river of the beginning of this century—the river of romanticism that helped to fertilize the Tractarian movement. The Pre-Raphaelite reaction meant the saving of England from Philistinism. It was a revolt against the unintellectual conventions that had stifled the beautiful in England. Ruskin, who, if he had lived a hundred years would have died too soon, gave it force in literature and in the art of painting; Tennyson exemplified it in his earlier poems; Dante Gabriel Rossetti gave form in his verses and pictures. The intensity of the movement, its archaism, its affectations, almost sent the pendulum swinging back to Philistinism; but the education of the people had gone too far. Admiration for the great masters before Raphael, the demand of Ruskin that all artists should seek the beautiful in nature and depict it naturally, the accepting of simple forms, differentiated and distinct, in preference to the artificial symbols of nature which conventional painters had used unreflectingly were essentials of this movement. The influence of this Pre-Raphaelite movement spent itself in literature with 'The Blessed Damozel' and 'The Earthly Paradise.' But in the art of painting, especially in the revival of the older forms of beauty for household decoration, the Pre-Raphaelite revolt has been very potent.

"The clue to the romantic reaction—by which the Oxford movement was vitalized and from which the Pre-Raphaelites had their being—is thus named by W. J. Courthope in 'The Liberal Movement in English Literature:' 'If we are simply and solely positive we shall not be able to create at all. The exclusive scientific order which the philosophers who have appropriated the title of Positive would impose upon society is more remote from the reality of nature, or,

at least, of human nature, than the wildest extravagances of the "Arabian Nights." The revolt of the romantic school against the excessive realism of the eighteenth century ought to prove a fortiori that men will not tolerate an intellectual system from which the mystical and religious element is altogether excluded.'

"The study of these literary movements—which I have so inadequately sketched—must make for that high culture, which is only essential, spiritual, vital, when it circles continually about the eternal truths of God."

Rev. Dr. John J. Griffin: "The Liquefaction of Gases." February 2.

The lecturer began by alluding to the earliest ideas in regard to the atmosphere, and then sketched briefly the different steps in the development of our knowledge of gases, illustrating his remarks by means of lantern slides of the men and apparatus by whom this progress was accomplished. Von Helmont, the first to recognize a difference in gases, and who invented the term gas; Boyle, Gay Lussac and other prominent investigators, from whose experiments the various gas laws and the concept of "absolute zero" were evolved, were mentioned, and then the work of Davy and Faraday, who first attacked the problem of liquefaction of gases in a really scientific manner, was described in detail.

Pictures of Thilorier's apparatus, in which carbonic acid was liquefied on a large scale, of an explosion which emphasized the dangers of working with gases under great pressure, and of Aime's novel method of attaining great pressures with absolute safety by sinking bladders filled with gas to great depths in the ocean were exhibited.

Then followed a rapid survey of the recent work in liquefaction, in which costly and intricate apparatus and expensive chemicals in large quantities were employed as agents of compression and cooling, until Charles E. Tripler, a New York mechanic, purchased a second-hand boiler and compressor, and pumped air into several hundred feet of copper tubing terminating in a valve of his invention, which permitted some of the highly compressed air to flow back outside the tubing in which it was confined, cooling the latter so thoroughly that in a few minutes the air inside was liquefied and could be poured in pailfuls on the floor.

The liquid air used in the demonstration came from New York, and was brought upon the stage in a large, felt-lined can. The can was uncovered and clouds of vapor appeared to ascend from it, giving the audience the impression that it contained a quantity of boiling water, but the experiments which soon followed disillusioned them.

The liquid air was of a bluish tint, and was slightly turbid, this being due to minute particles of solid carbonic acid floating in it. When filtered through ordinary filter paper into a special double-walled glass receptacle, it had a clear sky-blue tint and remained quiescent.

Dr. Griffin poured a dipperful on a large cake of ice, and it sizzled and bubbled like water on a red-hot stove. Some was poured into a teakettle, which was then placed on the ice, and a stream of vapor shot from the spout, increasing in violence when a piece of ice was placed in the kettle. The vessels in which the liquid air was handled were soon heavily coated with frost. Articles of food, fruit, eggs, a beefsteak, were immersed for a few moments in this intensely cold liquid and taken out as hard as rock. A rubber ball and the tin dipper used to ladle out the air, flew into fragments on receiving slight blows of a hammer. Mercury was poured into a paper mold shaped like a hammer and taken out and used to drive a nail through a board.

Alcohol was frozen, a steel watch spring, one end of which had been heated to redness, was plunged below the surface of the liquid, and blazed and scintillated, scattering sparks throughout the vessel and falling in glowing drops to the bottom. As the air diminished in quantity by evaporation it became richer in oxygen, the nitrogen boiling off much more rapidly than the former constituent of the atmosphere. A piece of paper wetted with the air was ignited and disappeared in a flash. A small sheet of boiler felt, after being soaked with liquid air and touched with a match, went off like slow-burning gunpowder. These, and a number of other experiments, impressed on the audience the marvellous properties of this new discovery, and were followed with the keenest attention on the part of the audience.

"Some Triumphs of Synthetic Chemistry." February 16.

The work of a chemist, who sees in the bubbling and boiling of the contents of his retorts and flasks, in the color and other changes they undergo, indications and evidences of a motion and rearrangement of the tiny particles which he calls atoms, and who brings forth from these mixtures new compounds, possesses an air of mystery attractive in itself, but when the chemist explains his method of work, telling how he perceives and identifies the changes and groupings of these minute particles, too small to be seen even by the most powerful microscope; how he discovers their mutual relations in complex natural substances; how he then brings several elements together so as to form these same natural products, one marvels at his wizard-like powers, and can hardly understand that these wonders are but the application of well-defined scientific principles and not manifestations of magic.

The lecture began with a brief description of the discoveries which led to the principles on which constitutional or structural formulas are based: Wohler's synthesis of urea in 1828, Liebig and Wohler's work on the radical of the oil of bitter almonds, and Dumas' concept of types. Perkin's formation of the first aniline color, mauve, was illustrated, and the beginning and marvelous development of coal-tar preparations were described and made clear by numerous lantern slides and experiments. The latter were performed in small glass tanks, so constructed as to permit of their being introduced in the lantern in the place of the ordinary slides. The various reagents and color-producing compounds were placed in these tanks, and the changes taking place therein were visible in the greatly magnified image on the screen. Some of the effects were curious. The instantaneous production of brilliant tints, spreading like clouds over the screen, when two colorless liquids were mingled, the action of the air in producing color, as in the case of the change of indican to indigo, the curious effect producing the impression of rapidly-growing vegetation, which followed the placing of minute crystals of a green coloring matter on the surface of the water in the tank, were but a few of the great number of interesting experiments made visible to the entire audience in this manner.

One very impressive experiment showed the effect of increasing the density of the molecule by substituting for some of its hydrogen atoms various radicals or groups of elements. To illustrate this the transition of aniline yellow to a deep brown, and that of the deep scarlet of rosaniline through various shades of violet to bright blue, were shown by projection, the variation in color and shade being clearly evident.

The perfection in industrial chemistry, due to scientific methods of production, was made manifest by illustrations of the factories and processes by which many valuable compounds are prepared synthetically, besides being extracted from natural sources. In this series of views, those illustrating the production of the costly oil of roses, from the gathering of the flowers in the extensive rose plantations of the company, to the finished products that are in demand all over the world, were of peculiar interest.

The probabilities of synthetic alcohol were next dwelt upon, and the exhibition of a specimen of the substance obtained from limestone as the raw material, brought the lecture to a close.

Rev. Dr. Richard Henebry : "Irish Literary Monuments and Their Contents." February 9.

Gaelic literature extends in uninterrupted continuity from prehistoric times down to our own day.

The first class of monuments are the Ogham inscriptions incised on stone monoliths, showing an independent system of alphabet and

a most archaic type of Gaelic. The letters are scores, either single, or in groups up to five, fretted on the arras line of the stone, or on either of the meeting faces. Those inscriptions are sepulchral in character, usually exhibiting merely the name and patronymic of the deceased. They prove that the Irish possessed an alphabet of native invention and that they enjoyed an immemorial use of letters.

Following on these came the Gaelic personal and place names in early Latin writers, native or foreign, and next in order the inscribed stones of primitive Christian times in Ireland. These are written with Latin letters, in Gaelic, and in nearly all cases bespeak a prayer for the dead.

Almost coeval with the earliest of those is the first Gaelic written in books which has come down to us. This comprises the glosses, or words and short sentences in Irish of an explanatory or exegetical kind, written between the lines or on the margins of Latin manuscripts. The principal collections are found in St. Gall in Switzerland, Wurzburg in Germany, and Milan in Italy. They are the oldest and purest examples of the Gaelic language that we now possess, and are the main source of the immortal *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss. Those fragments cover the period from the seventh to the tenth century.

There follow all that now remain of the great books of Ireland. Those are huge tomes written on vellum at various times from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. The multifarious character of their contents is a faithful reflection of the myriad wonders of Irish thought, art and learning, extending even to the civilization belonging to the prehistoric epoch of Keltic unity. Some of these books have been published in fac simile by the Royal Irish Academy; the "*Lebor na Huidri*" and the "*Book of Leinster*" notably. They constitute Ireland's claim to recognition as a primitive and independent centre of literary activity on a level with Greece, Rome and ancient India. They preserve a large portion of primeval Keltic tradition free from taint of foreign influences and endowed with a freshness and vigor that lends them a quality of surpassing interest now.

All compositions written within the period from the sixteenth century to the present day are called modern Irish. The works of the Four Masters and Dr. Jeoffrey Keatynge are the principal monuments of this division. Here the literary style finally meets and mingles with the folk-speech of to-day. The language in its present phases, by its copious vocabulary and extreme mobility, is as fitted to convey thought and to serve all the purposes of human commerce as any in existence, and is sustained besides by a literary tradition that is unique in the commonwealth of letters.

"Gaelic Melodic Schemes in Word and Sound." March 2.

A, in word. In ancient Ireland there were two classes of poets, the Bards and the Filid. The rights and privileges of each class are defined in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote. The Filid were the professional poets, the Bards mere rhymers. Nowadays one hears much of Bards and nothing of Filid, a proof that many of our modern sources of knowledge are of but feeble inspiration. Bards were of two kinds, Doer-Baird and Soer-Baird, each comprising eight subdivisions in a regularly descending scale. To each minor class was assigned its peculiar metre, with privilege always of composing in the metres proper to the Bards in a lower grade. The Filid were classed according to the years of their college study; and as the course lengthened from seven to twelve years, so their degrees were increased in like manner. The title of Ollam always represented the highest degree in the poetical caste. A File ranked next to a prince. His privileges were almost without limit. In order to attain to such an exalted position he read a long and arduous college course as rigorously defined by programme as the curriculum of any modern university. A detailed examination of the material for study reveals a wonderfully high state of development in the department of ancient Irish civilization concerned with the making of poetry.

The defining characteristics of traditional Irish poetry were: Exact syllable reckoning, regulation of the length of ending words, a fixed caesura for every metre, neglect of the best accent, while a number of vocalic and consonantal correspondences took the place of cadences in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit poetry. These correspondences were initial or final. The former is called alliteration and as such needs no further specification; the latter rhyme. Rhyme was of three kinds. First, (a) rhyming vowels agreed in quality and quantity, and the consonants following were the same, as in full English rhyme, or (b) the following consonants were not the same, but related to each other by being in the same class; second, in monosyllabic words only the consonants following the vowels were the same or related; third, the debide rhyme. Here the second rhyming syllable was unaccented, a phenomenon without parallel elsewhere. Combination of those poetic expedients evolved a total of 318 regularly known and classified metres.

The modern prosodial system begins to appear in the sixteenth century. Its characteristics were: Beat accent, alliteration and vocal assonance; the main peculiarity being the lavish use of those assonantal occurrences. Apparently a skeleton of vocalic succession, was first chosen and the song made to correspond with it. For instance, a poem by Dr. Keatynge has in every line the following scheme of vowel sounds in the accented places: ó á á ó í.

With those poetic expedients the number of possible metres was of course infinite.

B, in sound. Irish music differs from modern in that it possesses a peculiar ineffable tone-color. This arises from (1) differences of scale; (2) differences of keys or tonics; (3) differences of accent and phrasing.

1. Irish music is composed on what is called a gapped quinquegrade scale constructed on a chain of fifths. It differs therefore radically from the modern scale, is utterly incommensurable with it, and hence music composed upon it can never be rendered by the modern scale. This will appear if the modern and Irish scales be set down side by side, marking the interval between each tone.

Modern major scale:

C major, D minor, E semi-tone, F major, G minor, A minor, B semi-tone, C.

Irish Scale:

C major, D tone and a half, F major, G tone and a half, B^b major, C.

Here we find the modern scale has three classes of interval, major, minor and semi-tone, whereas the quinquegrade scale has but two, viz., three major intervals and two long gaps each a tone and a half in length. Again in the modern scale the tones are so related to each other that there arise the complications of tonic and dominant. In the quinquegrade scale each tone was independent and assumed those functions at will. Hence any single note in the scale might be regarded as fundamental for the time being and a new scale built upon it as tonic. This introduces the next discrepancy.

2. Differences of keys or tonics. The modern scale is rigid. If to the key of C given above there be prefixed the signature of two sharps, that signifies merely that every tone is raised a major interval. The key signature shows how high or how low each tone must be played, but the scale remains precisely the same. The foundation of all music being reduced to such meagre dimensions, modern musicians strive to amplify it by occasional use of the so-called minor keys. On the other hand, Irish music retained the full wealth of mediaeval scale systems. Each note becomes tonic in its turn, and thus five different scales were evolved. Representing a major interval by — and the long gap by x we have the following five scales:

- 1° C — D x F — G x B^b — C.
- 2° D x F — G x B^b — C — D.
- 3° F — G x B^b — C — D x F.
- 4° G x B^b — C — D x F — G.
- 5° B^b — C — D x F — G x B.

Afterwards under the influence of ecclesiastical Plain Song semi-tones were added to the Irish scale. Another major interval was

inserted in each long gap, leaving two equal semi-tones. If scale three above so completed be the ground-work of an Irish air it is evident that it approaches pretty closely in construction to a strain built on the modern major scale, because the semi-tones will fall between the third and fourth and the seventh and eighth, still many of its intervals will be a little too sharp, as may easily be evinced by a comparison of the two kinds of scale with their inequalities of interval. Such an air could be rendered approximately by a modern musician on an instrument tuned in the modern manner, but the subtle shades of tone, the essential mark of Irish music, would of course be lost.

3. Differences of accent and phrasing. Modern musical expression is an outcome of the conventional rules formulated in Italy about two hundred years ago, and is so artificial and limited in range that all its phases can be adequately expressed by a few common directions for playing. But nearly every Irish air had a peculiar character and mood of its own that could not be defined on paper, and so was learned directly from performers who played according to the method and technique of tradition. Of course strangers or natives who have broken completely with this tradition modulate and define their phrases and give expression after the Italian manner. The whole performance is such a silly and impertinent travesty of Irish music that it is a marvel nobody objects to it, the more so that real Irish music may be had yet in plenty.

Moore's Melodies are regarded as the very soul of Irish music. But even if these airs were not vitiated and botched beyond recognition in other ways they are no longer Irish music for the reason that they invariably conform to the canons, not of Irish, but of modern musical art whenever those diverge from each other.

Old women still sing and chant Irish music and country fiddlers who retain the traditional style of rendering still play it. Elsewhere a sorry sham has boldly taken its place. And that is sung, played and applauded as evidence of our forefathers' musical skill, whereas it is no more Irish than the English brogue which ignorant persons think is the only Irish language. Irish music cannot be played on instruments tuned in the modern way, nor printed in books according to the modern mode, nor made to throb its palpitating old-time soul message in the mincing accents of modern saccharine sentimentality.

Dr. Edward L. Greene : "The Plant World in Relation to Physical Man."
March 9.

It is only by the intermediation of plant life that the continuation of animal life on our planet is possible; for the animal can not consume, digest and assimilate that which is mineral; but the plant does this. Thus the plant world is, first of all, the great natural

food laboratory for man and beast. The inorganic or mineral kingdom does, indeed, supply us with a considerable number of products—salts, acids, alkalies—useful in the preparation of our food, or serviceable as medicines; but it gives to no form or phase of animal life anything, air and water excepted, which we could not do without. The plant must take up from the earth and take in from the atmosphere, the crude elementary substances of things, and make them into food for us; and not only food, but also clothing material, and a thousand other useful products. Thus is indicated, in outline, the intimacy and the fundamentality of the relationship which the plant world sustains to physical man.

The most important foods, with at least four-fifths of mankind, are those commonly designated as the farinaceous; foods in which the substance known as starch predominates. All plants, except those of the lowest and simplest organization, produce starch, storing it up in certain cells, as bees store honey, for future use. A very great diversity of special organs, in different plants, are devoted to the storage of this nutriment. In the wheat plant, for example, as in all other cereals, the seed is the special repository of this nutritive substance. Each grain, when perfected, consists of a diminutive germ, the seat of its vitality; and this embedded within, or at least intimately connected with many times its own bulk of cells filled with starch. Now this alimentary substance which the wheat plant elaborates, for the nourishing of its own germ, happens to be among all the varied products of nature's laboratory, the one most admirably adapted to become food for man. And with some further preparation, at the hands of man, it becomes bread; and on this alone human life can be supported, as in primitive times was often proven, in perfect health and undiminished vigor, from childhood to extreme age.

The body of this lecture was given to the description of the different commercial products yielded by plants, to serve as food, or as furnishing medicines, beverages, clothing and other necessities, conveniences, comforts and luxuries to man in his physical being.

"The Plant World in Relation to Spiritual Man." March 16.

By the expression spiritual man, as far as here employed, our whole incorporeal being is to be understood; the spiritual as the antithesis of the physical in man. The lecture is, therefore, a tentative development of the idea of the plant world's influence upon the intellect and sensibilities; and its bearings upon the mental, moral and religious faculties.

The first suggestion here is one which follows directly upon our dependence on this realm of nature for our food, clothing and shelter. For while various plant products, and large quantities of them, are essential to our continued existence here, it happens that nature does not yield us all this spontaneously. In order to have these

products of hers we must work for them. And so out of this physical interrelation between plants and man arises the most primitive, fundamental and universal motive to human activity and industry, both physical and mental. It furnishes the original occasion—so to speak—of human choice between the virtue of industry and the vice of indolence.

In the developing of a taste for the beautiful in form and color, the plant world has no doubt held the chief place. As a faculty, this susceptibility to the influence of the beautiful belongs to man alone among the creatures that occupy this planet with him. No naturalist or philosopher would suggest that quadruped and reptile realize the agreeableness of the verdure of the fields and forests wherein they disport themselves; or that birds and insects are conscious of the beauty of the flowers over which they hover and from which they sip the honeyed nectar of their food. As a gift bestowed by the Creator on man alone, the place which it holds among his faculties is an exalted one. The appreciation of the beautiful in form and coloring is allied to the taste for music; or, if not allied, they may at least be classed together as similarly bespeaking man's exaltation above the rest of the animal kingdom, just as the possession of the religious faculty exalts still farther above the rest.

Other points discussed at length in this lecture are the influence of trees and forests upon the sensibilities, and especially in developing certain finer tastes. And the importance, as a means of education, or mental development, of the study of the whole philosophic system of the plant world in its relation to other departments of nature.

Dr. J. Joseph Dunn: "Origin of the Romance Languages." March 24.

From the *prisca latinitas* of Rome there sprang two dialects, the one the popular, called *sermo plebeius*, *quotidianus*, the other the literary, called *sermo perpolitus*, *eruditus*. While the former was living the natural life of a language, in a constant state of change, the latter had met with a check to its further development in the literary movement of the first century B. C. These two idioms were not separated like oil and water; there was a constant borrowing on both sides and thus a tendency towards a mean. It is this average, colloquial, every-day Latin, that which was living in the consciousness of the people no matter to what class they belonged, which is meant by popular or vulgar Latin, and it is this sort of Latin which was brought with the Roman Conquest to the different parts of the Empire.

Of the provinces first and most thoroughly romanized was that one called "*Provincia*" par excellence. In addition Latin has survived in Northern Gaul, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, parts of the Helvetia, Raetia, Dacia and Macedonia, besides in the Channel, Balearic and

Italian islands, and sporadically on the coast of the Adriatic; while in Britain, Germany, Noricum, Pannonia, Africa and the Hellenic East it was submerged by the waves of barbarian invasion which swept over those regions.

In its propagation among the indigenous peoples of the provinces the Vulgar Latin suffered two kinds of changes, the one internal, the working out of natural tendencies arrested in the literary Latin; these are common to the whole domain; and external, by contact with the native or with the non-Latin invading peoples; these are confined to the separate provinces. The strongest element of the latter kind is the Germanic, which has affected, most of all, the Vulgar Latin of Northern Gaul, not so much in phonology as in vocabulary. The Arabic has left traces of its influence in Spain and to a less extent, in Portugal, Sicily and Southern Italy, and the Keltic has undoubtedly modified the Latin, especially in Northern Gaul and Northern Italy. But, in comparison with the Latin, to these and to the other foreign elements is due but a small part in the formation of the Romance Languages which concord in having the same grammatical structure and lexique but differ mainly in phonetic character.

Latin did not spread in ever enlarging circles with Rome as their common center, but was carried, now to one place, now to another. Every time a colony left Italy and every time the colonies themselves sent forth shoots a new variety of Latin was formed. These phases of the Vulgar Latin, modified according to time and space, are the Romance or Neo-Latin Languages. Among these dialects some in the course of time gained the ascendancy over the others and, owing to no inherent merits, but having their *raison d'être* in political or historical reasons, reached the dignity of literary idioms which, for the sake of convenience, it is customary to enumerate as the Romance Languages: French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Provençal, Raetian, Franco-Provençal and Roumanian, to which must be added the innumerable lesser dialects, subdialects and patois.

"Troubadours and Trouvères." March 30.

The most marked distinction between the ancient literatures of the north and of the south of France is that while the former, the oitanic, is especially prominent in the epic, drama and narrative, the latter, the ocitanic, is almost entirely engrossed in one form of art, the artistic lyric. This is but an outgrowth of the popular songs of the menestrels and joglars, the descendants of the mimi, scurrae and joculatores, the public amusers of the ancients. With the growth of ease and refinement a brilliant society was formed, especially in the South, and the singers of the people were promoted from the cross roads and taverns to the intimacy of the castle life. These are

the poets whom we call troubadours and trouvères. The words have primarily only a geographic or linguistic difference, and, to the best of our knowledge, are derived from a suppositional *tropare (built on Lat. tropus "song," and so meaning "to compose musical airs") according to the scheme:

tropare > Prov. trobar. O. Fr. trover

Singular, subjective case: trobátor > Prov. trobaire, O. Fr. *trovere*.

" oblique case: trobatórem > Prov. *trobador*, O. Fr. *troveór*.

In the reduction of cases the italicised forms, modernized according to a law of French phonology, have survived, hence troubadour and trouvere. The troubadour was "the knight errant of literature," half guest, half courtier, a sort of nomad, free to come and go when and wherever fancy led him, respected, honored, loved and munificently rewarded, and to this encouragement and support is due the fact that the mediaeval literature of France, of the north as well as of the south, has no analogues in the Romance domain. Poems of more than 400 troubadours have come down to us and we know the names of many others. Among them were kings, princes and other nobles, but the most celebrated troubadours were men of lowly birth. The cradle of the aristocratic lyric poetry of Gaul was Poitou and Limousin, the intermediate region between the north and the south of France, and the first troubadour of any importance was William IX, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, who ruled at the beginning of the twelfth century. After 1150 we are in the period of full bloom in which flourished the greatest masters of the art. While the mediaeval literature of the langue d'oïl is in several forms vastly richer than that of the South, yet it is undeniable that for her courtly lyric she is indebted to the Provençal. The center of the Provençal influence in the north of France was the Court of Eleanor, wife of Louis VII, where one of the first French poets to compose after the manner of the poetry of the troubadours was Chrestien de Troyes. In making an estimate of the value of the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères we must remember that they were working in an untried field and that what are now common-places were then fresh and original ideas and expressions. Although love was the main theme of their poetry they often entered into social and political questions and exercised a most important influence, for the most part beneficial, on the life of their time. Their poetry being the creation of the feudal society came to an end towards the close of the thirteenth century as a result of the Albigensian war, which brought ruin to the nobility, its principal support. In the following century attempts were made to revive the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères, but in vain, yet, beyond the Pyrenees, the Rhine and the Alps, it found congenial soil, being not without an effect on the Minnesingers and giving birth to the

so-called Sicilian poetic school and to the poetic ideas of Dante and Petrarch, whom Coleridge calls "the final blossom and perfection of the troubadours."

Dr. James Field Spalding: "Emerson." April 2.

Fitness of the subject for present consideration touched upon the aim to avoid extremes of unimixed praise and narrow prejudice. The main events of Emerson's life traced, together with the growth of his opinions upon various subjects, literary, religious, philosophical, and political.

Emerson's literary method, a detriment to his style; producing polished sentences, but these often without logical connection. His self-criticism on this point. The number and range of his subjects. His thought and his way of putting it command attention. Illustrations of thought and manner.

Emerson's acknowledged place as a literary critic. His estimates not elaborate criticisms, but flashes of insight, notable for originality, independence, and discernment. His "Representative Men" and his "English Traits" analyzed.

His poetry the poetry of nature steeped in symbolism; his chosen mode for uttering "ideal truth." Though heedless of rules, he can be artistically perfect if he will. Objections of critics answered. Passages from his verse.

Emerson's philosophical views necessarily considered in any just estimate of him. Not a disciple of any system; his prevailing tone Platonic idealism. How he contrasts idealism and materialism. Degrees of idealism, God the great spiritual fact. Danger of his thinking—that of not making God distinct from His world; yet he can not strictly be claimed to teach pantheism. His intuition; his essential mysticism; belief in divine illumination, ecstasy, "the still, small voice." Illustrative passages, describing the presence of God in the soul, and the soul without God. With him, self-reliance is reliance on God. Beyond this "acquiescence," the gist of his moral philosophy is optimism; meaning that "right is done at last, or chaos would come." Good is positive, evil only negative. He owns the existence of sin, but puts away the thought of it; is not moved by it, because he will not see it.

Emerson's religion at best natural religion; its root-error the rejection of the truth of the Incarnation. Yet he disowns the remotest wish to unsettle Christian belief; he only would have men sincere in their professions.

Growing discontent of his later life with liberalism; lament for the faith and the piety of former days; evident grief and dejection in view of the free thought of the age. His last resort to fall back upon conduct. Futility of this attitude in the fact of God's fuller revelation.

Emerson's view of the Catholic religion important, as that of a leader of American thought. His hold upon many Catholic principles evident. His various opinions showing, with much misapprehension, a degree of honest appreciation and openness of mind to the truth; that he felt the soul's needs could never be met by natural religion, nor could Protestantism satisfy them.

Emerson not an ideal, in literature or in life. Yet his dignity of thought and beauty of language claim admiration; and his worth as an inspirer and an encourager is manifest. His established influence in American life and thought can not be ignored nor despised. It must be reckoned with. Under rightful authority intelligent Catholics may get great good from him; treasuring the genuine grain, and throwing the chaff to the winds.

"Newman as a Literary Man." April 4.

The world waiting for a full and worthy biography of John Henry Newman. The chief dividing points of his life stated. Why interesting and important to look upon him as a man of letters.

No strong early indications of his achieving a literary reputation. Youthful productions of little importance. From the first, giving attention to style. Some of his masters. Wider field for effort, when Fellow of Oriel. Relations with Dr. Whately. Literary quality of the Anglican sermons, with illustrative passages.

Characteristics of his writing—in nature and spirit, in style, and in thought. The spirit, predominantly religious, even in all his strictly literary work. "Occasional" nature of his writings. His feeling about this "unpleasant necessity." Admitted merits of his style—in simplicity, purity, naturalness, luminousness; its controlling charm. His method, severe correction and revision. Wide scope of his thought; powers of imagination and reasoning; his seeking to meet every difficulty. Pain in thinking out a question. His style and thought did not decline, as some have said, in his Catholic period. Tribute of R. H. Hutton, the noted Angelican critic, on this point. A few passages from the Catholic sermons.

Newman's poetry, nearly all lyrical, and deeply religious. Verse-writing, with him, a recreation. An idealist in poetical composition; his art an inspiration, and very little of an effort. His chief celebrity from "The Pillar of the Cloud." Other poems noticed. History and analysis of "The Dream of Gerontius."

Newman's stories, novels with a purpose, particularly "Loss and Gain, the Story of a Convert." Its literary merits and defects. The book how far a mirror to the writer's experience. The controversial motive to answer another story directed against the Oxford converts. Illustrations of tone and style. "Callista," of higher rank as a story, and praiseworthy for spiritual teaching, does not command admiration for its art; too dull and heavy; not vivid, not thrilling. The author not in his element; not equal to the heroic or the tragic in fiction.

History of Newman's most definitely literary production, "The Idea of a University." Its strong positions, the claim for theology in university education, and the defense of knowledge as its own end. Brief analysis of these positions. The author's skillful treatment of various topics; lighting up dry, academic themes with convincing eloquence. The book permeated by his highest and best literary quality. Illustrative passages.

His "Grammar of Assent" briefly characterized. The literary quality here as truly if not as fully as elsewhere, in felicity of style, richness of imagination, and fertility of illustration; but the subject and the treatment precluding further present consideration.

The "Apologia pro Vita Sua," Newman's literary masterpiece. The occasion, and how fully he took advantage of it, not merely to silence Kingsley, but to change the public sentiment of England. Mr. Hutton's striking testimony. Permanent religious value of the book. Its worth in literature, for style and thought. Charm of its self-portraiture; one of the few classics of the world in this regard. Further reference to varied merits.

Newman as a literary man an impressive figure. An acknowledged intellectual light and power. His spiritual influence all the stronger for his gifts of word and thought so well improved.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Rt. Rev. Rector, Mgr. Conaty, spoke in Boston, May 23, before the Young Men's Congregational Club. His subject was "Religion in Ideal Manhood." He emphasized the necessity of positive religion in the formation of character. He referred to the Greek ideal of physical development and the Hebrew ideal of the spiritual, and said that the Christian, which was the union of both, was the true ideal which, in its perfection, is found in Christ. Mgr. Conaty discussed the tendency to ignore positive religion as a necessity in the work of developing manhood. Ethics, culture, moral training, as presented by the new education, are all divorced from positive Christianity, which alone gives character to the education that fits a man for life. Religion informs conscience, develops virtue, restrains vice, teaches duty and responsibility, and gives strength to manhood. The question of life cannot be answered except by religion.

Mgr. Conaty dwelt upon the increase of crime as seen in public and private life, and characterized it as intellectual vice, the logical outcome of an education which has no place for God. It is not the result of illiteracy, but of ignorance of God and the duty of life. Men should ask the reasons for such a condition, and seek for the causes. They will find that the origin of the evil is in the system of education which has recognized the demands of non-Christian and infidel, while it refuses to listen to the demands of the Christian conscience. Public education which raises the cry of sectarianism when Christianity appeals for a hearing, must soon lead to indifference and unbelief. The natural is exalted and the supernatural ignored. Commercialism rules, and only money value is recognized. God, the soul, immortality, sin, have no meaning for such an education, and as a result manhood lacks its highest and best development. Our nation needs good citizens in order that the benefits of free government may be perpetuated, but only those who are good men can be good citizens, and goodness can be known best and preserved in our lives through the religion which Christ has taught us through His Church, which He commissioned as the teacher of life. We demand religion in our education, and to us Catholics religion means the teaching of the Catholic Church.

V. Rev. Dr. Garrigan lectured at the Visitation Academy, Baltimore, May 24. His subject was: "Collegiate Education for Women."

Rev. Dr. Shahan, Professor of Church History, has an article in the *Conservative Review* for June on "The Catholicism of France." He has also been appointed on the Commission of Judges to designate the celebrated Americans whose busts shall be placed in the Temple of Fame to be erected in New York City. He lectured at Montreal, June 11, on "A Century of Catholicism."

Dr. Neill delivered, on April 10, the opening lecture in a public course on the "Evolution of Industry," given at the Central High School Building, Washington, under the auspices of the Public School Trustees and the Civic Center.

Dr. A. F. Zahm, Associate Professor of Mechanics in this University, was, in April last, appointed official delegate to the International Congress on Aeronautics which is to be held in Paris this summer. The appointment was made by Dr. J. H. Gore, Director of the Department of Organization of International Congresses.

Graduation Sunday.—Solemn High Mass was celebrated on June 2, at 9.30, by the Rector. Rev. P. J. Healy, S. T. L., of New York, acted as deacon, and Rev. M. J. McSorley, of Philadelphia, as subdeacon. The Rev. T. P. O'Keefe, of Santa Fe, was master of ceremonies. At the end of the Mass the Te Deum was sung in thanksgiving for all the blessings of the year. The sermon on the occasion was by the Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Associate Professor of Sociology and President of the Alumni Association. His subject was "The Academic Spirit."

Rev. John D. Maguire, holder of the Anna Hope Hudson Fellowship in this University, has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. He fulfilled the requirements in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. His dissertation is entitled: *De Rhetorico Genere quo in Concionibus usus est Livius*. Dr. Maguire is a priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. He received the degree of A. B. at LaSalle College, pursued the usual studies in philosophy and theology at St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, and received the degrees of S. T. B. and S. T. L. at this University.

Holy Cross College.—The Congregation of the Holy Cross, through the Provincial, Very Rev. Dr. John A. Zahm, have recently enlarged their fine property by the purchase of 6½ acres. This addition, which immediately adjoins the original grounds on the north, is somewhat more elevated than the college site, and is, for the most part, heavily wooded. It was bought from the owners, Julia M. Thayer *et al.*, for the sum of \$15,000. The College holdings now amount to twelve acres, obtained at a cost of \$31,000.

During the past few months considerable work has been done in grading, laying out walks, and planting trees. The newly purchased grounds will also be improved, and "Rosemont" will soon become one of the most attractive, as it is now the most prominent, of the college locations in the neighborhood of the University.

Since its dedication, the college building has given satisfaction in all that tended to secure the health and comfort of its occupants. A new altar has lately been placed in the chapel; several choice paintings and statues have been received. Various donations have been made by Rev. Dr. Zahm and other friends to the library, which now contains 1,500 carefully selected volumes.

Trinity College Announcements.—The announcements of Trinity College for 1900-01 have appeared in a pamphlet of 23 pages. Owing to unavoidable delays in building, the College will be open for students in November next, and not in October, as had been announced. All candidates for admission will be required, for the present at least, to take an entrance examination in the following subjects: Latin, Greek, French, German, English, History, Mathematics, Physics. It is hoped, however, that such uniformity in the academy requirements for graduation will eventually be secured as to render this examination unnecessary for applicants who present proper certificates.

The courses of study for the freshman class only are indicated. They are prescribed for all students who intend to prepare for degrees. Beginning with sophomore year, the courses will be arranged in groups, and the student will be free to elect the group which she is to pursue until graduation. The studies of the freshman year include the following subjects: Religion (3 courses), Philosophy (2), Church History (2), Greek (3), Latin (3), English (4), German (3), French (3), Mathematics (2), History (2). The courses in Religion, Philosophy and Church History extend through four years.

Special students, *i. e.*, students who desire to follow the College courses but do not intend to prepare for degrees, will be admitted after passing the entrance examination. On completing their studies, they may, with the consent of their instructors, receive certificates.

The work that Trinity College proposes to do during the first year of its existence is plainly and concisely stated in these pages. The press-work is neat and the form of the pamphlet is convenient. Its publication is a step further in the direction to which the College points in the motto: *Scientia Ancilla Fidei*.

The Association of Catholic Colleges, 1900.—For many years there has been a desire for a Conference of Catholic College representatives, but no effort was made to bring them together until last year, when the Rt. Rev.

Mgr. Conaty issued the call for the first meeting. The response was very general and the result proved that the time was ripe for an organization. That first Conference was an experiment. Until then, representatives of our different systems of colleges had never come together for consultation. They were unacquainted one with the other. In fact, within the same system, men had followed the same schedule of work, but had never exchanged views upon educational matters. One system had never been compared with another, and men were satisfied to struggle with the problems of collegiate work according to their own ideas or the traditions of their system. The first Conference brought system face to face with system, and the various systems face to face with the conditions of our collegiate life. It made teachers and leaders acquainted with one another. It opened up discussion upon the questions which were raised in educational circles, and it gave promise of practical results in the better ordering of college instruction and college discipline. It gave hope to many who thought that our colleges were not alive to present demands. It prepared an answer to the charge that our colleges are inferior to non-Catholic institutions. It made men see that success must come from an Association of Catholic Colleges which would, in annual meetings, carefully consider the program of study, the methods of teaching, the means of discipline, in a word, that would bring our colleges to an up-to-date condition, without sacrificing the essentials of a liberal education or the cherished traditions of any one of the systems under which they are conducted. The first Conference was tentative and preliminary, and resulted in a union for the study of collegiate conditions.

The second Conference, recently held, was a great step in advance of the first and reached some very definite and practical results. Its work was necessarily limited by time and subjects. It was not possible, in a two days session, to cover the whole field of college study, or to discuss the entire range of college defects. The program aimed to reach some general principles which would admit of subsequent extended discussion as to details. The important results reached are found in the instructions given to the committees, one to report a plan of entrance requirements for freshman class, and another an adjustment of the College or Preparatory School program, so as to make French and German prescribed studies. The importance of the first arises from the fact that it proposes a unity of action by which better preparation will be required from all students entering freshman class. Our colleges will thus line up with all others in a well-recognized standard. It will also prevent the danger to scholarship which arises from students passing from one college to another and "making classes." The importance of French

and German is realized to-day not only in university work, and especially in research work, but also in the professional schools, in ecclesiastical sciences, and in business. The matter of electivism was discussed in a most scholarly way, and while there seems to be no general disposition to allow the option of classical studies in a classical course as yet, there was a willingness to allow freedom among the colleges desiring to test it at least in a modified form.

The tendency towards the room system, especially for older boys, as also towards a change in methods of discipline, was quite evident, while a strong appeal from Father McHale for a more thorough instruction in religion met with universal approval. The remarkably well written paper of Father Brosnahan, while based upon a comparison of sections of the catalogues of Harvard College and Boston College, was, in fact, an answer to the charge that the courses in our colleges are inferior to those in non-Catholic ones. Father Dowling's paper on "Character Development," opened up discussions for many a future conference, and showed a disposition on the part of all to meet the demands of our age in a most liberal and fairminded way. Everyone acknowledges defects, and serious ones, but none greater than those that are found in all other systems. We have had to contend with tremendous difficulties, and we have succeeded well. Our systems have been handicapped by want of means and lack of equipment. There has been devotedness on the part of our teachers, and a spirit of self-sacrifice in our students. More is demanded now, better college equipment must be had, greater scientific training must be given for the teacher's chair, and consequently better instruction; and our colleges seem disposed to meet the demands. The Conference listened with intense interest to the Right Rev. Chairman's earnest paper on "The Plea for the Teacher," and applauded its appeal. It was recognized that it matters not what our buildings may be unless we have teachers who not only possess the knowledge men are seeking, but also the power to impart it. A splendid result of the Conference is the awakening of our collegiate instructors to the necessity of consultation with one another and of serious study upon the problems that confront them. A marked feature of the Conference was the absolute harmony that prevailed. Systems independent of one another, teachers belonging to the various religious orders as well as to the diocesan clergy, all met and discussed in a unity of spirit and oneness of purpose, which argues well for the future. It was an easy convention to preside over, and all were serious men, one in the aim and purposes of education as they were one in desire to make our Catholic colleges the best in the land. Men should not be impatient for the results; the National Educational Association took years to reach the conclusions which its committees

have reported. Our Association is in its beginning. One by one our defects will be considered, our schedule unified and improved. It is certain that the greatest good will result from the Conference, and that those who realize the difficulties in our path, will agree that a marvellous advance has been made, full of promise for the cause of Catholic education.

Gift of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.—The sisters who have charge of Holy Cross Academy in Washington, recently presented to the University a beautiful flag upon which is painted the papal coat-of-arms. It formed, with the national colors, an appropriate decoration for the stage upon which the Commencement Exercises were held.

VISIT OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

On Friday, June 1, President McKinley, accompanied by Mr. Long, Secretary of the Navy, and Private Secretary Cortelyou, visited the University. The Rector and the Vice-Rector of the University accompanied the distinguished party to the Assembly Room, in McMahon Hall, where they met the professors and students. The Rector welcomed the President in the following words :

“ Mr. President: I extend to you, in the name of the Catholic University of America, a most cordial welcome on your first visit to our University halls. It is, indeed, the greatest possible honor that, laying aside the many cares of your busy official life, you have found moments to spare in which to come in upon us in this informal way and to see us at our daily work. I extend to you the welcome of the University. I need hardly tell you, Mr. President, that what you see here in the group of our buildings and in the number of our students, representing all sections of our great country, is the result of ten years of life and labor as a university. Built upon the idea of a purely graduate university, the effort is marked with great success.

“ You see here a body of professors, young men and men of maturer years, whose successful studies at college have been crowned with the degrees of some of the best universities of the world. They are now devoting themselves, priests and laymen as they are, to the upbuilding of higher education in this country, along the lines of the splendid traditions of the Catholic Church and in obedience to her doctrines and scholarship. The student body represents three distinct classes in our Church life; the priest, the religious, who is one day to become a priest and teacher, and the layman, who is to enter professional life or devote himself to educational work.

“ The aim and purpose of the University are fixed by the aims and purposes of the Catholic Church in education, and like the Catholic Church, with its message of knowledge to the world, it knows no race line and no color line, while its doors are open to non-Catholics who may desire to receive instruction at its hands. The qualification of our lay schools is the qualification set by brains and character, while the instruction is fixed by that science which finds its guide in the Church of which we are proud to be members. We recognize here no aristocracy but the

aristocracy of education, and we strive to build that as the source of strength in our national life.

"Mr. President, the cross which surmounts our buildings is indicative of our religious faith, and the flag which floats to the breeze beside it is indicative of our national spirit. We are Catholic, holding our authority as an institution from the pontifical constitution granted us by the Holy Father, who founded this University; and we are American, obtaining our legal existence from the statutes of this District. Under this roof minds are taught to love the cross and reverence the flag. Catholic Americans, we are taught and we teach loyalty to God as the source of loyalty to the Republic. We honor you as the Chief Executive of our Republic, chosen by the suffrages of the people to the office you so nobly fill, and our American hearts are filled with pride as we welcome you under our university roof. Mr. President, I present to you our faculties and students, and assure you of the deep appreciation that all feel for the honor you have conferred upon us."

The President said in reply :

"I cannot refrain from responding in a few words for the most gracious welcome given me on behalf of the University by the honored Rector of this institution. I am pleased to meet both the faculties and pupils of this institution of learning. I have been glad to note building after building rising on these grounds in the last half dozen years, and I extend to you my cordial congratulations. It is most agreeable to me, with all the burdens of responsibility which rest upon me in the great office which was bestowed upon me by the people, to take myself from my busy duties and receive the warm and hearty welcome of the professors and students of this University. This nation is in advance of every other nation of the world in the matter of educational advantages and opportunities. There is no excuse for any young man, no matter what may be his condition, no matter how narrow his surroundings and limited his resources, he may receive an education which will fit him for the cares and responsibilities of life. No nation in the world is in greater need of educated young men than the American nation. They are the pillars of strength to this Republic, and we needed them, it seems to me, never more than at this hour. Gentlemen, I thank you."

Secretary Long then made a brief address, and said in part: "I should feel a little embarrassed in speaking to you if it were not for my old friend, Father Conaty, whom I have met many a time in Massachusetts, in June days as lovely as these. It was my privilege, when Chief Executive of the Old Bay State, to be at the commencements of Cambridge, and then at Boston College and Holy Cross College, Worcester."

The Secretary then alluded to the remark of the Rector with regard to the aristocracy of education, and said that it was the source of national strength.

The professors and students were then presented to the President and Secretary Long, the first to be presented being Monsignor McMahon, the respected founder of McMahon Hall. After the presentation, the President and party were escorted by Monsignor Conaty and Dr. Garrigan through the different buildings, and were afterward entertained for some little time by the Rector.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES.

The exercises of the Eleventh Annual Commencement were held in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, Thursday, June 7, at 10 A. M.

His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, presided. The Rector, Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty; the Vice-Rector, Rev. P. J. Garrigan, and the staff of professors and instructors, were seated on the stage. There were also present: Most Rev. Sébastian Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate; Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit; Hon. T. V. Powderly, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration; Mr. Wood, Attorney General of Alaska; Senator Maginnis of Montana; Rev. Dr. Marchetti and Rev. Dr. F. Z. Rooker of the Apostolic Delegation; the Spanish Minister, the Haitian Minister, Baron Ambrozy of the Austrian Legation, representatives of the German Embassy, and of the Chinese Legation; Mr. Gerard Lowther of the British Embassy; Gen. Thomas M. Vincent, U. S. A.; Col. Cooney, U. S. A.; Rev. J. D. Whitney, S. J., President of Georgetown University; Rev. Edward McTammany, S. J. Rev. Timothy O'Leary, S. J. and Dr. A. J. Faust, of Georgetown University; Dr. Charles C. Swisher of Columbian University; Rev. F. E. Gigot, S. S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; V. Rev. L. M. Dumont, S. S., President of the Divinity College; Rev. H. M. Chapuis, S. S.; V. Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P., President of St. Thomas College; V. Rev. J. B. Descreux, S. M., President of the Marist College; V. Rev. P. J. Franciscus, C. S. C., President of Holy Cross College; V. Rev. Godfrey Schilling, O. F. M., President of the College of the Holy Land; Rev. E. X. Fink, S. J., of Gonzaga College; Revs. J. F. Mackin, Eugene Hannan and J. F. Foley, of Washington, D. C.; Revs. D. C. DeWulf, Louis O'Donovan and J. C. Mallon of Baltimore.

STATEMENT BY THE RECTOR.

The Rector opened the exercises with a brief statement, in which he reviewed the work and progress of the University during the year. He spoke as follows:

It is not my purpose to make a set address, but rather to give some idea of what has been done in the University this year. What I have to say will deal mainly with facts and figures, and these are important elements in a University life. We have this year entered upon the second decade of our existence as a University, and I may be permitted to say that the prospects are the best in our history.

During the past year it was my privilege to represent the University at a meeting in Chicago, in which fourteen of the leading Universities of the United States were represented. The main purpose was the protection of the graduate degree. The Catholic University was recognized as occupying a place in the rank of institutions doing the highest class of graduate work.

The Second Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges was held in Chicago in April last, and I had the honor of presiding over its deliberations. The purpose of this Conference is the unification of our Catholic educational system, and the improvement of our collegiate instruction. No work of greater importance has ever been undertaken in relation to Catholic education. It is to the credit of the University that these meetings were inaugurated, and it is equally to our credit that they have been carried on successfully. All the different systems of collegiate instruction have been brought face to face, serious consideration has been given to our college conditions, and enthusiastic desire has been manifested to place our colleges in the very first rank for thorough instruction and liberal education. The Conference has set to work to unify our entire system, which finds its head and guidance in the University.

In the University itself, the work has been most satisfactory. The schedule of work as found in the Year-Book has been carefully followed with admirable results in student development. During the year there has been inaugurated, independently of the regular schedule, a special course of lectures by the professors, known as a "Culture Course." It consisted of thirty lectures, carefully co-ordinated and intended not only for the student body, but for all who are interested in university instruction. Many of our professors, in addition to their class-work, with its regular demand for study and research, have found time to appear in magazine and periodical, on the lecture platform and at the meetings of scientists. To teachers from other institutions the University has gladly accorded facilities for work in its libraries, museums, and laboratories.

The attendance of students during the year has been the largest in our history. One hundred and eighty students have been registered. Of these, 10 are in the School of Technology, 47 in the School of Law, 48 in the School of Philosophy, and 75 in the School of Theology. One hundred and ten are matriculated, 12 special students, and 58 auditors. There are 70 laymen and 110 ecclesiastical students, of whom 44 are priests. At the opening of the year the beautiful College of the Fathers of the Holy Cross was dedicated, and now, side by side with it, is the splendid College of the Marist Fathers which will be ready for occupancy next September. During the summer of last year, the Monastery of the Franciscan Fathers was dedicated; and though as yet but few of its students are prepared to enter our classes, there are more than forty members of the community in preparation for university work. They, of course, do not figure in our totals. At our gates, Trinity College for women, rising in beauty of site and architecture, is destined to compare favorably with our best University buildings. While it is not a part of our University system, it has, and will have, the encouragement and good wishes of the University.

A very profitable comparison might be made of the University as it began its work ten years ago with Caldwell Hall and the Faculty of

Theology, and the University as it continues its work to-day with its added Faculties of Philosophy, Law and Technology in McMahon Hall, and the group of affiliated colleges, whose young scholastics find in the University opportunities for higher development.

The financial side of the University is a most important one. The effort to thoroughly and completely endow it is one which engages the deep attention of its friends. Having as foundations of its financial success the magnificent gifts of Miss Mary Caldwell and Monsignor McMahon, the University has grown into a financial standing which manifests itself to-day in a property value of nearly a million and a quarter of dollars and an endowment fund of over \$900,000. The indebtedness of the University is in very large part offset by valuable property, which, if disposed of, would practically remove all debt. The absolute security of the University depends on the completion of its endowment fund. We all know that until within the past year the country was in the throes of a business depression, which threatened to undermine the foundations of many institutions. The return of business prosperity brings with it a certain caution, which forces educational enterprises to be prepared for some delay in the expression of generous support. This institution will do its best work when every part of its organization shall be so endowed that the question of remuneration for the professor will depend upon the nature of the work he is prepared to do, and the question of tuition for the student upon his ability to undertake advanced studies. The University has been encouraged in its financial efforts during the year by the magnanimous action of Archbishop Keane, its first Rector. With singlemindedness and devotedness which have never been surpassed, or, I may even say, equalled, he has accepted the burden of laboring for the completion of the endowment fund, the foundation of which he so successfully laid several years before. If you would ask what our immediate needs are, I would say a library building in which to safely house our valuable collection of 40,000 books, and a Church in which to observe our religious solemnities.

The organization of the University is now a vast one, its work very complicated. The burdens of each day demand close attention from those in charge of the administration. To complete the organization, to perfect it in matters of detail, to watch and care for its improvement and development, is our present duty. Before passing from the financial outlook, I may mention that among the features of the year's work are the gift of \$50,000 by Mr. Michael Cudahy, of Chicago, a member of our Board of Trustees; the establishment of the Archbishop Williams Chair and the Archbishop Kenrick Chair, each implying a gift of \$50,000. Besides these, several individual gifts of \$5,000, and several for smaller amounts, have been received by Archbishop Keane for the general endowment. Following the example set by the Total Abstinence Union of America and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Knights of Columbus are about to endow a Chair of American History and the Catholic Knights of America a Chair of English Literature for a similar sum. All these are grand expressions of popular feeling in a people's university, in which their leaders in Church and State are carefully trained.

It is not necessary for me to show how successfully the University has attempted to realize its ideals. In the mind of the great Pontiff who gave to it the authority of the Church in its constitutions, it was destined to be a center of educational force along the lines of higher work in every field of knowledge. It was to build itself upon the truth, as made known to us through the Church of God. It was to be a teacher of sound doctrine, thoroughly loyal to the best traditions of the Church, unflinching and unwavering in its fidelity to Catholic doctrine and steadfast in its devotion to the Holy See. It has aimed at the building up of a body of learned priests and learned laymen who, in Church and State, would be prepared to defend the interests of truth. It not only offers the opportunities for specialization, which the age demands in scholarship, but it also strives for results in such a way that the man may not be lost in the seeker after details. The University should stand for that training and for that general culture which form the gentleman and the scholar. This culture, as has recently been said, is the foundation upon which specialization must be built.

This institution prides itself upon the fact that it offers as the basis of its instruction a sound philosophy with no waverings and no vagaries. Here is taught Christian philosophy, which makes all sciences realize that they are built upon the truth, linking all sciences together as a part of one harmonious whole, showing the relations of all things with the great central truth of God. This University looks to St. Thomas of Aquinas as its instructor in sound philosophy. Through him it is associated with the best traditions of educational life in the university systems of the past. It stands on the hill-top of the highest endeavor; its doors open to all men who, with character and ability, seek knowledge. The Cross is its illumination, the Church its mother, Christian scholars its teachers, and truth its goal. Here in the Capital of the Nation it gives forth its lessons of light and life, believing that truth, which illumines the intellect, will also purify the heart. As I had occasion to say the other day, when President McKinley honored us with a visit, the Cross and the flag, as they rise above our buildings, symbolize devotion to Church and country; the Cross of Christ and the flag of the Nation's aspirations, two powerful influences in the development of scholarship and citizenship, expressing one to the other that loyalty to God is necessary for true loyalty to country. May we not say then after our ten years of existence, Well done, thou good and faithful servant! Well done, Catholic University!

CONFERRING OF DEGREES.

There followed the conferring of degrees upon duly qualified candidates, who were presented by the Deans of their respective Faculties to His Eminence, the Chancellor.

Civil Engineer (C. E.)

John Peter Murray, B. S. (Catholic University of America), of Chicago, Ill. Dissertation:—"Van Buren Street Approach over By-Pass."

George Vincent Powers, B. S. (Catholic University of America), of Central Park, L. I. Dissertation:—"Foundations."

Electrical Engineer (E. E.)

William Edward Kennedy, A. B., A. M. (Mt. St. Mary's College), of Waterbury, Conn. Dissertation: "A Study of the Electric Lighting Plant of the Catholic University of America."

Master of Science (M. S.)

Francis de Sales Smith, B. S. (Catholic University of America), of Washington, D. C. Dissertation:—"Theory and Test of the Julius Apparatus for Preventing Vibrations of the Supports of Delicate Instruments."

Bachelor of Laws (LL. B.).

Albert Joseph Loeffler, A. B. (Holy Ghost College), of Pittsburg, Pa.
John Joseph McKone, of Hartford, Conn.

John Daniel Rogers, A. B. (Sacred Heart College), Baltimore, Md.

Master of Laws (LL. M.).

Charles Henry Goddard, A. B. (Humboldt); LL. B. (Chicago University), of Hurley, S. Dak. Dissertation: "A Comparative View of the English and American Constitutions."

John Lorenzo Love, A. B., A. M. (Oberlin); LL. B. (Catholic University of America), of Washington, D. C. Dissertation: "The Sources of the Constitution."

Master of Philosophy (Ph. M.).

Joseph Philip Gerry, A. B. (Johns Hopkins), Washington, D. C. Dissertation: "The Sonnet as an Index to English Literature."

Bachelor of Sacred Theology (S. T. B.)

John S. Capesius, Society of Mary.

Rev. Patrick Leo Crayton, Ph. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton), Archdiocese of Boston.

Rev. Michael Joseph Crowley, Diocese of Detroit.

Rev. Charles James Donohoe, Diocese of Davenport.

Rev. John Edmund Fitzgerald, A. B., A. M. (Niagara University), Diocese of Albany.

Rev. Francis Frederick Formaz, A. B., A. M. (St. Francis College, Quincy, Ill.), Diocese of Alton.

Rev. Thomas Leo Healy, Ph. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton), Congregation of St. Paul.

Rev. Michael Joseph McSorley, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Rev. Francis Ignatius Purtell, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Rev. Casimir Thomas Smogor, Congregation of the Holy Cross.

Rev. John Thomas Stinson, A. B. (Boston College), Archdiocese of Boston.

Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S. T. L.)

Rev. Romanus Butin, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Society of Mary. *Maxima Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Rational Preparation for an Act of Faith."

Rev. John Henry O'Neill, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Diocese of Ogdensburg, *Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Comparative Study of the Logos-Doctrine of St. John and of Philo."

Rev. John Augustine Ryan, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Archdiocese of St. Paul. *Maxima Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Some Ethical Aspects of Speculation."

Rev. John Smythe, S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Archdiocese of San Francisco. *Maxima Cum Laude*. Dissertation: "Is Predestination Primarily to Grace or to Glory? A Positive Study."

Rev. William Lawrence Sullivan, Ph. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton), S. T. B. (Catholic University of America), Congregation of St. Paul. *Magna Cum Laude*. "Dissertation: "Some Theoretic Implicates of Modern Philosophy."

After awarding the diplomas, the Chancellor delivered an appropriate address, in which he congratulated the University upon the successful termination of the academic year, and urged upon the students the need of showing forth by action as well as by word their devotion to truth.

PRESENTATION OF MR. BANNIGAN'S PORTRAIT.

At the close of the Commencement exercises on June 7, an excellent portrait of the late Joseph Bannigan, Esq., was presented to the University as the gift of his daughter, Mrs. James E. Sullivan, of Providence, R. I. In making the presentation the Rt. Rev. Rector paid the following tribute to Mr. Bannigan's memory :

"It is my duty to ask Your Eminence as Chancellor of the University to accept as the gift of Mrs. James E. Sullivan, of Providence, R. I., the portrait of her distinguished father, the late Joseph Bannigan, the founder of the Chair of Political Economy in this University. With grateful acknowledgment I wish to recognize the kindness which prompts this gift, and I ask that it be assigned a place among the illustrious men and women whose portraits decorate the walls of our University, to remind all who visit our halls of the generosity by which the work of Catholic higher education has been inaugurated and maintained. The name of Joseph Bannigan is sacred to the cause of charity and education. A young Irish lad of six years, he came to America in 1845. Meager opportunities were offered him for education, as at nine years of age we find him at work, soon to be apprenticed to the trade of jeweler, which he learned. His powers of observation were remarkable, and his genius for the development of new processes soon led him into the discovery of a means for vulcanizing rubber, which laid the foundation of the fortune which he accumulated. He had a marvellous power of organization and a brilliant executive ability, which were the sources of his success.

"The self-education which was the result of close observation and attention to detail, made him familiar with every part of the immense business which his genius developed. His contact with men brought out the tremendous resources of his native ability, and he was recognized not only as a prince in business methods, but also as a man of very general culture. Men wondered at his successes in every field of mercantile endeavor. Men respected his judgment and sought his advice. His name was synonymous with success. It was also synonymous with charity. Educational, charitable and religious work found in him a generous friend. No charity appealed to him in vain. It was said at the time of his death that he was publicly known to have distributed over a million dollars in charity. God alone knows how much more, for the

poor lost in him their best friend. The homes instituted and endowed by him are memorials of his great Catholic heart, which saw in the poor man a child of God and a brother of Christ. He became interested in the University, which he considered, as he told me himself, the greatest work of the Church in our generation. His endowment of the Chair of Political Economy arose from the desire to have the correct principles of the Church enter into our political life. He saw that the University was in need of books, and he began, two and a half years before his death, the endowment of the library of our lay schools. He promised \$4,000 a year until the fund would reach \$50,000. He was honored by our Holy Father, Leo XIII., and he bears on his breast the medal of the Knights of St. Gregory, which constituted him a member of the immediate body guard of His Holiness. At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University in October, 1895, Mr. Bannigan was elected a member of the Board, and he held this position until his death. He died July 28, 1898, a martyr to his devotion to business.

"We are proud of the sturdy Catholic faith which gave motive to his life and generosity. He was fearless in denouncing wrong and entirely without jealousy in his relations with others. He regarded wealth as a gift from God, to be used for the benefit of humanity, and he practiced what he believed. He was our friend, and we loved and respected him. He was our benefactor, and we honor him. His example will remain to point to his life as a model of success through business integrity. A simple faith was his blessing, and he valued his Catholicity more than his immense wealth. May his memory be ever cherished in our University as the memory of a Catholic who loved his Church, his race and his country, and used his wealth to benefit mankind."

NOTICE.

The Report of the First Annual Conference of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, held at Chicago, April, 1899, can be had in paper covers, for 35 cents, post-paid.

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AWARDS DEGREES

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IN PHILOSOPHY,—Bachelor of Philosophy, (Ph. B.); Master of Philosophy (Ph. M.); Doctor of Philosophy, (Ph. D.).

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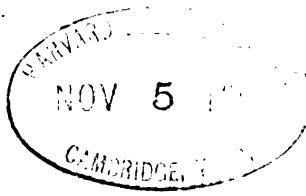
OCTOBER, 1900.

No. 4.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—**ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.*, c. 8.**

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A CENTURY OF CATHOLICISM.¹

One hundred years ago this old world of ours went through a chain of crises such as it had never experienced since the dissolution of the civil power of Rome. Men have agreed to call these crises by the name of the French Revolution, because France was the principal scene of these mighty overturnings, and because she has never ceased to maintain the results and to propagate the spirit and the aims of these marvelous decades. Her children were the philosophers, prophets, poets and generals of the Revolution, as well as its law-makers and executors. From Syria to Drontheim, from Paris to San Domingo, wherever the tricolor waved and the drum beat out the Marseillaise, there rose from the throats of countless men of France such a protest against the existing condition of things in this world as was never before heard by any ill-fated shepherds of men. The oppressed millions of Germany, England, Italy and Austria sympathized with this wild outburst of a whole people. Their rulers in vain tried to curb the new power that had broken its bonds like a volcano and was vomiting on all sides death and destruction. You know the story—that awful “Night of the Gods”—the unparalleled decade from 1790 to 1800, the glorious shame and the shameful glory, the injustice of men and the long-delayed justice of God, the tottering and engulfing of thrones and altars and the upbuilding of new social foundations, the final passing of old and decayed social strata and the consolidation anew of

¹ Discourse delivered at Montreal, June 11, in aid of the new English Catholic High School, attached to St. Patrick's parish. Only the conditions of the Church in the Old World are touched on.

rank and class, the golden roll of the world's greatest victories and the unspeakable groanings and agonies of a whole society slaughtered, apparently for ambition's sake,—more truly as an enormous providential blood-letting for a fever that was running in irresistible paroxysms. Behold now the deepest mystery of it all! These millions, drunk with license and triumph, free from all restraint, clamor once more for a master. On the blood-soaked soil of France, under the shadow of a thousand guillotines, in an atmosphere of savagery and blasphemy, they are building anew the throne of a king,—nay, of a king of kings, an emperor, and will lift upon it the figure of the Little Corsican! Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena hallow it with more blood than was poured out about the thrones of Alexander or Cæsar. In the wake of this great consecration, law and order, peace and humanity come timidly back to their places. Time mends again her shattered loom and spins anew the usual web of life. Man had wanted to see by what original processes and vicissitudes society was formed; he had wished to penetrate those ancient and awesome secrets of God and history that were well forgotten. One brief hour of Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and the thousand human monsters that he had loosed from their cages, was enough. Let there be one chief henceforth, and let men shudder no more before these fatal—

“Dragons of the prime
That tear each other in their slime.”

Naturally, one turns first to the so-called Latin nations—the peoples gathered about the basin of the Mediterranean—that hiving-place of human culture. They were the first to receive the blessings of the New Law. They are yet, in numbers, the backbone of Catholicism—38 millions in France, 31 millions in Italy, 18 millions in Spain, 5 millions in Portugal, to whom must be added the compact Catholic populations of Bavaria, Austria, Southern Germany, and Switzerland, whose lands are drained by the great Midland Sea.¹ More than one-half the Catholic population of the globe

¹ For the civil statistics see Whitaker's Almanac for 1900.

is massed in these lands of Central and Southern Europe, once considered vast, but now dwarfed by the incredible expansion of the modern world.

What has been the story of Catholicism in France? From the first to the third republic it has lived under eight governments that were often separated by violent revolutions and reactions. The first republic was like a hurricane for the Church. The bark of Peter was stripped in the twinkling of an eye of all its fittings and tossed upon the waves of revolution a broken and a battered hulk. Without warning or preparation lands, revenues, ancient privilege, rights, authority, customs, administration, teaching—all was cleared away. The name of God was blotted out, the months and days renamed and renumbered as a symbol of the thoroughness of the change. There was no more Sunday. The tenth day was assigned as the day of rest. The unity with the See of Peter was broken, the priests and bishops elected by popular majorities,—the oath to the State took the place of the oath to Jesus Christ. Nearly fifty thousand priests were cast out of their places, and the consciences of millions of Frenchmen, priests and laymen, suffered untold agonies. The white vesture of churches was rent or soiled—the gift of a pious race during thirteen centuries. Never did the devil hold higher carnival than when at last he overthrew the Catholicism of France and lifted on the high altar of glorious Notre Dame a wretched woman as the goddess of reason. Then came the victorious Napoleon and the Concordat. Religion could again walk abroad with peace and dignity. Only those who have lived through a storm can appreciate any port, however unlovely. The Concordat was indeed a port after a furious storm. Faulty and suspicious, unfairly interpreted, and jealously administered, it has yet sheltered Catholicism in France for a century, and one may well grow pale at the thought of its abolition. It healed the ugliest schism of modern times and prevented the creation of a new Byzantium across the Alps, on the public highway to Rome of the northern and transatlantic peoples. The history of the Church of France in this century is the history of this Concordat. Neither Louis XVIII. nor Charles X., neither Louis Philippe nor the Second Republic, neither the Sec-

ond Empire nor the Third Republic have canceled the letter of the law, however oppressive and hypocritical its interpretation. Yet its peace was dearly purchased by the simultaneous suppression of the 128 old sees of France, several of whose bishops never resigned, the sacrifice of all the church property and the acceptance of an arbitrary pittance of State salary, the compulsory participation of the government in the selection of bishops and parish priests, the humiliation of all things ecclesiastical before a bureaucracy that is often more than Turkish in its infidelity.

Looking over the history of the clergy of France for a hundred years one sees clearly that the chief evil is this hampering influence of the State, by which the bishop and the curé are completely, as it were, in the meshes of the law at every step. In spite of its bureaucracy there has been in France a growing individual liberty for the citizen—but not for the priest. He, on the contrary, has been gradually driven to the sacristy and his garden. Old communal and municipal liberties, the delight of the historian, have been suppressed lest he profit by local esteem and affection. In opposition to him the centralization of France has been pushed to a ruinous and ridiculous extent. His means of living have been steadily curtailed, arbitrarily suppressed; even the original rights of the Concordat have, in great measure, been taken from him, so that the average diocesan priest of France is, perhaps, to-day the most defenceless man, juridically, in this wide world. Nevertheless, his patience and humility have had their reward. The curé of France has held to the rock of unity, has pursued the path of learning, has worked manfully on the margin left him, has preached the gospel without failing and verified it in his life. There has been in France within a hundred years many a Curé of Ars, many a holy man whose innocent hermit life has been like an aroma of sanctity, winning countless souls from infidelity. If he could have only the women and children, be it so. They too were souls, and the most beloved of Christ.

Now, there is an irresistible charm in religion, especially for the poor and the lowly. In it they find that justice and equality the world talks of,—but does not easily give. “Non

magna loquimur, sed vivimus."¹ From this point of view there has been a steady progress in the Church of France,—no French Revolution is possible to-day. There has been no diminution in the building of churches, in the opening of schools and colleges, in the creation of works of charity, in the manifestation of Christian piety and humility, like pilgrimages, the veneration of the Saints, the sympathy for the souls in Purgatory.

Indeed, we may say that the French curé is the teacher of modern Catholicism, for it is from France that we all take our religious impulses to-day. Its Christian art, its literature of piety, its holy places, have exercised an incredible influence on the modern world. No wonder that Napoleon wanted to transfer the seat of the papacy to Paris, and began by carrying off to that city all the Roman Archives.

In the history of the Church of France there has never been such a flowering of zeal for Jesus Christ. There are many evidences of this, but I take it we may see it especially in the work of the missions, in the field of journalism, in the new phenomenon of the apostolic Catholic layman, in the religious orders and congregations. The latter naturally flourish, and from very worthy motives, in Catholicism; but there must be a special reason for this in France. The want of dignity and comfort among the diocesan clergy often makes the religious life seem preferable,—in it there are at least justice, assurance of support, and inner personal freedom. Very often the native liberty of the Church has been totally curtailed. Only in these religious orders their numbers, their independence, and their foreign relations made it possible for them to offer an exemplary resistance, where the curé and the bishop were bound hand and foot. The religious eat no bread of the state,—they are independent, and deal directly with the people, have an assured canonical status and protection,—while the curé is the anvil on whose head are fought out at last all the ugliest differences between Church and State. If there was not in the average French curé something of the tough old Keltic Auvergnat, something of Breton granitic tenacity, he would have become worse than the "popes" of Russia. As it is, the curé of France enjoys to-day the esteem

¹ St. Cyprian.

of all who know him, and often from non-Catholics extorts such words of praise as Mr. John Bodley has lately written concerning him.¹ You may add to Chaucer's description of the poor priest of mediæval England the lovely page in which Lamartine describes the parish priest of France, his door ever open, his staff ever ready, his lantern ever lit, to bring to the faithful the consolations of religion.

In the religious orders and the schools the bishop and the curé found their natural auxiliaries,—hence the opposition to Catholicism in France has long pivoted on these two centres. Wealth, politics, aristocracy, no longer furnished reason for oppression. The rights of association, of teaching, of inheriting,—the ordinary rights of every citizen,—were attacked. Here the lay journalist and the lay apostle appeared as providential helpers. Our Catholic press dates from Lamennais, when in his first fervor, before his sad and forever regrettable fall, he taught men how to seize on their rights under the law, and excogitated, long before von Ihering, the theory of the social necessity of the defence of rights acquired. Lacordaire, Montalembert, and a hundred others caught his inspiration—the *Correspondant*, the *Univers*, and other publications became models for the new institution—the liberty of teaching was obtained in the Falloux law of 1850, and again by the creation in 1873 of Catholic pro-universities. Catholic France had learned how to agitate from that eternally complaining being—the Irishman, whose tongue is forever proving to his enemy why he should cease torturing him. It was from Daniel O'Connell that the French Catholic agitation caught its first inspiration. His long and single-handed struggle for Emancipation had shown what one man could do when he had a people behind him. We need not wonder that Catholic France gave O'Connell the most solemn funeral of the century,—a funeral second only to that of another great Liberator, Châteaubriand. At Paris the Padre Ventura preached during three days over O'Connell, as loath to let go this Moses of Catholicism as Rome was to see the ashes of Caesar laid away forever,—those

“ruins of the noblest man
That ever lived in the tide of times.”

¹ In a late issue of the *Times*, writing from France, he calls the French clergy “the most virtuous and disinterested social body that I know.”

The apostolic labors of Catholic men of France have won the admiration of the world,—Frederic Ozanam and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul have been the inspiration of countless similar works, not only among Catholics, but among non-Catholics. The spirit of Social Justice has no nobler soul to show than Léon Harmel, at once a Christian master and capitalist. The de Broglies, de Falloux, de Muns, Kolb-Bernards, Chesnelongs, have been a glory to the Church of France. As long as men protest, they are not conquered,—it is only when the voice is extinguished that the spirit of liberty dies. All hail, therefore, to that noble progeny of men of France who have never failed to assert the truth, leaving it with God to make it triumph!

The missions of Catholicism are our pride, but we forget that they are almost entirely the creation of the Church of France. Her sons and daughters founded them, bedewed them with their sweat and blood, spent themselves on them; her citizens have been the principal contributors since 1822 to this work. The total of the army of salvation that labors on the foreign missions is about 60,000, men and women, priests and brothers. Most of the 12,000 Catholic missionaries are Frenchmen,—a still greater share of the 44,000 Catholic Sisters of the missions come from the “sweet land of France,” her laymen have gone by thousands as working brothers, humble servants, masons, carpenters, anything so as to aid in the good work. Only the construction of the mighty cathedrals of the Middle Ages, only the Crusades ever called forth such devotion.

The external story of religion in the Iberian peninsula is anything but refreshing. Spain has been torn in this century by political passion. The Revolution left it a prey to contending parties. Should its principles and results remain or should they be cast out? The action of Ferdinand VII. in abolishing the Salic Law of succession in favor of his infant daughter Isabella created the party of Carlists, around which centre regularly the various oppositions to the actual government. Regencies, weak female government, an inherited pseudo-liberalism with a Voltairian streak and spirit, jealousy of ecclesiastical wealth, the disunion of Catholics,—above all

the absence of popular instruction, are responsible for those political conditions of Spain that affect religion more than they do elsewhere because of the former intimate and immemorial union of Church and State.

A profound official corruption brought about the revolt and loss of all her possessions. All measures are half-hearted in Spain,—the Church is robbed, but the robbers pay an annual dividend (when they can), often begging back no small part of that poor pittance of the Church. Spain is not united in the sense that France or England are. There are corners of Spain that only yesterday came in—Navarre and Catalonia. They sigh yet for their mediæval independence, especially when they are called on to bear the burdens of a false foreign policy and the inherited personal debts of Spanish and French Bourbons and the society of Madrid. The Spanish Church has suffered grievously in dignity, in power, in internal and external development, from the endless palace-revolutions of the century, from the breaking and making of Concordats, from the interference with the bishops, from a certain incapacity on both sides to follow some *via media* until the distracted land caught its breath. The modern world is democratic, commercial, socialistic, industrial. Spain is aristocratic in its government, with a bureaucracy of diluted Voltairians, cut off from the rest of the continent by the mighty wall of the Pyrenees, an isolated world of hopes and possibilities that may blossom again so soon as a genuine, practical and mutually tolerant patriotism shall dominate all classes. Spain is henceforth a strictly European state, with a population of about 18,000,000, a large majority of which cannot read or write. What will happen if one day anti-Catholic influences seize finally the civil power and proceed to instruct that people? Will that instruction be in the sense of Catholicism? If the fates make the German Kaiser, or the French Republic, or an Italian Radical Federation of the Mediterranean the arbiter of Spain's internal difficulties, will not the masses of the people be soon turned against their natural Catholicism, and the same phenomenon repeated that we see in France and Italy?

If possible, the treatment of the Church, in Portugal, by the House of Braganza, has been still worse. Freemasonry,

of the most virulent type, has devastated the society of that once vigorous State, has even affected the clergy, and has gradually led the people to the verge of a schism. The relations of the Holy See with Portugal have been highly strained until a recent date. The spirit of the *Encyclopédie*,—a vicious and unreasoning hatred of all religion, and yet the iron will to use it as a yoke for the people,—this spirit is yet rampant in Portugal. The internal independence of the Catholic Church in this constitutional kingdom, where all of its five millions of people are Catholics, is represented by zero. There is more intelligence of Catholicism, more good will for its growth, more appreciation of its constitution and spirit among the Protestants of the countries that speak English than in all the governments of Portugal since the Revolution. To honest Protestants the Catholic Church has been an enemy, chiefly through calumny and false statements. When they see her at work, as in Canada and in the United States, they are seized with admiration for her true scope and spirit. But in these so-called Latin countries the Church is a slave, a chattel, to be used by infidels calling themselves “Ministers of Worship,” when they are only too often ministers of anti-worship, like the Italian soldiers who mount guard at the Holy House of Loretto and take away half the gifts of those faithful who come from all parts of the world, in order to send them to the usurping government of the Quirinal, that it may thereby be strengthened,—or like those French officials who extort a heavy percentage from the revenues of the Grotto of Lourdes, thereby making the piety of the universal faithful a contributor to iniquitous legislation against the Church.

There are some hard and painful things in modern Catholicism—among them is its backward and persecuted condition in the lands where it is the sole public religion. But this is done by a small number of men who are not Catholics, on principles foreign to Catholicism. It is a story of the victors abusing the vanquished, not the natural development of true Catholicism. These peoples do not understand the theory or practice of a constitutional government, the rights

of minorities, the spirit of mutual toleration. The oppressed seem to wait with philosophy the hour when they in turn shall become oppressors. Thus the bitterness and hate grow apace, just because it is war to the knife and no quarter. In history such peoples have always been compelled to call in a third party to govern them. And now that the Hispanic world-power is gone, the old jealousies of the seventeenth century are not unlikely to arise. The peninsulas of the Mediterranean are not unlikely to again furnish the battlefields for the insatiate greeds and ambitions of Europe.

But all this is slight in comparison with the condition created for the Catholic Church in its original home—Italy. Here the governments for a century have gone on persecuting it until it is a wonder that anything remains of the popular faith. A century ago the Cisalpine Republic began the evil work, and with a short interruption, it was carried on after the Congress of Vienna by the government of Turin. All the rights, privileges, lands, revenues of the Italian church were gradually withdrawn. All its means of development were sealed up. The secret societies were encouraged, the Carbonari and all kinds of Illuminism, until they coalesced in a sectarian Freemasonry. Instruction and teaching were hampered,—every Catholic interest or tradition given over to scorn. Bible societies and Protestant missionaries were called in. History was travestied, until the very name and dress of a priest became a mockery. Finally, step by step, in 1859, 1866, and 1870, the Temporal Power of the Bishop of Rome was abolished, and the deathblow given to those principles of legitimacy that had prevailed at the elevation of the House of Savoy in 1815. The most venerable and gentle of the powers of Europe was extinguished and an anomalous and impossible condition created for the head of the Catholic world. Finally, it has come to this pass that the most Catholic of peoples has no official relation through its government with the head of the Church, with the result that the moral basis of public authority in Italy is daily crumbling to its base. Hence the awful falsity of the public life of the Italians. The popular foundations of the government,—the hearts of the

people,—are henceforth uncertain. The only hope of the actual government is to plunge the people daily more and more into absolute irreligiosity, which it does with good success. The secret societies of Italy are now a world-wide power, the *Mafias* and the *Camorras*, that escape all control at home or abroad. The public and salutary influence of religion was never more needed in a commonwealth than in the present Italy. Nor would it be a long and difficult task to restore Catholicism to its ancient prestige,—the obstacle lies not in the people, naturally religious and docile, but in the apathy and selfishness of the mass of bourgeois Italy and the sectarian fierceness of secret societies nourished on erroneous views of the past history of Italy and the future possibilities of the lovely land “*dove il si suona.*”

The Catholic religion is officially the religion of the state, yet it is excluded from the instruction of youth, from the primary grades to the university. The Church covered the land with edifices for the people, yet they are closed or neglected or confiscated. The piety of good Italians has provided for ten thousand wants,—noble foundations,—the government has squandered all. To protect its usurpation it has made a burdensome and impolitic alliance which forces it to keep an army and a navy beyond its means or needs. Citizens emigrate by hundreds of thousands because they cannot pay the 40 per cent. taxes that the government cannot do without. Its great officers are corrupt, and frankly so; its public funds openly pillaged, its subject-masses ever breaking out in bread riots and agrarian riots. Were it not for the enriching stream of Catholic travel the politics of Italy would be already occupying the attention of Germany and France in a military way. The government of a state of thirty-two millions of people can never be indifferent to its neighbors.

Let us breathe for one moment in a higher and holier atmosphere! Whatever be the conditions created for the Catholic Church by the time and the circumstances, her internal life is always beautiful and worthy of the constant indwelling of the Holy Spirit. There is to begin with, that sanctity of life and belief and practices that never ceases.

like a perpetual incense, to rise before God from a Catholic people. Such a people leads a sacramental life, therefore a mystic and God-like life, even though the world see it not and appreciate it not. The daily Mass and the round of holy prayer, the use and the grace of the Sacraments, the daily workings of Catholic institutions, domestic teaching, the family life, the holy aroma of traditions rooted in religion, themselves almost a religion, the educational influence of the great monuments of faith and piety—cathedrals, churches, works of religious art, pilgrimages, relics of the saints (the ideal heroes of those peoples), and a hundred other things, operate to keep alive religion as an asset of the soul that it cannot and ought not abandon. These southern peoples have a peculiar spirit and calling. They are not rudely and easily republican as northern nations are. And Catholicism has always been to them a school of training, of respect, of virtue, of progress. In it they easily confound the natural and the supernatural. They have never known the persecution of heresy; they have not the habit of life in a non-Catholic state,—therefore they do not grasp the need of religious toleration. On the other hand, there is in them an easy tolerance of absolutism, a doctrinaire spirit, a thirst for surface-unity that takes little or no note of the individual, lost in the welfare of the whole. It was not always so; the mediæval Italy and Spain were the cradle of modern democracy. Their present political conditions are a sad inheritance of the worst elements of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

For the Roman Catholic the story of Russia and Poland are one in this century. The triple partition of Poland in the latter half of the eighteenth century did infinite damage to the interests of the Church. Catherine II. alone withdrew 8,000,000 united Greeks from the obedience of the Holy See. Paul I. and Alexander II. in the first quarter of the century, were milder and more humane towards the Poles. But their gentleness has been atoned for by the cruelties of the last seventy years. In the years 1835 to 1840, 5,000,000 Catholic Ruthenians were divorced by fraud and violence from the Church of Rome (through the co-operation of an apostate archbishop), and

incorporated with the Russian Church. Pope Gregory XVI. protested with apostolic courage and vigor, but in vain. The Russian Bear does not easily let go his prey. The Polish rebellions of 1830 and 1863 have given Russia still further excuse for robbing these poor defenceless people of their religion. Their churches have been closed, their hierarchy disrupted, their seminaries abolished, their properties confiscated, their consciences forced in a hundred ways. The reign of Nicholas I. (1825-1855), Alexander II. (1855-1881), Alexander III. (1881-1894), have been disgraced by the most hideous cruelties. Until lately the pages of such books as "Elisabeth, the Exile of Siberia" and Montalembert's "A Nation in Mourning" (1861) were literally true. George Keenan has again and again illustrated the horrors of these lonesome wastes and the cruelties of the Siberian journey. Russia has evaded or broken every Concordat with the Holy See, has substituted for religious action a most cunning Byzantinism of lying, intrigue, and deception. Determined to produce an external unity of religion, she has compounded with every schism and moral disorder that she might fight the Holy See. Her own wretched and disgraceful heresies multiply,—they count now 15,000,000 out of a population of 129,000,000, while the Roman Catholics of Russia are perhaps not more than 2,000,000. The awful pages of de Maistre are yet true as to the irreligion of the upper classes, the perfunctory nature of the religious practices, the scandalous degradation of their married clergy, the scorn that the ecclesiastical state deserves, the frank heresy of their teachings, the infidelity and immorality of the governing classes. Not only de Maistre, but the Jesuit fathers Grivel and Gagarin, have left lurid accounts of the Russian Church, the results of long experience and observation. They are corroborated by friendly writers like Wallace, and by enemies of Russia like George Keenan. Ignorance and a superstitious and low view of religion abound.

Russia is a despotism tempered as yet with religion. But the day those masses acquire a greater knowledge they will spurn the religion that has helped to keep them enslaved. If we could resurrect the empire of Constantinople in the fifth or

sixth centuries, with its pride, its haughtiness, and its tyranny over consciences, we should see the true parent of modern Muscovy. Unhappy Poland has not suffered in its religion under the rule of German Austria, but its condition has been deplorable under the rule of German Prussia. The purpose of the latter is clear, to make its Polish provinces Protestant, or at least to sterilize their Catholic life. When I reflect on the condition of a nation like Poland, it seems to me that all expressions of sympathy with any other oppressed nation are mere comedy, so long as we can do nothing to build up again the barrier-state of Poland. We are told that under the present czar there are hopes for the Church of Poland. A diplomatic officer of the Vatican is now stationed at St. Petersburg—but how little can be expected from a government that has just forbidden the Polish bishops to celebrate the Feast of the Sacred Heart! If this be the line of conduct of the Holy Synod for the twentieth century, we may see repeated the whole series of hypocrisy, violence, and injustice that mark the treatment of the Polish Catholics since Catherine II.'s time. And can any Catholic desire to see the influence of Russia grow in China and India, when her first act of power will be to exclude every Roman Catholic missionary!

The Empire of Austria is confessedly Catholic. There clings to it yet some aroma of that holy Roman Empire of the German nation that Napoleon extinguished at Lunéville, in 1803. Personally its rulers have done much to wipe away the evil effects of the false liberalism of Joseph II. in the last century. A concordat favorable enough governed the relations of Church and State until some thirty years ago, when it was modified by the civil power, for reasons very inane and childish, to our way of thinking. There is often in the governments of the best of these old European states a false view of man, conscience, society, the office of the Church. They insist on the control over every episcopal election, over the relation of the bishops and Rome, over the relation of bishops and priests, the priests and people; but they give nothing back in return. In their relations with the Church all is suspicion, fear, often hatred and persecution. The officialism of these lands is deeply tainted with an

ignorant retrograde Voltairianism. The changes to a constitutional monarchy have aided neither kings nor peoples—only the middleway bureaucrats. Hence the rapid unchecked growth of the most revolutionary infidelity, of philosophies that mine the basis of all Christian society, of enormous wealth gotten by collusion, nowise subject to any effective criticism by the people. Hence the spectacle of race against race, as in Austria, Czech against German, Slav against Teuton, the whole congeries of provinces and peoples in a threatening ferment, whose end no man can foresee, except it be the autocrat of the Neva.

In Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia the Church has saved to some extent its landed wealth and privilege ; but these old mediæval conditions feed the opposition of its enemies and compel a peculiar legislation that is always made up of compromises and half measures. It is not always Catholicism that profits by the debates and resolutions at Vienna and Pesth. While there is and can be no open persecution, the future is not of the rosiest, even to those who are highest placed in the councils of the Church in the land of the double-headed eagle. The universities and the secret societies are unfriendly or hostile. The Churchmen are accused of valuing more their privileges than the welfare of the people. One faction of the long dominant race of the Germans clamors for a continuation of its pre-eminence at the apparent expense of Austrian unity, even to the verge of declaring a schism against Rome, if the Holy See will not join in the warfare as its ally. The White Bear looks on with joy, knowing that all such agitation drives the Slavs of Austria daily into the camp of Pan-slavism, and that the masses in the conterminous provinces will fall away to him on that dread day when Europe meets to settle with arms the final ownership of the Balkan peninsula—a problem that has been awaiting solution for over two hundred years.

In Germany it is the victories of Napoleon that changed the conditions of Catholicism. In the height of his power he drew the lines of France at the left bank of the Rhine,—the dispossessed German princes were to get compensation across

the river from the lands of the semi-ecclesiastical states, which were then secularized. Of the 300 little rulers of divided Germany Prussia came out best. The Church of Germany lost a revenue of \$10,000,000 and the civil direction of 3,000,000 souls. Prussia got out of the Church lands five times what she lost through Napoleon. With this there came a new sense of power and a determination, sooner or later, to bend the Catholicism of the new lands in the sense of a territorial religion, *i. e.*, to enslave it as the Evangelical churches are enslaved. If we add to this policy of Prussia the short-sighted, false and jealous liberalism of Bavaria and the House of Baden, we have the impelling causes of all the maltreatment of German Catholicism. In the thirties and forties the question of mixed marriages was brought out with the shining episode of the imprisonment and resistance of Droste-Vischering, the Archbishop of Cologne. You know how the Archbishop of Posen defended the spiritual welfare of his unhappy Poles, how the State of Baden compelled the See of Freiburg to remain vacant for sixteen years, and has never yet entered on decent and just relations with the Catholic majority of that land. The spirit, if not the letter, of religious equality before the law (*Parität*) is daily violated against Catholicism. Mixed marriages are favored if they end in the abandonment of Catholicism, and the university chairs are closed practically against all teachers who are frankly and squarely Catholic. You know the history of the *Culturkampf*,—it is of yesterday,—and how the Prussian government has saved out of the wreck of its excessive pretensions no inconsiderable influence over the nominations to episcopal Sees and to the most important parishes. The Catholic Church in Germany has lost not less than two millions of souls in this century, owing to tyrannous acts and repressive legislation. On the other hand, the necessity of self-preservation has aroused all Catholic Germany. Men like Bishop Ketteler and Cardinal Geissel and Bishop Martin, of Paderborn, have not been wanting. Great laymen, unsurpassed champions of justice, have arisen,—Görres, Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, the Reichenspergers. Societies and associations of every kind have sprung up as if by magic. The Center party has shown

what can be accomplished by the intelligent and consistent use of constitutional liberties. A spirit as of new life has been breathed into the body of German Catholicism. Unions are found in Germany for every good purpose, like the Bonifatius Union for the home missions and the Görres Society for the historical defense of Catholicism. The interests of their religion are discussed annually in a congress where the majority of speakers are Catholic laymen, but where all,—bishops, priests and laymen,—work together with a common accord that is in itself a victory,—for we Catholics never lost any good cause except through disunion and mutual jealousy. At the end of the century the Catholics of Germany may look back with some sorrow on certain decades of their history, but with much pride and joy on others,—especially on their long martyrdom in the *Culturkampf*, when they were encouraged and consoled by letters from their brethren in the new world. Out of the 52,000,000 of the population of the German Empire about 19,000,000 are Catholics.

They exercise considerable influence on the neighboring Switzerland, where the Catholic Cantons, some fifty years ago, in the domestic warfare of the Secession or *Sonderbund*, were defeated, and long suffered from the reaction. Yet in spite of the Old Catholic party, which is stronger in Protestant Switzerland than elsewhere, in fact is living only there, the Swiss Catholics have been making steady progress. The persecutions of the Catholics of Geneva, Lausanne and Bâle have not disheartened them,—neither the confiscation of their churches in favor of the Old Catholics, nor the exile of their bishops, nor the prohibition of religious orders, nor such high-handed wrong as the late revolution in Ticino, nor the numerous petty vexations that are always arising in this land that Alexandre Dumas used to call a “*pays de sacristans*.” There is growing a more centralized action among Swiss Catholics. They are about 1,160,000 out of a population of about 3,000,000. Their Pius-Union counts some 20,000 members, and their annual assemblies betray a profound unity between the clergy and the laity. Switzerland is a thorough democratic

land; hence the social movements of the last quarter of a century have found a natural welcome there. It is worthy of all praise that Catholics, especially those of Protestant Cantons, take an active part in all such enterprises. Modern industries are rapidly modifying the religious lines of population in Switzerland,—hence we may look forward to a period of more sincere toleration, perhaps a real peace, such as befits those mighty mountains, the cradle of our popular liberties, and the brave little people that inhabits them.

In Holland the Catholics have more than held their own. The opening years of the century were alternately favorable and unfavorable. They suffered no little under William of Nassau, as long as Belgium and Holland were united. Since 1830 these two lands have finally separated, and in consequence the religious affairs of both have gone on more satisfactorily. In the increasing mental anarchy of the old Dutch Calvinism the Catholic Church has gained. In a population of about 4,000,000 there are 1,500,000 Catholics, with nearly 3,000 priests, and colleges, academies and institutions in proportion. The Catholics have always been among the most active and patriotic members of the Assembly, and their civil zeal has done no little to conciliate the sympathy and good will of their neighbors. Not long ago the University of Leyden established a chair for the teaching of Thomistic theology, and placed in it a Dominican father.

The little State of Belgium has done a noble work for the cause of Catholicism. Since 1830 its population, almost entirely Catholic, has gone up to nearly 7,000,000; its industries and commerce have grown steadily; its prosperity is unparalleled and is a living refutation of the common calumny that where Catholicism dominates there is neither liberty nor progress. Political struggles have kept the population in constant training, and they have long since gotten out of their noble university at Louvain a hundredfold more than they put into it. Hence came the bishops and the priests and the learned public officers and orators who have saved Belgium from becoming a little doctrinaire State after the model of Jean Jacques or Voltaire. Its 2,000 students and its staff of learned scholars are a better pledge of the prosperity of

this land of mutual justice and toleration than a hundred cruisers or an army of 1,000,000. Though a monarchy in form, Belgium is deeply democratic, and, after the University of Louvain, it is this touching mutual affection of priest and people that has saved Catholicism. Every Catholic interest flourishes in Belgium,—education, art, missions, the care of the poor and the abandoned. In the incredible development of social science and practical local betterment of the popular condition Catholic Belgium may claim a foremost place. A pseudo-liberalism and socialism flourish there it is true, but the Catholic masses have hitherto been able to withstand their impact and keep Belgium in the way of true and orderly progress.

The chief phenomenon of the external life of Catholicism in the nineteenth century is its spread in the English-speaking world. In 1800 there were four bishops or vicars-apostolic in England and two in Scotland,—in both lands there were perhaps 120,000 Catholics. To-day there are in England and Scotland 21 bishops and about 2,000,000 of Catholics, with some 3,000 priests. The prejudices of the English people were first broken by the heroic and patient lives of the hundreds of French priests whom the Revolution cast upon their shores. France, Catholic France at least, owes Protestant England a deep debt of gratitude for the hospitality then exercised towards so many ministers of a faith foreign and hostile to theirs. Then came the long struggle for emancipation, of which the principal burden was borne by the Irish people. But its results were no less welcome to English Catholics, whose position was as yet not much better than what is described in "*Barnaby Rudge*." That day in 1829 on which Daniel O'Connell walked into the House of Commons marked the beginning of political liberty for the Catholics of England. Now, that liberty was won in Clare by men whose souls had almost been ground out of them by the rulers of England in two long and dark centuries of oppression. Since then the Irish people have gone over to England and Scotland in ever-increasing numbers. When we speak of the Catholicism of these countries it is always well to bear in mind that the bulk

of the faithful is of Irish origin. Whoever comes into or goes out of the Catholic Church in England or Scotland, the children of St. Patrick may be long depended on as the nucleus of Catholicism in the British Isles.

When the Lord was thus creating Irish parishes for the Catholic bishops of England, he was preparing that body of intellectual men who were needed to give social character and intellectual prestige to His religion. The Tractarian movement was gradually leading men along those lines that could only end in Catholicism. De Lisle, Manning, Newman, Faber, Wilberforce, Spencer, Palmer, Ward, Allies, and many others were led by study and God's grace to see the error of Anglican schism and heresy. To them and their school are owing many noble books, works, and monuments that will ever remain as trophies of the innate charm and power of truth. In England the Catholic hierarchy was restored, in spite of a futile opposition, in 1850, and to-day there are nearly two hundred bishops of the Catholic Church within the British Empire, i. e., they constitute about one-sixth of the western Latin episcopate. If you include the bishops of the United States—over ninety—then one-quarter of the Latin hierarchy exists in English-speaking countries. There are nearly 14,000,000 of Catholics in the British Empire, and about as many in the United States, hence in all about 28,000,000 of Catholic souls in the English-speaking world. The growth of education and of the congregations and orders in the British Isles has been equally extraordinary. To day Catholic priests may study at Oxford or Cambridge and the orders expelled from France have found hospitality in England, as their predecessors did a hundred years ago. It was with the coöperation of the government that the Catholic hierarchy was established in India in 1886 and, in 1878, in Scotland. Most of the political disabilities of Catholics have been removed in England. The establishment still remains, but gradually undermined by an infidelity that cannot be checked, and by a self-willed suicidal ritualism that stops half way on its return to Catholicism. There are those who, like Ambrose de Lisle, still look for a corporate union of the Anglican Church with the Church of Rome. The recent decision of the Holy Father on the

validity of Anglican orders—no hasty decision, but the result of many years of preliminary discussion—has clouded that prospect very much. There remains but the slow and long-way of individual conversion. Competent observers tell us that not less than 10,000 souls are there annually joined to the Church. Others will have it that a leakage of more than corresponding size is operating to the disadvantage of Catholicism. After all, the progress of religion is not to be gauged by mere numbers, but by the character of work, institutions, persons; by the spirit and temper of the majority; by the ideals entertained; by the lives of sanctity and sacrifice that its confessors live. Neither numbers nor wealth make churches great; otherwise we should have to despise the poor recusants who sustained the Catholic faith in England from the days of Elisabeth and the poor Irish laborers and soldiers who have been for over a century the principal heralds and apostles of Catholicism in every part of the world where the English tongue was spoken.

Even in the northern kingdoms of Europe there have dawned better days for the Catholic Church. Within a generation it has created a foothold for itself. The grain of mustard seed has been planted, and to-day there are about 10,000 Catholics among the 10,000,000 who form the population of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Some seventy missionaries are at work and there are about twenty churches. This nucleus has not been easily created. Religious liberty came late in the polar kingdoms. In 1847 the penal laws were abolished at Copenhagen; in 1847 in Norway. In 1869 Sweden granted a practical toleration, though Lutheranism is yet strong, and dissenting bodies are yet taxed for the established religion. The two thousand Catholics from among its five millions people are, indeed, only a grain of mustard seed. Yet it is more than St. Olaf found when he converted these tribes to Christian faith. We may witness a return to the Catholic unity of the countrymen and country women of St. Bridget of Sweden. The labors of the Catholic sisterhoods, the severe, unselfish toil of the Catholic missionaries, the zeal with which Catholics throw themselves into works of economic

social and utilitarian importance win the consideration of their Northern brethren, and help to break down the wall of prejudice that has so long existed.¹

Catholic zeal has even included Iceland. French priests labor there for the last thirty or forty years, and lately a Catholic sisterhood has been established. It is true they are chiefly occupied with the sailors of the French fishing fleets, but their presence cannot fail to assert long-hidden truths and to open gradually the hearts of this remote and toilsome little people to the just claims of their ancestral Catholicism, in and through which they were once effective members of the mediæval "Cosmopolis."

What shall I say of the story of Catholic Ireland? or why should I attempt to tell in one brief moment the phases of a long and bleeding drama? You know that there is but one act in that tragedy, one chapter in that history—wrong and oppression. And that wrong and oppression have been borne and are yet borne by the Irish Catholic people for the sake of the religion of Rome. For that religion they have foregone the comforts and improvements that modern times have brought to every land of Europe. They have borne the brunt of iniquitous land-laws, the odium of social ostracism, the humiliation of a compulsory ignorance, and of a social prose-

¹ I translate from an article of Professor Krogh-Tønning of Christiania the following paragraph as showing the bent of a certain class in the Northern Kingdom. The writer has since become a Catholic:

"There are many among us who look with wonderment upon the remarkable unity of the Roman Church; who see therein a community which has preserved its own through all the ages without yielding to the cries, the mockery, and the threats of the world; without fear of numerous apostasies, while we are intimidated by the spirit of modern society, and sacrifice one after another all our spiritual possessions. Such persons see in the Roman Church a unique ecclesiastical body, which preserves its internal extrinsic unity in spite of the times, while we break up daily into new sects and religious parties. They say to themselves: The Roman Church, and she alone, corresponds to the Biblical image of the One Church; our ecclesiastical body, on the other hand, seems like that which the Scriptures condemn to destruction because of its internal discord, all the more so that many of its members look upon disunion as an expression of the higher freedom of the spirit. Those of whom I speak look up to the Roman Church as to an ark of refuge, and they apply to her the famous words of Bagler in the poem of Welhaven:

Ich sage, ihr Maenner und Knechte,
Ich schwor 'es auf meinen Schild:
Ich wuenschte, der Asen Geschlechte
Keht wieder in Nordlands Gefild."

lytism that offered them bread for a soul. All the sufferings of all the Catholics of Europe and America are small as compared with what Ireland has borne for the sake of Catholicism. She has even been cut in two, for she has sunk in the struggle from a population of 8,000,000 to a population of about 4,500,000. And this awful bleeding process still goes on. In seventy-five years (1820 to 1895) Ireland sent to the United States about one-fourth, 3,723,356 souls, of the whole immigration. In the year 1893 out of a European immigration of 488,832, there came from Ireland 49,233, between fifteen and forty years of age. In ten years this little isle has given to the great Republic of the West about one-ninth of her own actual brain and sinew, her grace and her gentleness. You may say that they went for the good of Ireland, that they have created a greater Ireland over the sea, that the 8,000,000 of Irishmen once shut up in Ireland are now 25,000,000 over the world; that God has trebled their number and manifolded their influence. Be it so! But nothing can compensate for the extinction of a nationality. Nothing can fill in the heart of Mother Ireland that aching void for those millions of her children gone out over the world's highways in tears and sorrow and sweat and humiliation! Oh! holy armies of immigrants, I salute you! You went forth with the armor of faith and the holy and original weapon of labor. You streamed across the oceans of the world that were surprised at such an inundation of men and women thrust violently from their green hillsides, their rich valleys, their fishy rivers, their solemn mountains. You were an army of apostles. You lifted the shame and disgrace from the Catholicism of the Continent. You showed what the liberty of the spirit was. You revealed the holy religion of active protest, eternal protest. You were called intellectual slaves, priestridden masses—but your courage and ingenuity and perseverance never failed. You were the first to win the liberty of the common law for Catholicism—that liberty which your brethren of the Continent would now gladly enjoy. God's hand was upon you ever going and coming. I believe that when these mighty movements of peoples,—the huge passover that is now going

on in the world,—are done, it will be seen that the most mysterious of all these great displacements of population was the practical transfer of Ireland from the Old World to the New; that it is no less providential than the divine calling in which Israel went down out of Egypt into Canaan, or the Greeks were scattered around the Mediterranean, or the Wandering Nations came out of the frozen North and overflowed the Roman Empire.¹

There is going on all over the civilized world a last stage of a process that began one century ago,—the transition from monarchical forms of government to those forms that are based on the principles of democracy. A student of history is blind if he does not know that every form of government has its weaknesses; that not one has yet been permanent; that under all both governor and governed are capable of wrong-doing and oppression. But he is still blinder if he does not recognize the signs of the times. The abnormal development of the sciences of nature, man, and society; the inventions and discoveries that have so greatly modified the universal conditions of space and time, diminishing one and multiplying the other; the disappearance all over Europe of the old economic-political conditions; the creation of enormous working democracies in the new world as examples of what may be done in the future,—all these are things that no wise man can shut his eyes to. Industry, commerce, travel, invention create and scatter a wealth that was formerly gathered chiefly from the land and remained largely in the hands of stable minorities of land-owners. Now it is gathered from ever new sources; to-day from the depths of the reefs of the Rand, to-morrow from the sands of Cape Nome. Add to this an instruction ever more widespread and ever reaching down to the masses; add the imminent opening of whole sections of Asia, of all Africa, perhaps of the Flowery Kingdom, and you have the elements of a certain fixity in the evolution of democracy on the lines now laid down.

The Church of Jesus Christ cannot be foreign to a move-

¹ Cardinal Gibbons in the *Irish Ecc. Record*, Jan., 1896.

ment like this. Independent of, transcending all forms of government, she is herself a perfect, self-sufficient, well-equipped society, with the well-known will of Christ for her constitution and the spiritual welfare of man for her proper scope. Yet the Church is deeply affected by the conditions of human society,—I have spoken in vain so far if this be not clear. Now, in the coming century it is well that there should be in the Catholic Church vast masses of men to whom the democratic spirit is native and original while the Catholic faith is equally native and original. These are the children of Ireland. I do not hesitate to say that they are the true future leaven of Christian democracy in the New World. In Catholicism, as they know it, there never was caste or privilege, or immunities, or any acquired distinction that could offend or give scandal, or furnish the civil power any shadow of excuse for jealousy or interference. The relations of the Irish people with the Church have,—perforce some will say, I think by God's providence,—been of an almost purely spiritual character. Between the altar, the priest, and the sacraments on the one hand, and the masses of the Catholic population on the other, there were no pampered and comfortable aristocracies, ecclesiastical or civil. There was but one sweet unity, very simple and easy, the unity of a common martyrdom; of a common hope in God and heaven, for they had none on this earth; of a common poverty and chastity that made of the whole people almost a monastic democracy.

How admirably John Banim has voiced this democracy of feeling and interest in his tender little ballad of the "Soggarth Aroon":

Loyal and brave to you,
 Sagart arun
 Yet be not slave to you,
 Sagart arun.
 Nor, out of fear to you
 Stand up so near to you—
 Och! out of fear to you,
 Sagart arun!

 Who, in the winter's night
 Sagart arun—

When the cold blast did bite,
Sagart arun—
Came to my cabin door,
And on the earthen floor
Knelt by me, sick and poor :
Sagart arun ?

Who, on the marriage day,
Sagart arun,
Made my poor cabin gay,
Sagart arun ?
Who did both laugh and sing,
Making our glad hearts ring,
At the poor christening,
Sagart arun ?

Och ! you and only you,
Sagart arun !
For this I was true to you,
Sagart arun !
In love they'll never shake
Who for ould Ireland's sake
A true stand and part did take,
Sagart arun !

They are, I maintain, a living proof of what Gregory VII. once said, when the Roman See was in its worst straits, that the Pope and the people,—papa et populus,—were enough to overcome the hosts of injustice. I need not go over for you the story of how Daniel O'Connell,—blessed name,—led the people to the victory of Catholic Emancipation, of the sympathy of the clergy and their co-operation with the people in all their trials ; how they withstood prison and confiscation for them ; how the cruel years of the great famine came and the latest apostolic wanderings of the race began ; how the Anglican Church was disestablished ; how the national schools were kept open to the influences of religion ; how countless men and women gave themselves generously to God with the certainty of expatriation ; how the collegiate education of Ireland has been provided for despite every obstacle ; how they have refused the glittering prize of high places in the imperial

administration if only they would be satisfied with something less than a frankly Catholic University.

Outside of Europe, the history of Catholicism in India is a clear proof of its inborn beauty and power. At the beginning of the century there were Catholics only in the Portuguese possessions about Goa, only four bishops and some twenty missionaries from Europe. To-day there are Catholic communities all over this vast land. Although not more than two millions are Catholic out of the two hundred and fifty millions of its population, still there are some thirty bishops, some eight hundred missionaries from Europe, and three thousand sisters, of whom two-thirds are natives.

As the English government has made the possessing of university degrees a requisite for public employment, all classes of the population must study in order to rise. Hence the old Brahmin world has been aroused. India is no longer the land of vice and rags, of toil and taxes, that it was in the days of Edmund Burke. There is now something better in India. Schools of higher education exist, especially in English India ; academies and convents, seminaries and parochial schools, in which many thousands receive annually a Christian training. Orphanages and hospitals exhibit the charity of Catholicism. The devotion and generosity of the missionaries have gone far during the periodical famines to win souls to Christ. The Mahometan states of Northern India are a sad obstacle to the propagation of the faith, but perhaps the conduct of the government of Catholic Portugal has been equally disastrous. Jealous of its ancient prerogatives and of the growth of English influence, the government has for sixty years put every obstacle in the way of a suitable organization of the general interests of Catholicism. It has created an unhappy and disgusting schism, the schism of Goa, and vilified the Catholicism of Rome before the millions of Brahmins and the missionaries of Protestantism. From Gregory XVI. to Leo XIII. the Holy See has made many sacrifices,—the latter has at last been able to erect (in 1886) a proper hierarchy in India, and there are good reasons to hope for a regular progress of the Church

under the protection of the common law. That progress will be extinguished the day that Russia sets up her standard of authority in India, for between its Byzantine violence and arrogance and the fair play of a great democracy there can be only one choice for the Catholic Church.

The discovery of Africa has completed the throwing open of the material world begun by Columbus, henceforth we have only the icy and useless lands of the poles to investigate. In Africa the Catholic Church has made incredible progress. On the soil of Algiers and Tunis French missionaries have rebuilt the churches of Tertullian, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. Its 800 bishops in the time when it was Roman Africa dwindled down gradually under Arabic Islam until only one faint voice was heard in the eleventh century, begging help and consolation from Rome. But to-day the ancient see of Carthage has been restored, a noble basilica rises again on the Byrsa, and a spirit of progress and general activity pulses through the veins of a Church that was always ardent, holy and intensely Catholic. Along that historical coast from Mount Atlas to Alexandria are now churches, dioceses, colleges, seminaries, institutions of charity. In 1800 there were some 15,000 Catholics in Algiers—to-day there are 580,000 with 650 priests. Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco, Egypt may yet see a universal restoration of the religion that made them once a truly civilized land. Even the Sahara is opened up to the holy influences of Catholicism now that the Mahdi's power is hopelessly broken. The White Fathers of Cardinal Lavigerie have penetrated the Soudan, and we may hope one day to see them abolish the terrible slave trade that yet disfigures our times. Along the coasts of Africa Catholicism has gradually won its way. They have been in the past, unfortunately, dominated by the weak and jealous government of Portugal. Hence, on the west coast the progress is yet slow and imperfect, with a faint good hope in the Congo missions, where Belgian Fathers work with zeal. In Ethiopia there are 35,000 Catholics, the bright hope of a future union between the ancient Christian Church of Abyssinia and the See of Rome. Could we close the Coptic schism in Egypt, and shake off the dead hand of a worn-

out heresy of the fifth century, we should have a useful race fitted for missionary work in Africa. God send us more men like Cardinal Massaja, the good old Capuchin, who toiled for them during thirty-five years, and fewer politicians like those who brought about the moral ruin of Italy at Adowa !

On the east coast the extinction of Portuguese authority promises hope, inasmuch as it leaves the Church free to exercise her spiritual power without the jealous interference of a civil authority. Surely every thinker in Portugal must have wished their missionaries back in the territories that England seized on in 1890, thereby ending any hope of a Portuguese and assuring English domination in the south of the great Dark Continent.

Here is where Catholicism has especially flourished. In 1827 there were 50 Catholics in the Cape Colony ; there are to-day four bishops and 125,000 Catholics. Numerous missionaries who speak the English tongue are found there, also all those works that Catholicism begets wherever it is established—works of education, charity, zeal, and general utility. The Kaffirs and Hottentots, even the hunted and abused Bushmen, are the objects of its religious zeal and charity. Not the extinction of races, the survival of the fittest, the use of rum, bayonets, opium, and every vice are the scope of Catholic propaganda. Seldom have races been extinguished by it. What the Spaniards did on the discovery of America we repudiate and point to the conduct of Las Casas and to the noble theoretical instructions of the Council of the Indies dictated by the large hearts of Las Casas and his brethren.

We know that results are small in comparison with the millions of the African population ? What are the divine intentions with regard to Africa ? What were the divine intentions with regard to North and South America while Columbus was ploughing his way across the Atlantic, towards India, as he thought ? It was not so. God was opening a refuge in the New World for the swarming masses of Europe. He was preparing a new home for man where every energy and every form of activity would have endless field for action.

We are here now for four centuries, we pioneers of Europe. And yet, though a never-ending current of immigration helps us, what have we yet to do in order to people these continents, in order to extract from their soil all the possibilities !

So, too, God has doubtless a great end in view in Africa ; and one does not need to be a political mystic to believe that He is working for the best in spite of passion and injustice and hideous warfare and the slaughter of innocent men on both sides, and the tears and sighs of mothers and orphans all over the broad Veldt and in every corner of the British Empire. Peace often dwells beyond a sea of blood. These American lands of ours have been soaked with human blood—the eternal inevitable law of sacrifice that the Count de Maistre has so magisterially described. The awful baptism has begun for Africa—European against Arab, white man against black man, brother against brother, family against family. Ophir and Golconda are discovered, and the passions that slumbered while wealth was won slowly and in the sweat of every man's brow now rage wildly when wealth pours along in floods of Pactolus. Who shall tell what will be in Africa one century hence ? It is the secret of heaven. We may rest assured that the record of Catholicism will be, in the future as in the past, a record of peace and reconciliation, by its nature foreign to politics and civil intrigue, marked by works of charity and human elevation, and that it will have then, as now, its Lavi-geries and its Massajas.

In other centuries the Catholic Church has had to lament the loss of many thousands by the spread of great organized schisms and heresies. Such has not been the case in this century. The old schism of Jansenists in Holland counts barely five or six thousand souls. The German Catholicism of Ronge, the " *Petite Eglise*," the French Catholicism of Chatel left no traces. The various attempts at founding an Italian National Church have been in vain. Perhaps the only one that lives is that of Old Catholicism, which has its seat in the Protestant parts of Switzerland, but has no longer any vitality or promise of development. Here and there a philosophical heresy has put forth its head—but, as a rule, all such

have had short lives, whether they came from Germany or France or Italy. In its hunger for simple conclusive formulas of certitude that shall work as clearly and as easily as the laws of nature, more than one untenable principle and method have been advanced. Their condemnation has often been worked out with pain and scandal and recrimination—but, after all, is Catholicism a philosophers' forum for free discussion, or is it the administration of a divine religion? It is surely the latter. No doubt the yoke of authority is hard to bear—the temper of the human mind is naturally toward a free and unhampered exercise. Yet sad experience has shown humanity how in that uncontrolled tendency there may lurk, finally, evils greater than those which follow the exercise of humility.

The strict discipline which is imposed on the mind by logic, on the tongue by language, which is indispensable in the family, in daily life, in the army, in all social processes, cannot be so harmful or useless in matters of philosophy and those provinces which lie between philosophy and religion. This truth dawned a century ago in the heart of Châteaubriand and Lamennais. We have had the humanitarian religion of Comte and the New Christianity of Saint Simon, yet what iota have they advanced mankind? We have the most boundless liberty of investigation, the most perfect equipment of schools, yet there are millions who protest in every land that the life of the common man is growing every day less lovely, less truly free, less rich in opportunity; that he is passing into an atom of society, a kind of unit of production and consumption. Nor are orthodox Catholics alone in this. John Ruskin spent his life and fortune in proving that our modern curiosity and material development were turning the world into an inartistic and cruel machine shop. Matthew Arnold consumed his life in teaching similar things. How regretfully this poet of agnosticism reminds us that

“The sea of faith

Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore

Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd.

But now I only hear

Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
Repeating, to the breath
Of the night-winds, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world."

There has been all along the nineteenth century an awakening of religious life that argues splendidly for the reality and permanency of the forces that underlie Catholicism. The civilized world has been covered anew with a white vesture of churches that atone for the desecration of so many by war and impiety since the days of Luther and Calvin. Beside them in every land arise institutions to dispel ignorance, to console sorrow, to protect the helpless, to feed the hungry, and to assuage the evils of sickness and disease. The services of the Church have again taken on something of the pomp and majesty of old; the liturgies of Catholic Europe have been gradually unified, as a symbol of Catholic unity. The music of the liturgy has to some extent been restored to its pristine beauty. The altars of religion have been made once more the throne of the God of Eternal Beauty. The faithful have learned again to know and to love the paths that lead to the House of God. The Sacred Humanity of Jesus Christ has become once more the object of the devotion, not only of women and children, but of men—such as it was when the holy martyrs of old died for love of the God-Man. The saving mercies of Jesus, His Atonement, His headship of our race, have been emphasized in the ever-increasing respect and love of His Virgin Mother. The reality of Catholic holiness has been made visible in the frequent canonization of men and women who exemplified in a rare and heroic degree the virtues of a Christian life. God has dealt tenderly and mystically with many chosen souls. The habit of pilgrimage has revived—*Lourdes* has drawn many millions of men and women up the path of a better life. And to-day while the world adores the Golden Calf at Paris, it is potently drawn to that remote and inaccessible valley of the Bavarian Alps where Christ seems again to walk the earth among poor and loving villagers, again is hung on the bleeding tree of Calvary as a spectacle of grace to a world grown weary of husks and shadows. A

militant spirit pervades the Catholicism of to-day, so much so that its enemies accuse it wrongly of being a political movement. It does but avail itself of the weapons that the world puts in its hands—the right of free speech or the press, the right of associating or private initiative and endeavor. Hence a vigorous Catholic journalism, annual congresses of laymen and ecclesiastics, associations for every conceivable good purpose. The churches hold again in many lands their synods, diocesan, provincial, and national. Unfortunately, it is only in the old Catholic lands that these meetings are hampered or looked on with disfavor.

In a general way, the foreign missions of Catholicism have roused the zeal of the people and the clergy. Seminaries have been created to sustain them; enterprises like the Propagation of the Faith, and the Holy Childhood, that have collected and spent nearly sixty millions of dollars since 1822, have nourished private generosity, especially in France. The Leopold Union in Austria, the Bonifatius Union in Germany have kept alive the same holy spirit. The home missions to the poor have created the work of the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul eternally connected with the memory of that rare scholar and fine Christian, Frederick Ozanam, and with his little band of fellow-workers that have so multiplied in fifty years. St. Francis, too, has come back among us, perhaps slowly, with his genuine poverty and detachment. May they grow as an offset to the too ardent pursuit of wealth and pleasure, sure forerunners of decay in all epochs of the world's history! All this Catholicism, so varied and active and attractive, tends to become more and more international. What is new and good and popular in one land is soon passed on to another. Thus the democratic spirit of the age carries on a holy intercommunication and levelling that have been difficult since the close of the Middle Ages. The old lines of national traditions are much affected by these processes that are too akin to the inner spirit and purpose of Catholicism to be arrested. Lands and peoples must react on one another more and more quickly, more and more intimately.

Already there is on all sides a heightening of mental activity, a sharpening of the popular powers of observation,

a willingness to transfer into daily life the improvements or progress of a religious character that each people sees among its neighbors. So from Lourdes the religious art and pious literature of France make the round of the world ; from St. Anne de Beaupré a breath of the inner and more solemn spirit-life penetrates the masses of manufacturing New England. The graces of the Holy Spirit are thus blown about the world on the same wings that blow the seeds of evil ; the currents that destroy the embankments of society in one place do but build them up in another, by some deep and hidden law of divine compensation, without which our hope would be faint and our faith often very cold and barren.

As usual, the arts have found in Catholicism during this century a protector at once of taste and munificence. It was the sight of the splendid art creations of the High Middle Ages that turned towards Catholicism the minds of many men of the German romantic school early in the century. Boisseree, Görres, Brentano, Reichensperger and others felt instinctively that the religion which created such masterpieces could only be a benefit to humanity. Since their day Germany, France, England and Ireland have seen arise more than one grave and noble Gothic pile less costly than the older ones, but handing down truly the spirit of an unworldly Catholicism. Many old churches of the Middle Ages have been worthily restored. No one can walk to-day under the roof of Cologne or of Speyer without feeling that here a breath of genuine genius has passed. In painting the school of Overbeck, Veit and Cornelius has saved Catholic art from the reproach of secularism and insipidity.

In France Ary Scheffer, Hippolyte Flandrin and James Tissot have nobly sustained the reputation of the eldest daughter of the Church. The two Reichenspergers and Rio have left the world richer by philosophies of Christian art. The rare and delicate skill in making of pictorial window-glass has been revived at Chartres, Munich, Innsbruck, Venice and elsewhere. We have no Houdons, or Canovas or Thorwaldsens to show,—sculpture does not rightly flourish in a romantically inclined age, which wishes to *see and touch*

and handle rather than to *know intimately* and symbolize in some eternal, unchangeable form. We wait impatiently for the great musician who shall seize the Ariel-like spirit of the time and offer it to our hearing in a divine permanency. No Mozart or Beethoven comes. Powerful efforts are made by a Wagner and a Gounod. Some think the master now walks the earth on that Italian soil whence we might easily expect him. Perhaps we are too little spiritual, too little other-worldly, ever to hear those celestial tones that can be caught only by men who dwell habitually beyond the veil,—can be tasted and admired only by other men to whom the problems of life and the soul, their questionings and struggles and answers are higher than the gross and level earth. The musician is the sculptor of poetry,—he will come when the world has again some raw material of romance, ardor, faith, enthusiasm, devotion of self, a common passion for the perfection and fulness of all the springs of life. And when this king of all the artists comes, he will find in the Catholic Church the mighty spaces for his song, on its altars the holiest inspirations, and in the things of beauty that it has begotten the worthiest setting for the last messages of God to humanity.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

SOME RECENT VIEWS ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

The Synagogue has prescribed the reading of the book of Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth) for the autumn season. The sad and melancholy thoughts with which this book is replete and which it never fails to awake in sensitive hearts are in striking harmony with the season of the fall of the leaf. Perhaps therein lies the secret of the interest which is always found in it, of that kind of fascination which it has not failed to exercise at all times. It is vain that in chapter xii, v. 12, we read this recommendation: "My son, be on your guard. . . . there is no end of making books in great numbers." Commentators never weary of writing about this strange book. The object of the present paper is to review the most recent articles upon this subject.

The latest study comes to us from the Catholic University of Toulouse, from the pen of Père Condamin, S. J.¹ He states and emphasizes excellently the most important problem of the book, the doctrine of Ecclesiastes on future life.

The attitude of the exegesis of Ecclesiastes depends to a great extent upon the interpretation given to v. 21, chapter III. Père Condamin prefers to the sense of the Masoretic Hebrew the rendering given in all the ancient versions and preserved in our Vulgate: "Who knoweth if the spirit of the children of Adam goeth upward, and if the spirit of the beast goeth downward?" But this translation—the only one which can be scientifically adopted—seems to contain a doctrine incompatible with the character of an inspired book. There is no reason gently to transform the text, as the Massoretes² have done, and give to it, at the expense of truth, an air of

¹ Etudes sur l' Ecclésiaste—*Rev. Biblique*, Oct., 1899, Jan., 1900, July, 1900.

² "Rabbinic tradition had here a theological scruple with which neither the Septuagint nor St. Jerome were troubled. It is only natural that the punctuation adopted by the Massoretes should have been influenced by their exegesis."—Lohy, *Histoire crit. des versions de la Bible*, 1892.

orthodoxy with which a legion of exegetes of our days¹ remain satisfied. Thus, Father Maas, S. J.,² without making even an allusion to the difficulty or to a different reading, proposes: "Who sees the spirit of man that goes upward, and the spirit of the beast that goes downward to the earth?" Père Condamin adheres to the text which literary criticism proves to be the one written by the sacred writer, but he is of opinion that this text, so sceptical, so materialistic at first sight, is perfectly in unison with orthodoxy, provided it be examined, as criticism demands, "in the light of ancient Jewish doctrines."

Hence, there will be no need to suppose, so as to save scandal, the now antiquated explanation, that Ecclesiastes is a dialogue between a sceptical sensualist and a sober sage, or a monologue between two interior voices—the one of passion and the other of wisdom—nor even to suppose, as some do in order to solve the difficulties, that there are numerous glosses and interpolations inserted with the intention of creating confusion and darkening the real meaning for dogmatic purposes. Not even a mention is made of Bickell's theory, according to which the confusion was merely due to a mistake of a bookbinder, who misplaced the quires of manuscript.³

If the learned Jesuit does not accept this opinion of this and that critic—Protestant or Catholic—upon the point, it is not that he disdains biblical criticism, or has not confidence in it. On the contrary, he knows very well how to ridicule "the attitude of many otherwise good men who are moved to indignation against these novelties, and display mere contempt for these minutiae." He points out quite justly a grave hiatus in the argumentation of exegetes who, on this point, assume the attitude of unflinching adversaries of modern criticism. They are content with stating that each particular proof is not conclusive, and consequently that the argument is without value, whilst the important point is the simultaneous presence of all the proofs. Until that is explained away, the argument is valid. Thus, in order to

¹ Abbé Motais is their best representative.

² The Problem of Happiness in the Light of Ecclesiastes.—*Am. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1896, p. 595.

³ The view of Bickell is endorsed and finely developed by Dillon, *The Sceptics of the Old Testament*, 1896.

shake the value of historical testimony, it does not suffice to show that each witness in particular is fallible; for the certitude which no isolated witness could have given, arises from a new fact, viz., the *ensemble* of the testimonies. Why, then, does he not admit the theory of Siegfried,¹ for example, who distinguishes different retouches: Q¹, Q², Q³, Q⁴, Q⁵. Because he believes that this conclusion is based upon subjective reasons—reasons which objectively would not lead any impartial savant to the same result. And this, because Siegfried has employed only one criterion, that of opposition of doctrines. It is difficult to avoid arbitrariness when a person pretends to determine strictly, by the control of ideas alone, the part of each author. In fact, many interpreters maintain the unity of authorship, which proves that the reasons given in favor of the plurality of authors are not very conclusive. This unity of authorship, Père Condamin sustains, and trusts he can explain. For, may not the same thinker who records his impressions, present without contradicting himself, points of view quite different, sometimes opposed? If there be, for example, opposition between c. vii, c. ix, 7-8 and c. vii, may it not be partly explained by recalling to mind that life has more than one phase; one sombre, the other smiling. An author such as Qoheleth should be compared to Pascal. Whoever has read Pascal's Thoughts knows full well how these notes jotted down haphazard offer the most abrupt contrasts.

If Père Condamin does not admit that one-half of the book consists of subsequent additions, it is not that *a priori* he disregards criticism. But he believes that the semblances of materialism presented by passages such as c. iii, v. 21, to which we will revert, may be explained in a satisfactory manner. To him it is evident that the Jewish doctrine upon the immortality of the soul was not as far advanced as that of the Pagans.² According to the Jews, death is a punishment. Hence such sombre pictures of Sheol, the repugnance which

¹ Prediger und Hoheslied, 1898, in Handcommentar zum Alt. Test. It contains a very good criticism of the text, and many excellent grammatical remarks.

² We are happy to see that despite certain prejudices propagated in some circles against the work of Rev. J. Touzard, S. S., "La doctrine de l'immortalité" (Rev. bibl., 1898). Père Condamin styles it an able article, and although differing from him in point of detail, accepts analogous conclusions.

they have against going there, the compassion which they express for those "*qui descendunt in infernum*. Ecclesiastes doubts not of the survival of the soul; but whilst all Jewish tradition says: We descend into Sheol after death, he asks himself: Who knows if the soul ascends? Where does it go? If it be not known, let us conclude that it is well, while observing the law of God in all things, fully to profit by the joy allowed in the present life.

If Qoheleth is the work of one writer, is Solomon the author? No, answers Père Condamin, after the prudent and learned Kaulen, since the language, the tone, the allusions are incompatible with the character of a king, especially a king like Solomon. Its composition must be assigned to a later period. All these points are forcibly demonstrated in the articles referred to.

But what about tradition? Tradition has never passed a decision on this question; the Fathers were never led by circumstances to pronounce on questions of authorship, to which, besides, they did not attach much importance—"*Valde superflue quaeritur*"—satisfied as they were with vindicating the divine origin of a book and investigating its doctrinal contents.

Here Père Condamin apologizes for "opening open doors." Still open though they may be, many refuse to enter, among Catholic exegetes, and, without any reason, refuse to see in the attributing of Qoheleth to Solomon a literary fiction, the presence of which, however, they are forced to admit in the Greek Book of Wisdom, ascribed to Solomon. Still, there is no reason whatever why, if we must do so in one case, we might not do it just as well in the other. This is why "Zenner, Prat, Durand, three Jesuit scholars, even Père Brucker, deem it impossible to attribute Qoheleth to Solomon" (p. 376).

¹Prof. Salmond, (*The Christian Doctrine of Immortality* 1897, pp. 167-8.) characterizes the book of Ecclesiastes as the one "which has the saddest tone of all the Old Testament writings, preaches most loudly the defeat of every way of seeking happiness of life apart from God, . . . reflects the story of the soul vanquished by the anomalies and mysteries of human life." Still he denies that passages like III, 21, recognize "no kind of future for man, or regard him simply as ceasing to be when he dies." Such passages form no part of the Old Testament teaching, but simply as "reflect moods of feeling, sinkings and fluctuations of hope, which may come at times on any mind in the dark and painful things of life."

Perhaps it is not so easy to determine the exact date of the composition of Qoheleth as it is to disprove the Solomonic authorship. However, it is evidently posterior to the Exile. From many indications quite suggestive, Père Condamin concludes, with the best modern critics, that the composition of our book must be placed about 200 B. C.

If, then, the author of Qoheleth "had lived in a transitional epoch, when religious dogma on the destiny of the soul was developing," it can be understood "that he hesitated between the ancient conception of the Sheol and the new and more consoling ideas which were paving the way for the gospel doctrine;" that he might have in many places spoken of the Sheol according to the traditional notion, and elsewhere proposed in a tentative manner the new idea of a soul separated from the body, which ascends on high after death. Hence, there would be nothing offensive in this passage, III, 21, "Who knows if the soul ascends?—nothing colliding with the ideas exposed in other passages of this book. These "Etudes" make us desire that Père Condamin will soon publish his complete and scientific commentary on Ecclesiastes.

Father Maas's article, already referred to, purports to treat of four questions: the authorship of the book, its literary form, scope, and doctrine. With much prudence he abstains from passing judgment about the author, saying, "the only views that must be here absolutely rejected are those destructive of the inspired character of Qoheleth" (p. 578). Apropos of the literary form, he is too absolute in excluding the dialogue between two interior voices, for the following reason: The possibility of this literary form in the case of an inspired book once admitted, all certainty as to its doctrine is destroyed, unless definite criteria be pointed out according to which various parts of the work can be determined. I fail to see why an inspired writer might not have given to his thought a kind of dreamy oscillation, might not have allowed it, as the wind of which Ecclesiastes speaks,¹ "to sweep towards the South and veer around to the North, whirling about everlastingly and returning again to its circuits," in order to soothe his imagina-

¹ Eccl., I, 6.

tion and better picture the state of his soul. Although this principle will not be according to the taste of every one, does it not seem, perhaps, that the profit for the reader consists in penetrating the spirit of the writer? It seems to us that the résumé of the doctrine of Ecclesiastes and the analysis so logically and so scholarly given by Father Maas bears too close a resemblance to the divisions of Bourdaloue and that there is a certain exaggeration in comparing the light which Ecclesiastes throws on the problem of human happiness to the "light of the sun" even for the reason that "it is direct and reaching from end to end." Especially when the author had declared, in the first sentence of his article, that the book is "the most difficult to understand."

A somewhat different view is that sustained by Kaufmann.¹ To him the simplest explanation is the best. Qoheleth is an ancient who has not all the methods of thinking of Mill or Schopenhauer—he is not even a Montaigne; he is not a Frenchman, but a Semite. There is no necessity of seeing in his book a rhapsody of disjecta membra it is a dialogue or a monologue of the soul. There is no dislocation of the quires, but oscillation of the thought. It is the work of a believer, in doubt, a pleading of faith with scepticism. He teaches too exclusively the melancholy side of religion; and if he does not affirm clearly enough the hope of immortality, this is due to the fact that he lived before the Gospel.

There is certainly less psychology and a perhaps exaggerated fondness of logic in the theory of Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. He has not yet published his critical edition of the book of Ecclesiastes, which is about to appear in the "Polychromatic Bible," but he has summed up his main conclusions in a paper read before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, in 1891, and since published.² Moreover, it has been the privilege of the writer to attend his highly interesting lectures on that book, at Johns Hopkins, in 1894-1895.³ Professor Haupt quotes Schopenhauer, saying:

¹ *Expositor*, June, 1899.

² *Oriental Studies*. A selection of the papers read before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1888-1894. Boston: Ginn, 1894. See abstract of the above paper in Johns Hopkins University Circular No. 89, 1891.

³ See *Rev. Biblique*, July, 1895, or "The Oriental Seminary at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore," 1896.

"that a man cannot fully appreciate the second verse of Ecclesiastes until he has reached the age of seventy,"¹ and pointedly adds: "If this remark be true, it would seem as if the days of the years of all the commentators—whose number is legion—fell below the threescore years and ten, and that the rest of this strange though fascinating book is as difficult to comprehend as the beginning."

To substantiate or to illustrate his assertion, Professor Haupt gives a short history of the opinions of exegetes, refuting everybody, especially the sceptic Renan,² and asserting his own opinion as to the literary form of the book: "The contemporaries of Ecclesiastes, . . . being unable to suppress the book, . . . endeavored to darken its meaning for dogmatic purposes, saying: . . . 'Let us save the attractive book for the congregation, but we will pour some water in the author's strong wine.'" It might have happened that way. Did it? This is not conclusively established. As to the doctrine of Qoheleth, the learned Professor Haupt says that Luke XII, 15-31, "is evidently directed against Ecclesiastes"—a fact, he remarks, which had never been noted. To the rich man who said to his soul: "Thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease; eat, drink and be merry," God said: "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee." Now, there can be no stronger condemnation of the teaching of Ecclesiastes,—an epicurean teaching

¹ Schopenhauer's Works, edited by J. Frauenstadt, p. 526.

² Renan, *L'Ecclesiaste*. It might be interesting to read the list of the books of Ecclesiastes which Renan had in his library. We extract from his catalogue:

- 771. Ubaldi: *L'Ecclesiaste*, de Renan. Roma, 1868.
- 572. Brecher: *L'immortalité de l'âme chez les Juifs*.
- 578. Bruston: *Le prétendu épicurisme de l'Ecclesiaste*. Montauban, 1881.
- 592. Ledrain: *M. Renan et l'Ecclesiaste*, 1882.
- 620. Alfio Call: *L'Ecclesiaste*. Catania Topoa, 1885.
- 637. Boehl: *De Aramaelsmis libri Koheleth*. Erlangae, 1868.
- 644. Castell: *Il libro del Coheleth*. Pisa, 1866.
- 657. Leimdorfer: *Der h. Sch. Kohelet im Lichte der Geschichte*, 1892.
- 712. Jamin: *Trad. nouv. de l'Ecl.* Genève, 1857.
- 680. Ewald: *Die poetischen Bücher des A. B.*
- 680. Gratz: *Koheleth*.
- 694. Hitzig: *Der Prediger Salomo's*.
- 697. Klostermann: *De libri Coheleth Versione Alexandrina*, 1892.
- 707. Kuenen: *Qoheleth; L. Renan: L'Ecclesiaste*. Leyde, 1882.
- 717. Lods: *L'Ecclesiaste et la philosophie grecque*. Paris: 1890.
- 786. Palm: *Qoheleth und die nach-aristotelische Philosophie*. Mannheim, 1885.
- 740. Plumptre: *Ecclesiastes*. Cambridge, 1881.

repeated five times (ii., 24; iii., xii, 22; v., 17; viii., 15). "There is nothing better than to eat and drink and be merry"—than these words of Our Saviour. This ought to settle the question whether Ecclesiastes has any claims to canonical authority. But is it so evident that Our Lord wishes to condemn Qoheleth? And, even if the teaching of Ecclesiastes were of a lower standard than the Gospel,—the fulfilment of the old dispensation—would it follow that this book is not canonical? A more objective criticism of canonicity is supplied by the definition of the Church.

Strange enough is the fact that while objections are brought against the inspired character of the work, no doubts were raised as to the Solomonic authorship of the book. "Nowadays things have changed. There is scarcely a scholar of eminence now who ventures to defend the Solomonic authorship." Prof. Haupt rejects it mostly on account of the "linguistic features of the book." It teems with aramisms, and if the view of the Solomonic authorship were correct "there would be no history of the Hebrew language." What can be answered to that argument, I do not know. Nothing in fact would confirm that position so much as the ridiculous attempts made to explain, v. g., that "Solomon used the Aramaic language, so uncommon at his time, in order to show his erudition."

Had the author assumed the name of Solomon to give to his book more authority because, just as David was "regarded as the religious poet of the nation, so Solomon was looked upon as the impersonation of Wisdom, the representative of the largest practical experience and highest intellectual knowledge" this of course would not have been a *pia fraus*¹ as many imprudently say,² but a perfectly allowable literary

¹ "The New Revelation taught a better spirit than that of the patriotic fierceness which is breathed in Esther. The despair of the preacher, which expressed the unsatisfied yearnings of the soul for its Redeemer, finds no echo in the books of the New Covenant." Ryle, "The Canon of the Old Testament," 2d ed., p. 190, 1895.

² Dr. Haupt aptly remarks in a foot-note (p. 37): "Nor can the author of the book of Deuteronomy who introduces Moses as having spoken the discourses contained in the book be held to be guilty of literary fraud or dishonesty."

³ "This kind of fraud is incompatible with the inspired writings," says E. Philippe (art. *Ecclesiaste* in Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1898), "since Ecclesiastes has had Solomon as its author . . . We believe it more probable that it is a work of repentance and of his final years." It is a matter of regret that the author of

device."¹ But such a theory finds no favor with Professor Haupt; there is no author of the book of Ecclesiastes . . . of the book in the form in which it has come down to us. The original author was not a theologian, he was a man of the world, probably a physician (?) with keen observation, vast experience and penetrating insight." But the book we have is not intact.

Theologians tried to obscure it; then to eat up and distribute the text as much as possible, destroying the order and logical sequence. While things might have happened that way, they might also have happened otherwise. To substantiate a fact, conjecture is not sufficient. The volume of Ecclesiastes in the Polychromatic Bible will soon appear living and speaking through its colors. It will discuss many questions which could not be treated in a popular lecture; it will show more completely the critical views of the profession about the original order of the book; it will, perhaps, leave many people sceptical as to the objective value of the proposed restoration, and make them say with Qoheleth: "There is no end of making books in great numbers." It will be interesting to see whether Professor Haupt agrees with Siegfried in determining what passages had been written by the pessimistic philosopher (Q¹), by the optimistic epicurean (Q²),

this article, who has so easily determined the date and shown so much readiness in his answers to serious objections, accuses Bickell of practically destroying the substantial integrity and the inspired character of this book.

¹"The literary customs of these remote times were not those of our day. It has happened betimes that quite recent writers experienced no scruples in placing their works under the protection of names approved by anterior tradition; it is thus that the book of Wisdom is represented as being by Solomon. No one to-day admits this imputation. It cannot be said a priori that no other book or portion of the Scripture is found under the same condition.

It is very probable that Ecclesiastes no more belongs to Solomon than Wisdom. Hence we expose ourselves to falling into error if we feel ourselves obliged to admit for certain notions contained in this book a material exactness which they do not necessarily possess." A. Loisy, *La Critique Biblique, Etudes Bibliques*, 1893, p. 53.

Newman as early as 1884 wrote, "I say, then, of the Book of Ecclesiastes: its authority is one of those questions which still lie in the hands of the Church. If the Church formerly declared that it was written by Solomon, I consider that, in accordance with its heading (and, as implied in what follows, as in 'Wisdom,'), we should be bound, recollecting that she has the gift of judging "*de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum* to accept such a decree as a matter of faith; and in like manner, in spite of its heading, we should be bound to accept a contrary decree, if made to the effect that the book was not Solomon's. At present, as the Church (or Pope) has not pronounced on one side or on the other, I conceive that, till a decision comes from Rome, either opinion is open to the Catholic without any impeachment of his faith." On the Inspiration of Scriptures: *Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1884, p. 697.

by the wise man (Q³), by the theologian (Q⁴), or by the different other glossarists designated by (Q⁵).

In Switzerland opinion is not as in Baltimore. Here is a thesis presented before the Protestant faculty of Theology at Geneva by Louis Maystre upon the morality of Ecclesiastes.¹ The author seems to be young, for he is very, in fact, too absolute in his ideas. He is severe on those who see in Ecclesiastes a dialogue or a composite structure. "It is enough to recall to mind," he says, "that defect of plan and lack of unity are common faults in all Jewish writings, that the race is not endowed with philosophical genius and that we must guard ourselves from expecting from them the logical works of Greek genius. To judge correctly of the product of Jewish thought we must set aside our 2,000 years of cerebral habits and to expect of the language simply what it can offer to us, a succession of affirmations, of experiences, of maxims, between which the thread which ought to bind them is frequently interrupted." However, there is an indisputable unity underlying the work; Qoheleth unflinchingly tends towards his end with monotony in his language, and intensity in his pre-occupation: vanity of vanities.

That Solomon is not the author is evident to M. Maystre. "Upon this point discussion is at an end." "The Jewish author is no longer a Jew. He has been disengaged from Judaism by probable influence and certain experiences. He has assumed something of the Grecian individualism and stands in opposition to the spirit of Jewish collectivism. If he has placed his doctrine in the mouth of Solomon, it is to give more volume to the speech which he directs 'against ritualistic religion, rigorism, ostentation, and pharisaical exclusiveness, exterior piety, mechanical prayers, material sacrifices.' And in performance of the work of destruction he has only given expression to the moral disorder of a number of souls; he has made his age speak—the end of the Graeco-Egyptian period. He has prepared the way for the Gospel. But in Qoheleth it is death which speaks, in the Gospel it is life."

It will not be now out of place to know what the best Jewish critics think of Qoheleth. Derenbourg¹ insists upon

¹ Louis Maystre, "*La Morale de l'Ecclésiaste*," 1895.

this fact: "the author had truly the intention of making King Solomon speak in such manner as he had conceived and understood him. His little book is a strange book which, in matter as well as in form, does not resemble any other book in Scripture." But to advocate that sentences such as "Fear God," etc., have been added by a later hand is to disregard completely the Israelitish conscience of our author, whose doubt never attacks the fundamental dogma of Judaism, and who feels the imperative need of soothing with such professions of faith the remorse manifested in the harshness of his language. There are, however, many phrases which are not from him, for, like all Oriental authors, he has felt himself at liberty to cite verses from more ancient authors; and such are those literary souvenirs which, strewn indiscriminately in the text, seem to unseasonably interfere with the progress of reasoning (vii, 1-8; ix, 1-7; x, 8).

As to the general tone of philosophical "causerie"¹ it is that of an ardent scepticism which concerts all the efforts that tempt man here below. The refrain that occurs at each step is that all is vanity. The destiny of man, however, disturbs our sceptic. What will be the difference between the end of man and that of the brute? Will a breath which ascends, in the case of the former and descends in the case of the latter, be detached from the dust to which everything is reduced! Qoheleth is strongly disposed towards fatalism. But this fatalism is encroached upon by doubt, and the religious sentiment of the Israelite presently transforms the fatalist into a sceptic. The idea of a just God has penetrated too profoundly into the heart of Qoheleth not to restrain his disappointed and discontented spirit. It is this that gives the peculiar charm to this little book; it is scepticism tempered and limited by the impassable barrier which that dogma, the base and center of Judaism, opposed to it."

¹ "Notes détachées sur l'Ecclesiaste" in the *Revue des Études Juives*. October, December, 1890.

² "Admirable for the expression of feelings, the Hebrew has no plasticity for reasoning. The Semitic languages are by no means accommodated for the expression of confused ideas. They seek the living feature, the spark; they dissect reasoning, and display its members. Qoheleth had the philosophic spirit, but he had not a philosophic language at his disposal. His hopeless efforts to effect reasoning resemble the tortures of an accomplished musician struggling to execute a complicated symphony with an orchestra entirely incompetent." Renan, "Ecclesiaste," pp. 78-86.

As to the date of this book, Derenbourg believes that he can determine it by means of the particular thoughts which should betray its origin, especially the passage which we cited at the beginning of this article. He says: "Judaism has had the rare luck of falling under the control of philosophers only at a recent date. . . . If we except monotheism, all opinions have been able to push themselves into the light However, towards the commencement of the second century B. C. the influence of Greek philosophy began to be felt in Palestine. The ideas of Plato on the immortality of the soul were diffused. It is to this doctrine that Qoheleth alludes in our passage 'in insinuating that doubt which dominates his whole work.'"

Qoheleth "dares not to dwell on this doctrine, for he is too much attached to the religion of his fathers," he dares not identify himself with the thought which springs from a source as evil as pagan philosophy. "Qoheleth belongs, then, to the second quarter of the second century B. C." The Jewish critic is not very far from Père Condamin's views.¹

This same view is held by Von Hügel.² "As to Ecclesiastes, the difficulties of its apparent teaching have by no one been more forcibly put than by Bishop Haneberg.³ They are best met, if we admit: (1) that it was written in times of terrible anarchy and decay, about 200 B. C., and that it is "upon life not absolutely, but as he witnessed it, that the writing passes sentence;" and (2) that he stands between the pre-exilic period, when the individual found his end in membership with his God-loved free nation and the Christian dispensation with its clear and constant doctrine of the fuller life beyond the grave; and that hence, as the Ceremonial Law, according to St. Paul, so this book also helps to demonstrate the insufficiency of that Covenant which was then "decaying and near its end." (Hebr. viii, 13).

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¹ The Book of Ecclesiastes, the composition of which ought to be placed, according to all appearance, at the period of the Persian domination; but as to construction of sentence, and as to vocabulary, it is tinged very much with Aramæism—Loisy. "Histoire du texte Hébreu."

² *Dublin Review*, Oct., 95, p. 801.

³ "Gesch. der bibl. Offenbarung," 1876, p. 356.

THE EBB AND FLOW OF ROMANCE.

Everybody finds it easier to describe than to define the word "romantic" as applied sometimes to the Homeric books, oftentimes to *Mademoiselle de Scudéry's* "Grand Lyrica," and always to Sir Walter Scott's poems and novels. And most arguments about the meaning of this term end, as they end in Alfred de Musset's "Letters de Dupuis à Cotonet," in a series of contradictions.

Of late, interest in the philosophical and social forces that affect literary movements seems to have increased among persons busy about other things. And the excuse for this paper,—which contains the essential points of several lectures for students,—is that it is meant as an answer to several questions from such persons.

That the romantic movement and the reactions from it were dependent on philosophical, social and political influences is obvious. That they were not always conscious,—not always the result of rules or formulated principles,—seems quite as evident.

It is easy to prove that in the golden age of Spanish literature, the literary movement was not a conscious, philosophical movement.

The epoch of the drama in Spain,—that epoch which Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderon made, and which lasted about one hundred years,—was romantic. It was romantic both in spirit and in form. The famous plays of Cervantes, "Numantia" and "The Captives of Algiers," disregard all classical rules. Cervantes did for the Spanish stage what Corneille did for the French; he fixed its best elements. And Lope de Vega, his successful rival, carried on the work which Calderon's masterpieces finally completed. The seventeenth century, in the beginning of which Shakspeare died, saw in Spain Cervantes found a new school of novelists with "Don Quixote," and likewise pave the way,

in the drama, for the wonderful Lope de Vega and the still more wonderful Calderon. But, while Corneille borrowed largely from Spanish material, he remained classical both in feeling and form. And Racine, more human, more sympathetic, was almost an abject slave to the French versions of the rules of Aristotle. Corneille was so Roman in his feeling and so imitative of the models furnished by Seneca that it has been truly said that, as a rule, "all his men are demigods and all his women men." Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderon wrote as if the rules of Aristotle and the classical formulae never existed. They were as romantic as Victor Hugo, but they had merely to take episodes from the life around, to make thrilling incidents in a comedy of the cloak and sword or in that more heroic species of drama which answers to our idea of tragedy.

The Elizabethan romantic play of Webster, "The Duchess of Malfi," which is made up principally of ghosts and murderers, is not more regardless of the classical rules or more romantic than Cervantes' "Numantia" or Calderon's "The Physician of His Own Honor." Previous to Cervantes, the imitators of Italy,—the believers in imitation, which is the essence of classicism, had held sway; but Cervantes turned to the people and reflected the taste of the proud, fantastic, yet grave and religious Spaniard. He succeeded, he tells us, in such measure that during the progress of at least thirty of his plays not even a cucumber or an orange,—missiles used against the unpleasing comedians of the Spanish theatre,—was thrown upon the stage! Comedy, in the Spanish sense, was not comedy in the sense of Molière,—a play of manners ending happily. It might be a very serious drama, religious in motive, grave in method, yet not without comic incidents. Cervantes reduced it from four to five acts. From the Spanish point of view, "The Merchant of Venice" and "Measure for Measure" are comedies, though the Elizabethan would probably have called them tragi-comedies and the French critics of the eighteenth century refused to classify them except as barbarous.

Lope de Vega frankly says that he followed the tastes of the people. The king or the coterie had very little to do with

him. He was, although he knew thoroughly all the classical dicta, entirely democratic. No plot was too intricate nor episode too improbable for him. And "The Wonderful Magician" of Calderon will show how passionately romantic, how disdainful of the classical autocrats the last great master of the Spanish drama was. The golden age of Spanish literature was romantic and democratic. It was, as Heine says of literature in general, "a mirror of life." It was not a conscious revolt against imitation or arbitrary rules. Lope de Vega puts it naively when he said that "he gave the people what they paid for."

The religious side,—deep, essential, fervent,—of the Spanish people was not left out of their dramas. This romantic time has left some wonderful religious pieces which must grow in the estimation of critics the better they are known. There are the "Autos Sacramentales" of Lope de Vega and Calderon. Cervantes was the first to conceive, for dramatic purposes, the soul of man as a little world, in which all the emotions, passions, aspirations, sins,—supernatural grace itself,—is personified. The origin of the Spanish theatre was not religious, though, like all theatres, it expressed religion when the people were religious. The religious drama,—the "Sacramental Acts,—splendid, elevated, as rich in poetry and colored language as the studded background of a Byzantine madonna, is in gems,—is a distinct expression of the personal and national spirit of Spain. The form of the "Autos" is romantic. They represent the religious drama at its highest point, and they could only come from and appeal to a people to whom the teachings of religion were not only familiar but vitally interesting. They are no wild, semibarbarous miracle plays or moralities, but works of art and poetry, touched with divine fire. They are the product of trained theologians and philosophers, and they appeal to no illiterate people. They represent a special phase of the religious romantic literary movement.

If the poetry of Chaucer is romantic in spirit, it is only so in the sense that it was bound to no narrow treatment of subject or to no fixed models of imitation outside the poet's intellectual taste. The introduction to "The Canterbury Tales"

is realistic. No modern novel could, in the best sense, be more so. "The Knight's Tale" is romantic, if you will, because it clothes the Greeks of the old legends with the panoply of the Middle Ages. Theseus, the Greek, becomes a Duke, and the apparatus of the story of Arcite is brought down to the point of view of the fourteenth century. If we call Chaucer romantic because he represented life as he saw it and delighted in his own time, why not call Homer romantic?

"Chaucer's pages," says Professor Beers in his "History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century," "abound with tournaments, hunting parties, baronial feasts, miracles of saints, feats of magic; but they are robed as well with the every-day life of the fourteenth-century England." Here we have romanticism and realism touching. And if we apply, as we may, the spirit of Professor Beers' words to Homer, we must admit that the chief of all Greek poets is a classic without being more classical than Chaucer, and that, at least in his picture of Odysseus and the lovers of Penelope, he was as romantic as Sir Walter Scott.

The drama of England down to the Restoration was frankly romantic. There was no conflict between the classical and romantic schools, though Ben Johnson doubtless sighed over Shakspeare's romanticism when he admitted that the author of "Hamlet" had little Latin and less Greek. It is certain that Shakspeare did not trouble himself about the rules of Aristotle and that there were no critics in his audience who objected to the form of "The Merchant of Venice" as unclassical. Dryden might have done so; but in the latter part of the sixteenth century Dryden had not yet begun to be the first of English professional critics. As it is, it is to his credit that when, under the French influence of the Restoration, Shakspeare had almost been forgotten, he raised even a timid plea for him. But, after 1688,—the year of Pope's birth and the beginning of constitutional government in England,—classicism came into fashion. The Italian conceits and euphuisms of Sir Philip Sidney and Surrey, carried to excess, had been ridiculed by Shakspeare and were out of fashion; and so were the spontaneity, the freshness, the love of the natural man, which had distinguished Shakspeare and the best of his contemporaries. Addison and Pope gave the tone to verse and prose; and,

reticent as it was, the apotheosis of the commonplace as it was, it showed a healthy reaction against the false sentiment and unbridled license of the years of Charles II. and James II. It was such prose and verse as comfortable deists might write—deists who would consider the Apocalypse an exaggeration in bad form and the death of a Christian martyr as a very shocking performance, which a grain of incense gracefully dropped before a well-modeled god would have prevented. Romance was out of fashion; for romance meant aspiration and unrest, an interest in the past, a reaction against the present, and Addison and Pope *et al.* were quite willing, before the comfortable fires of their favorite coffee houses, to believe that “whatever is, is right.”

If Pope and Addison were aristocratic and classical, “icily regular, splendidly null,” they preceded an era of democracy. The time when Addison could assume the mantle of Dryden and become an autocrat of literature was rapidly passing. The day of the patron was passing. The great Dean Swift might go about among his noble friends extorting guineas for his “little Papist poet, Pope;” but the years were at hand when historians, poets and all book makers were to appeal to the people, not to a “coterie.” The Hotel de Rambouillet and the year 1600 were gone forever; the ladies, whose criticisms made or unmade Corneille, who encouraged the young Bossuet and displaced a court preacher because they could whisper to that arbiter of letters, the Cardinal Richelieu, that he used non-academic words, had passed like the snows of last year. The time was coming when the democratic idea which did not concern itself with kings and princes was to find expression in letters and to denominate. In France it came out in the romantic revolt of Victor Hugo; from '74 until his time it had been as sordid in letters as the Marats and Robespierres who let loose the hurricane of revolution. It was an appeal of the individual to individuals.

In France it was a conscious revolt, with principles and a formula. In England it expressed itself in a new vein of history; but, first, in the novels of Fielding and Smollett.

Shakspeare could not conceive a man heroic who had not noble blood. So sure of this was he that his first object when

he went back to Stratford, a rich man, was to restore the family arms. Hamlet was a prince, Rosalind the daughter of a duke, Macbeth a patrician of his land, Perdita the daughter of a king, Portia of a great caste in Italy, and Romeo high among his people. Fielding changed all this, and the hero of the first great novel of the eighteenth century is a foundling. Moreover, Fielding holds the mirror up to nature. He is a realist, but he does not proclaim himself so. The time, as he pictured it, is a coarse and animal time, when religion had ceased to be more than a name for a comfortable belief that the Supreme Being would never think of damning anybody who paid an income tax. The comfortable middle classes began to reign.

The novels of Miss Austen and Miss Edgeworth preceded those of Anthony Trollope and have been succeeded by Howells and James. You can trace the line of realism back to Defoe. With Howells and James realism is conscious and analytical. Nevertheless, it is an imitation of the French philosophy of the realistic, while in succession with the spontaneous realism of Miss Austen, which answered to a demand from society, as Richardson's literary pap, flavored with Rousseau's rosewater and named "*Clarissa Harlowe*," had answered to a demand for a more sympathetic knowledge of human nature. Richardson was vocal of the democratic movement, though he probably despised it as much as he despised the principles of Rousseau.

In history Gibbon's "*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*," with its elaborate pagan paraphernalia, and constant march of processional sentences, showed that history aimed to be literature. But it is to Macaulay we owe the development of the democratic movement into history. "The historians," Macaulay says, "have imposed on themselves a code of conventional decencies as absurd as that which has been the bane of the French drama. The most characteristic and interesting circumstances are omitted or softened down, because, as we are told, they are too trivial for the majesty of history. The majesty of history seems to resemble the majesty of the poor king of Spain, who died a martyr to ceremony, because the proper dignitaries were not at hand to render him assistance."

The historian was no longer to write of kings and princes and battles, leaving the people, like dim spectres, to stand in the distance. It may have been that, with the exit of the Stuarts, kings had ceased to be picturesque. And, if it be a choice between principle and the picturesque, literature is drawn to the picturesque as the metal to the magnet. At any rate, English democracy,—nurtured at the time of King John and the Magna Charta,—had slowly come to maturity. Macaulay, at any rate, turned to the people, to the private and public records of daily life. Literature was to become more and more the expression of humanity, and it followed the movement towards the people and from the people. Macaulay himself expressed his theory of the historian's changed point of view, and faithfully put this theory into practice. The memoir, the diary, the letter became material for the writer of history. It was no longer a question of the progresses of Louis XIV. or of the plan of Waterloo; the lives of the men who fought, the social conditions of the families that stayed at home,—all these are now things for the new investigation. The legend of Stephenson sitting by his mother's fire and discovering the action of steam replaces the story of King Alfred and the burned cakes in the neat-herd's hut; the picture of Franklin and his kite found more admirers than that of the foolish Canute and the advancing waves. In fact, the waves soused the king and, if a monarch had burned his cakes, the people saw no reason why he should not eat them or go without. Macaulay's method was exaggerated by Froude, with whom history became the personal expression of untruth. History to-day concerns itself with humanity; it may be called the psychology of the people, and the people are no longer incarnate in the person of the king.

The poet, however, remains a democrat just as long as democracy can be made picturesque. The novelist, however, has a wider range, and is not so dependent on the picturesque. The novel was still realistic,—that is, it concerned itself with the probable in every-day life until Sir Walter Scott arose. There had appeared tentative romances, like Horace Walpole's and Mrs. Radcliffe's, but they were lurid phantasmagorias. Sir Walter loved the past, and a century that was bounded by

such an unpicturesque event as the Reformation irked him. The stirring Border Ballads rang in his ears. Besides, the cult of Goethe had tinged him with German romanticism. Between John Knox, grim, Hebraic, colorless, rude, denouncing the "Sabbath" afternoon dances of Mary Stuart, and Mary, radiant, gay, distinguished, candid and a queen, he was all for Mary. Luther's vulgarity shocked him, and Calvin's pretensions filled him with contempt. Cromwell had good points for a romance, but those good points were only visible against a background of chivalry. It must be confessed that dear, old Sir Walter loved the glamour of courts, the clash of arms, and the panoply of feudalism. But he also loved the Gothic tracery of high-pointed spires and all the old world of which the cathedral and the abbey were the centre. And he loved, too, the creatures who would not have been what they were if it had not been for the old, yet ever new, religion. It would be untrue to say that Sir Walter consciously began a new movement in literature when he wrote the "Lady of the Lake" or that more influential work, "Waverly." He simply followed his bent; he liked the telling of a story so much that, in his declining days, the labor he delighted in physicked pain, and helped him to the highest heroism. "Peveril of the Peak" and "Lucy of Lammermoor," Edward Glendenning and the terrible Templar of "Ivanhoe" were of the company he cherished.

The ideal was never so obscured in England, religion never so much of a social convention, Utilitarianism so prevalent and Philistinism so self-conceited as in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Reformation which had apotheosized the commonplace, had cut off the English from their ancestors. The glory of the elder day was forgotten or ignored. It is hard for us to realize the interest excited by the appearance of Sir Walter Scott's novels,—the memoirs of the time show that the "Wizard of the North" was the most talked of person in Great Britain. The reign of the romance had come. Realism, so far as it concerned itself with every-day life in England, was out of fashion. Utilitarianism gave way, at least in theory, to aspiration. To fly upward was the motto; to get beyond the narrow walls of the present was the desire.

Few writers on Christianity have acknowledged its debt to the imagination. They have tried, following the lead of the reformers, to support it by common sense,—when the fact is that the highest form of religion has as little to do with common sense as it has with the stock market. The apostle who made himself “a fool for Christ’s sake” was as much beyond the understanding of the average man of common sense as the ordinary reader of cheap magazines is below the poet of the Apocalypse. Sir Walter Scott, pioneer of the movement of aspiration, used the form of prose and the form of the novel; he was fortunate in that; the imagination of England caught fire. He showed that there were forgotten splendors in English faith and love. He re-peopled the cathedral and the abbey; he showed that the England of the Middle Ages was not the England of Foxe’s “Book of Martyrs.” He cast aside the curtains of the commonplace, and the English beheld a new world all their own. The heroism they had lost so long, the romance hidden from them appeared under the wand of the wizard:

“That through one window men beheld the spring,
And through another saw the summer’s glow,
And through a third the fruited vines arow,
While, still unheard, but in its wonted way,
Piped the drear wind of that December day.”

Men were glad to get out of the wind of the cold December and to feel the glow of the spring. A return to chivalry meant a return to the Church. Gradually the movement grew, and we have Cardinal Newman’s own testimony to the value of Sir Walter Scott’s influence on the re-reading of English history. The progress to the Church, in which Newman was so distinguished a figure, would have come,—for ignorance could not always prevail. But there can be no doubt that the romantic movement in literature, which Sir Walter Scott both led and responded to, softened the temper of the English by broadening their views and illuminating their imagination.

In France the romantic movement of 1830 was a revolt and a conscious revolt against classic literary forms. Romanticism with Scott was a question of subject, of atmosphere; with Victor Hugo it was a question of form. “Romanticism,”

Brunetière says, speaking of the movement in France, "was not only a revolt, but a revolt made in order to uphold in honor all that classicism had, if not dogmatically condemned, at least effectually rejected. Romanticism is the ardor of incorrectness," as opposed to classicism, which, according to Brunetière, is "the regularity of good sense, the perfection of symmetry." Heine makes the essence of romanticism consist of allegory and aspiration; he speaks for that German point of view that had influenced Scott.

Hugo's romanticism was certainly a disorder of the imagination,—violent because it was not only a rebellion against conventional and traditional rules, but, in opposition, because the French bourgeois, commonplace and self-satisfied, were as unspiritual as the English Philistines. The English middle classes that could be satisfied to look on Benjamin West as a great painter were no better than the bourgeois that acclaimed David and Horace Vernet. Hugo was abnormally revolutionary. "Notre Dame de Paris" is a monstrous vision inspired by the frightful chimeras that keep watch from the roof of the old cathedral of many memories. Alexandre Dumas was more deeply influenced by Scott than Hugo. Hugo represented psychological reaction against the classical; the romantic France, before Richelieu and Louis XV., charmed him; he threw himself into a great, open space and narrowly missed chaos. Dumas was a story-teller before all,—regardless of the probable, but with the power of making the impossible seem probable.

In all things the French go fast. It does not take them long to work out a problem. Lafayette's sentimental statement of the premises of the Revolution and the way they worked it out shows that. The revolt of Hugo against literary conventions did not stop with "Notre Dame de Paris" or with his drama, "Hernani." Dumas was an episode, influenced by Scott and answering a demand from France for fairy tales of the past. Dumas founded no school; he told his stories and all France listened to them. They were exciting, and it was easy to see Anne of Austria and Cardinal de Retz and the celebrities of the Fronde through his glasses. As an artist, he was less hampered by the facts of history than even Scott. If D'Artagnan must die in one chapter, why not

bring him to life in the next ! He belonged to that school to which Sir Walter Scott has a suspicious leaning,—he was capable of making his heroine sea-green, if such a proceeding could add to the dramatic effect. There is no doubt, however, that he was as potent in the art of story-telling as was Sir Walter, and he held his hearers spellbound. While he wrote there was no room for other romancers.

But against the revolution of Victor Hugo there soon rose another revolt. Romanticism cloyed—the dungeons and donjons of “La Tour de Nesle” and the horrors of the old street of Paris were as dreams. There was a demand for pictures of the present and of real life. As in England Thackeray and Dickens, George Eliot and Mrs. Gaskell came after the romantic arrival of Sir Walter Scott, so in France the realists came after Hugo and Dumas. The movement in England was a gentle and gradual movement. Thackeray was the literary descendant of the realist, Fielding, and the sentimentalist, Sterne. Dickens owed something to a much lesser man, the elder Pierce Egan ; and the difference in their earlier methods shows the difference in their preceptors. In France the realists announced a new philosophy. Balzac was not a mere teller of stories—“the idle singer of an empty day”—he was an analyst, a psychological investigator. His mission was to sound the depth of all humanity. The novel was no longer to be a romance ; only the probable was possible. Balzac wanted to be taken seriously ; he was the high priest of a new cult ; so long as men and women existed, he could write—the inmost thoughts, emotions, virtues, sins of his time, should be laid bare.

Honoré de Balzac was by no means a republican ; he was an aristocrat, and he always allowed his people—he even “encouraged” them—to believe in God. He had the methods of the realist, and hence his contemporaries declared that he was a realist, for literary form is everything in France. But his heart was the heart of a romancer. His *mise-en-scène* is as realistic as Dickens’ ; but he is often as romantic and grotesque as Dickens. Still, he is held, in France, to have begun that mis-named realistic movement which ought to have had for its motto, “Anything that the devil does we shall deem it our

mission to exaggerate." Realism, analytical realism, was acclaimed tumultuously. Balzac, the De Goncourts, Flaubert, followed one another. England already had realists as to method—Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot; and a realist who pretended nothing, who assumed nothing, who had no relations with the French school, but who belonged to the school of Miss Austen. This was Anthony Trollope. It was truly said of him that so long as men and women of the English upper-middle classes existed, he could go on writing. "Barcheester Towers" and "Orley Farm" are the most typical examples of English realism, after "Pride and Prejudice," in our language. Mr. Howells and Mr. James have given us other good examples, tinged somewhat with the self-consciousness of the French—"A Modern Instance," "The Rise of Silas Lapham," and "The Portrait of a Lady" and "Washington Square." Of these, "Silas Lapham" shows plainly the influence of Balzac.

Realism itself could not escape analysis; the newer man wanted to dry it as the chemist dries alcohol. Every drop of water must disappear. And then the Darwinian movement was affecting life. Realism, after all, cannot escape being synthetical, since even the most scientific of the new school was forced to call in the aid of imagination. Here was the difficulty. Besides, Balzac,—even the all-seeing Balzac,—hesitated to say some things; Flaubert had his reserves. The movement of realism was hampered by prudery, and it was not sufficiently "scientific." Zola, instead of being the founder of a school, is the beginning and the end of an illogical attempt in literature to dig around the roots of animal life in search of the monstrous grubs that infest them. The naturalistic-scientific movement somewhat affected Matilda Serao in Italy and the clever Spanish novelists, among whom are Galdos and Madame Pardo-Bazan. In England it touched George Moore. In Russia it influenced Tolstoi and Dostoeffsky. It has had no permanent effect, except upon D'Annunzio, who may call himself a pathological criminologist of the scientific naturalistic school. Literature, one sees, has for some time been forging cheques upon the Bank of Science just as that bank was engaged in playing the same game with the Bank of Theology.

In the drama,—which the aristocratic and classical French Academy and the Theatre Française had carefully guarded until Hugo broke down all conservatism with “Hernani,”—the physiological problem play of the younger Dumas was followed by a great horde of dramas, all analyzing the relations of the sexes. In manner they were exquisitely-technical. As to theatrical method, no stage ever reached the height of the French in the last thirty years. But no stage, except that of the Restoration in England, was ever so degenerate. It affected the theatres of the whole civilized world. It helped to produce the gloomy Hauptman in Germany and the gloomier sex-problemist in Denmark, Ibsen. It was so brilliant that the English and Americans, who have no opinions of their own on art, could only translate and imitate. Its force is spent, and the French theatre of to-day, like Italian art, makes bric-a-brac, and that of a frivolous kind. There are two men in France, however, who have redeemed the French stage,—Henri de Bornier and Edmond Rostand, who wrote the “Daughter of Roland” and “Cyrano de Bergerac.”

With “Cyrano” has come in France a tendency to idealism and romanticism. There can be no doubt that a new literary reaction was badly needed. “Cyrano” was a dramatic success, not because it was great, but because everybody of sanity and taste was disgusted by the public presentment of problems which neither the literature of the stage nor any literature could solve and which could only show literature as impotent and degraded. “Cyrano” has another meaning, too, but only a limited and narrow one. It represents that symbolistic movement which has not yet reached the modern literature of any other country. It can only be fully understood by those who know the history of the movement of preciosity under Cardinal Richelieu and the coterie of Madame de Rambouillet in France. We all remember how Moliere laughs at this in “Les Precieuses Ridicules,” and how Shakspeare smiles at the English counterpart in the character of Osric, in “Hamlet.” The chief of the symboliste movement in France is Henri de Regnier; he is an amateur of jewelled words, a maker of sonnets which are mosaics of sound. He is a rebel against realism and literary naturalistic

science. He and his school appeal to the senses rather than to the mind; each word has its peculiar perfume, each cadence is intended to arouse a mood, each pause puts the climax to an emotion; if you know how precious the aroma of words is, how vital the cadence of sounds to the receptive mind, you can understand why Roxane fell in love with opaline phrase and the ruby-tinted sentence and the emerald word and left out entirely the human being. Symbolism is part of the reaction against vulgar realism. The symbolist who slept with the swine when he was a naturalistic-realist, cannot now endure a crumpled rose leaf.

In English-speaking countries, the scientific realistic movement has spent its force. Reverence and mysticism are coming into vogue again, and with them the romance. A man who does not to-day assume that he would like to believe, if he could, is as much out of the fashion as the man who doubted Spencer or Huxley twenty-five years ago. And the more you believe, the more you are in the current of the stream. It is the old motion of the pendulum. Therefore the romance is king. Poetry is even coming into vogue; the poets are struggling out of their twilight, and it will soon be day for them. Everybody who is rich looks around for ideals, and everybody who is not rich hopes to acquire some as soon as he can afford to keep them.

In the fine arts we have been much affected by a movement which is partly literary. It was a stream flowing from the great romantic river of the beginning of this century—the river of romanticism that helped to fertilize the Tractarian fields.

The Pre-Raphaelite reaction meant the saving of England from Philistinism. It was a revolt against the unintellectual conventions that had stifled the beautiful in England. Ruskin, who, if he had lived a hundred years would have died too soon, gave it force in literature and in the art of painting; Tennyson exemplified it in his earlier poems; Dante Gabriel Rossetti expressed it in his verses and pictures. The intensity of the movement, its archaism, its affectations, almost sent the pendulum swinging back to Philistinism; but the education of the people had gone too far. The admiration for the great masters before Raphael, the demand of Ruskin that all artists should seek the beautiful in nature and depict it naturally,

the accepting of simple forms, differentiated and distinct, in preference to the artificial symbols of nature which conventional painters had used unreflectingly, were essentials of this movement. The influence of this Pre-Raphaelite movement spent itself in literature with "The Blessed Damozel" and "The Earthly Paradise." But in the art of painting, especially in the revival of the older forms of beauty for household decoration, the Pre-Raphaelite revolt has been very potent.

The clue to the romantic reaction—by which the Oxford movement was vitalized and from which the Pre-Raphaelites had their being—is thus named by W. J. Courthope in "The Liberal Movement in English Literature:" "If we are simply and solely positive, we shall not be able to create at all. The exclusive scientific order which the philosophers who have appropriated the title of Positive would impose on society is more remote from the reality of nature, or, at least, of human nature, than the wildest extravagances of the Arabian Nights. The revolt of the romantic school against the excessive realism of the eighteenth century ought to prove, *a fortiori*, that men will not tolerate an intellectual system from which the mystical and religious element is altogether excluded."

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

IN ARKADIA.

In the middle of the Peloponnesos, which constitutes the southern half of Greece, is the wonder-land of Arkadia. It is a region of wild and natural grandeur. Its physical attractions have been ensouled by the hauntings and enchantings of long ages of mankind. Its rocks and rivers and valleys teem with myth and history. And yet Arkadia is practically an unknown country.

While Greece attracts every year caravans and caravans of highly intelligent visitors, exceedingly few are those who rebel against blind obedience to the ciceroni, and direct their course away from the old ruts of common travel into such isolated and unpopularised localities as are these hidden retreats of ancient Arkadia. This is perhaps fortunate enough. For a profitable trip hither, even from so near a starting point as Athens, cannot be lightly planned, if the traveller wishes to be secure against various unpleasant annoyances. To the stranger who plunges into these recesses unprepared, the trip may prove to be as troublesome as it would have been incomparably delightful under the contrary circumstances. Arkadia demands from its guests special preparation and special tastes. The typical travellers who set out from Athens to visit predetermined spots in the interior of the Peloponnesos, after seeing the oft-praised tombs and walls of Mykenae and Tiryns in the plains east of Arkadia, are then transferred across Arkadia through the most unattractive and least historic part, into the plains of Elis, west of the Arkadian plateau, to see the ruined Altis and the masterpieces of art at ancient Olympia. Lack of ready-made conveniences, primitive methods of life and travel, and a certain insecurity of life and property, render Arkadia pleasantly accessible only to the energetic tourist who is not content with having the attractions of the country he visits marked out for him, and made of easy reach, but desires the exciting pleasure

of discovering them for himself and the exhilarating consciousness that they cannot be seen without unusual risk. But as tourists of this calibre are not frequent here, Arkadia is accordingly enjoyed almost exclusively by the occasional scholars who, urged by a sense of duty, visit it as specialists in Hellenic history and mythic lore, or who wish to see its remains of ancient art.

Arkadia, as a country of rare and noble natural scenery, can claim first attention among the attractive places of Europe; but as a rule, natural scenery does not sympathetically make us thoroughly feel its beauty or its greatness except when associated in our imagination with the life and story of man, and surrounded with tales of past strife or glory and sorrow. Fortunately the hills and dales of Arkadia teem with reminiscences of all kinds of lore; and local history, tales of adventure in bloody deeds or heroic acts, graceful myths and ghastly superstitions, episodes of frenzied love or consoling religion, as preserved in the songs of the untamed mountaineers and the folk-tales of the evening fireside, are localized in the valleys and crags and ruined abbeys and castles.

The province of Arkadia is an extensive and very highly elevated plateau standing in the middle of the Peloponnesos, with steep and in most places unsurmountable sides. Only on the west and south declivities is access somewhat easy into this table-land from several points. On these two sides the beds of mountain streams, and other pathways cut out by nature, are more frequent. And through these passes slow and antique communication is possible with the plains below. From the east side there are only four entrances known and frequented since classic times down to the present day. Of these, three are simply steepest mule paths. The fourth one, however, which leads up from Argos to near the site of the ancient city of Tegea, is so easy of access that it has been found possible, by good engineering, to build a railroad through it. This railroad runs across southern Arkadia, touching at the city of Tripolis and the town of Megalopolis, and thence continues on to Messenia.

From the north side Arkadia was also accessible in antiquity on foot or even by mountain horses. But a few years ago

a great innovation was made here also. The Greek government, in order to be able to quickly bring the sturdy inhabitants of Arkadia down into the plains in case of war, built a railroad 12 miles long, which leads up into the northern and lower part of Arkadia, starting directly from the Korinthian gulf, and terminating at Kalabryta. This railroad is of the toothed kind, necessarily, on account of the steepness of the ascent; for in this distance of twelve miles, it makes an ascent of nearly twenty-two hundred feet. By these two railroads, both of which have direct communication with Athens and Patræ, the most frequented centers of travel in Greece, it is easy enough to reach the outskirts of the wild lands of Arkadia. But it is only after getting this far that difficulties begin.

This high plateau of Arkadia forms a kind of elevated square in the middle of the peninsula, or island rather, of the Peloponnesos. At each of its four corners there stands out a majestic group of mountain tops, which are quite high even above the general level of the Arkadian tableland, but which rise like monuments of God grandly above the surrounding belt of plains and the sea beyond.

Here it is customary to measure distances by the number of hours or days required to cover them in travelling. By this standard we may convey a notion of the extent of Arkadia by saying that one could ride through it from north to south on a mountain horse, which of course never quickens itself into a trot, in about three days of at least twelve hours each; and a similar trip across the plateau from east to west could be made in one day of from fifteen to eighteen hours' duration. This means continuous riding, and by the easiest valley-routes.

The plains that surround Arkadia and separate it from the sea are, on an average, about twenty miles wide. On clear mornings from the tops of the highest peaks on the plateau, nearly all of Arkadia itself is visible, together with good portions of the wide fringe of vine-clad plains, beyond which can be seen, reaching off as if into measureless space, the blue waters of various portions of the Mediterranean.

Within its four corners this great interior tableland is by no means a level plateau. It has mountains of its own, and corresponding valleys. Its mountains do not rise to the tall height of the border ones, but yet they are sublime enough; and its valleys are not extensive, like the rich plains below, but for that very reason are more strange. In the middle of the north boundary of Arkadia, between the two corner-groups of Kyllene to the east and Erymanthos to the west, rise the mountains of Aroania, about seven thousand feet high. It may be remarked in passing that this height is so much the grander because the tops of the mountains are only about thirteen miles distant from the edge of the sea, in the gulf of Korinth. From these Aroanian mountains there extends southward over the tableland a long and high chain, whose highest point within Arkadia is about five thousand seven hundred feet. This central chain divides the entire plateau into Eastern and Western Arkadia. And from this central chain lower mountains run out in both directions, thus entirely covering the country with low mountains and hills. Naturally among these closely-set mountains and hills the valleys are numberless. Nearly all of them are small, with the exception of that of Mantinea and Tegea north and south of the modern city of Tripolis, and the larger one around the town of Megalopolis. Thus the great high plateau is all an interchanging variation of lofty mountain tops and correspondingly deep and narrow valleys.

The western part of Arkadia is well drained by mountain torrents that quickly carry off the waters of rain and snow directly into the Alpheios, which is the principal river of the Peloponnesos, or into its tributary, the beautiful Ladon. But east of the central mountains a curious phenomenon is of frequent occurrence. Many of the valleys here have no outlet overground, although great quantities of water surge down into them. But in nearly every one of these closed valleys there is a natural opening in the earth, into which the water runs, and thus is carried off through underground passages to the plains below, where it reappears in springs and sources of small rivers. One such outlet surges up as fresh water out in the sea, near Argos. These strange chasms, called "kata-

bothra" by the natives, thatso lustily drink in this superfluous water, are a great blessing to the people of the valleys. But on account of the quantities of mud and wood and weeds which this water carries into the "katabothra" a stoppage of the chasm sometimes occurs, and then the water collects and stands in the valley, forming a mountain lake. It is easy to understand that such water, being almost stagnant, becomes a source of fevers and sickness to the villagers who nestle on the slopes round about. Accordingly portions of Arkadia are justly regarded as unhealthy.

Another cause that contributes to the unhealthiness of the villages is that often they are built on the shady side of the mountains, and thus do not enjoy sufficient direct sunlight. Still even these ill-famed districts are not notably unhealthy. And when the natives speak of them as being such, they mean that these regions are unhealthy as compared with the other parts of Arkadia. For if we, in our northern countries, were condemned to live with the other surroundings of dirt and privation which these neighbors of the closed "katabothra" enjoy, perhaps we would all very soon become an extinct people. Excepting these partially infected regions, the climate of Arkadia is extremely healthy and invigorating. In summer a certain fresh and at times even raw but not unpleasant air is continually in motion. It is not easy for us to associate the idea of a northern winter with our notion of what the climate of Greece is. This is because literature and travel have made us acquainted with the sunny climate of Attika and other seaside portions of Greece, but have omitted to impress us with the fact that in the interior and mountainous districts, the climate may be very different. Winter up here is long and severe ; and while in the surrounding plains along the sea, the orange trees bloom, and the inhabitants can sit in the open air enjoying the southern sun in December and January and February, on these heights within easy sight of these cozy plains, the natives wrap themselves in their woolen capotes or huddle round their primeval hearths, to keep warm. But in summer they have their turn at comfort, for while the men of the plains swelter in almost unendurable heat, up here, with the exception of one or two hours at midday, the thermometer rests at about seventy-five degrees.

The sea washes against every side of the Peloponnesos. But the belt of plain that engirdles Arkadia has always prevented the Arkadians from becoming a maritime people. In this respect they were different from all the other important tribes of the Greeks. Homer tells us that in the eleventh century before Christ they went indeed to Asia Minor along with the other Peloponnesians to fight in the common cause of the Hellenes against the Trojans. But they were the only tribe that possessed no ships of their own, and the commander-in-chief, Agamemnon, had to furnish vessels to transport them across the Aegæan.

This island character of Arkadia caused the loss of its ancient name. For we find that while Arkadia, with nearly all of the Peloponnesos was under the sway of the French crusaders and their heirs, the name in common was not "Arkadia", but "Mesarea", or "The Midlands". That its ancient name should have disappeared and have been replaced by one that simply describes the locality of the plateau, is not so very remarkable; for long before the coming of the Franks, most of the old Greek names had entirely disappeared from the mouths and the memory of the people, giving place to new ones, not of Hellenic but of Slavonic origin, many of which are for some reason not yet explained.

This presence of Slavonic place-names is indeed one of the mysteries of Arkadian and mediæval Greek history in general. For when the French under Champlitte and Villeharduin came here in the year 1205, shortly after the capture of Constantinople by the Europeans of the Fourth Crusade, they found in Arkadia a population which in all respects seemed to be Greek, speaking a Hellenic dialect and having none but Greek traditions. And yet many of the names of places were, and still continue to be, in spite of the tendency to hellenize them, Slavonic.

The Franks, who came here as stray Crusaders, held most of the Peloponnesos, which then was called the "Morea,"—a name which thus has made its way into Western literature—for upwards of two hundred and twenty-five years. For more than one hundred years Arkadia was a part of this "Principality of Achaia," as the Frank possessions in the Morea were

called. Under the control of these vigorous Westerners the Peloponnesos, which previously had suffered indescribably from repeated invasions and pillagings, began to revive. Arkadia especially began to flourish, and this in spite of an unbroken series of little wars, either between rival French barons who lived in their strongholds on the hilltops, or between the barons and their continually-rebellious subjects, or against foes from without. All throughout the land the French built forts and walled towns; in prominent and impregnable positions they erected castles and watch-towers to preserve their own and the public safety. In their castles the French princes and barons lived, surrounded by knights and vassals of Hellenic as well as of Western blood, in a romantic and savage grandeur that equalled the chivalric life of their kinsmen in Europe. But they have passed away. The frowning ruins of their castles still crown the tops of hills and crags. Some of their fortresses, like that of Karytaena, were so strong, and so well built, that five hundred years later they were useful in the long wars between the Moslems and Christians of Greece at the beginning of the present century. And although the spears of the iron knights no longer glitter from these mediæval castles, they are not any the less a source of fear to the Arkadian peasant. For many of them have been repeopled by another set of beings, more dangerous even than the mailed soldiers—by cobolds and nereids and other spiteful supernatural spirits that delight in vexing mankind. These ruins are avoided in time of night. In the folklore of the people, as preserved around their winter firesides in story and song, there is much that recalls the domination of the Franks; and tales relating to fair daughters of princes and daring rescues by knights, as told in connection with these crumbling old ruins, are often a remnant of the songs of adventure and chivalry that were sung in these once splendid halls by the world-famed troubadours of the strangers.

Prior to the coming of the Franks the country had relapsed into the lowest stage of civilization. It is easy to understand that to reach this stage on a downward course is more sad and hopeless than to reach it ascending from savagery. Life in Arkadia had again become a very simple affair, compared

with that of developed civilization. All were either shepherds or peasants. Of course, it may be true that this is the natural life for Arkadians ; but it is not necessary to note that among peasants and shepherds there may be an immensely long scale of degrees of culture and intelligence. Here they were in the lowest. In all Arkadia there was but one school, as far as we know, and that was a monastic institution founded in the tenth century near the charmingly-situated town of Demetsana, by a citizen of that place who had gone to Constantinople and risen high in the estimation of the Patriarch Polyevktos and the Emperor Nikephoros Phokas. This monastery still exists, built in the cliffs on the west bank of the river Lousios ; but its property has been confiscated, its library has been mostly destroyed, and its beautiful Byzantine-domed church is ready to fall into decay. The only institutions of civilization in those days were the churches and monasteries, both of which were exceedingly numerous ; and it is probable that in most of the monasteries provision was continually made to have a few men that were capable of reading and writing. Accordingly, in these religious retreats some spark of book knowledge was certainly kept alive.

Although no other foreigners ever exercised so long a sway over the Arkadians as did the Franks, with the exception of their successors, the Moslems, yet when the Frankish dominion came to an end, that happened again which had happened with all previous strangers ; although they left many outward marks and monuments of their dominion here, they had almost no influence whatever on the people as a race. As to the French, after their power was destroyed, chiefly by other Westerners and especially by the Catalans of Spain, most of them returned to Europe. Those who remained did so because they had intermarried with natives, as was frequently the case in Arkadia. These, adopting the religion and mode of life of the Arkadians, became themselves out-and-out natives. And only their names, preserved even to this day here and there, betray the Gallic origin of their wild offspring.

Of all the Greeks, the ancient Arkadians boasted to be the oldest. Their traditions declared them to have existed before the moon was made. They claimed that they were the first of

men to come together and build a city, and that this city was Lykosoura. That Lykosoura was an exceedingly old and reverend city is evident. It is to-day sacred to every worshipper of the beautiful in art, because of the wonderful pieces of sculpture unearthed there a few years ago. These treasures, representing the acme of ancient Greek art, are now kept at Athens in the National Museum. At Lykosoura, in antiquity, Demeter, the mild earth-goddess, and her mysterious daughter, Kore, were especially worshipped. The ruins of Lykosoura may still be located, in virtue of the discoveries referred to, on the slope of Mount Lykaeon, which likewise is associated with the oldest stories and theogony of Arkadia. On this mountain Zeus was born, the chief of the deities that succeeded to the old Pelasgian dynasty of Kronos, and here it was that Hagno and her associate nymphs took care of him as an infant. On the top of Lykeion there was a shrine sacred to Zeus, which no mortal ever desired to enter. For whatever living creature passed within it lost its shadow therein and was doomed to die within a year. But this holy mountain possesses a more tangible fame, for even in the days of the periegete Pausanias, when it was not customary to introduce into literature descriptions of natural scenery, this traveller makes an exception in his visit to Lykaeon, and records the vastness and beauty of the view from its summit. Lykaeon is, in fact, one of those points from which a large portion of the Peloponnesos can be seen rolling itself out in all directions. And the roads that lead up to Lykaeon and Lykosoura from the town of Megalopolis, founded by Epameinondas the Theban, as a bulwark against inroads from Sparta, pass along wild and interesting mountain slopes.

As being an early and revered center of religion and of other civilization, Mount Lykaeon remained important even in historic times. In the sixth century before Christ, a beautiful silver coin, with a head of Zeus on it, was minted here at Lykosoura, to be used as the common monetary unity of such cities as, loosely leagued together, formed what is known in history as the Arkadian Confederacy. These early coins, as well as different later ones, that likewise bear the head of Zeus, are still found in the soil and in the beds of the

mountain torrents of Arkadia, and thus find their way into the numismatical collections of Athens and Europe.

Not only the sublime Zevs, but also other Arkadian deities had shrines at or near Lykosoura. The high Nomian mountains that run towards the west from Lykeion were favorite haunts of the shepherd god Pan, a deity that naturally plays an important rôle in the mythology of this land of shepherds and peasants.

The Arkadians of old were lovers of music, and enjoyed widespread fame for their skill therein. The music of the flute, the choice instrument of their beloved Pan, and of the harp, were dear to every Arkadian rustic. He thought, at times, that he could hear the soft distant notes of the flute of Pan, as the god strolled along the cool streams, or sat under the plane-trees in the Arkadian grove. And on the slopes of high Kyllene, which in the northeast corner of Arkadia, out-tops even the neighboring peaks of Aroania, the twanging of the strings of the harp could be heard, for here it was that Hermes found the huge tortoise, whose shell he took, and by stretching cords across it, made the first stringed instrument of this kind. These Arkadian music myths are interesting when coupled with the historic fact that the Arkadians were really devotees of music, in its simpler forms. According to the testimony of the reliable Polybios, himself a native of Megalopolis, the Arkadians thought it no great loss to be ignorant of the other branches of learning, but regarded it as a disgrace to have no skill in music. On the great feast days, the young men took active part in representing their national religious dramas by singing the choral odes, and dancing in the orchestra round the altar of Dionysos. To this love of music did Polybios attribute the noble and good characteristics of the ancient Arkadians.

Outside of their skill in music, the Arkadians had no enviable fame in the intellectual line. They were even proverbially regarded as a dull people, and it became common for the later Greek comic dramatists to describe country simpletons by the phrase "blastema Arkadikon," or "Arkadian saplings." And since these comedians of the middle period were followed in this detail, as in every other by their Latin imi-

tators, the term "arcadius juvenis," applied to some awkward clown, may often have brought roars of homeric laughter from the audiences of the old open-air theaters of Italy.

But for all that the Arkadians had their scholars, and men of eminent qualities in other ranks of life. Only in dramatic literature, in architecture, and in sculpture do we find a dearth of native Arkadian talent. Yet even in these lines they may not have been entirely sterile. For Pausanias mentions a noteworthy monument which he saw in the precincts of the Delphian Apollon, representing the Arkadian hero Azan Arkas, with his brothers and relations, dedicated at Delphi by the men of Tegea, and made by the native Arkadian sculptor Samolis. Among their scholars the most eminent was Polybios, one of the noblest and most philosophical of the long series of writers of Greek history, son of one of the last generals that fought for the autonomy of Greece. This historian is he who as a boy accompanied his father Lykortas to Messenia and brought back to Megalopolis the ashes of the murdered Philopoemen, the great leader whose skill and patriotism won for him in history the title of "the last of the Greeks." And in this sorrowful but sublime procession, with its character of eternity, like the reliefs on some old funeral marble, it was the young Polybios who carried the urn with the dust of Philopoemen in it.

The primitive inhabitants of Arkadia are said to have been Pelasgians. But who the Pelasgians were is still a mystery. They may have been not one people, but a conglomeration of peoples of various origin. In the other parts of Greece these Pelasgians retired before the influx of the newer tribes, that are thought to have been the ancestors of most of the historic Greeks. But here in Arkadia the Pelasgians were more firmly established, and continued to exist in these mountain fastnesses down to the beginning of historic times unmixed with other Greeks.

The mythical progenitor of this Pelasgian people, Pelasgos, was, by Arkadian myth, a native of these mountains. Story holds that he was the first civilizer of the Arkadians. He taught them to build huts for shelter, instead of living in caves or in the open air, and to wear clothes made of skins.

He taught them to select their food with more care from the products of the earth, and introduced the habit of eating nuts from a certain kind of oak tree. From this latter circumstance the Arkadians became known in literature as "acorn-eaters." This special kind of oak tree still flourishes all throughout Arkadia, and in places constitutes beautiful groves. But the acorns have lost their value as food, and now are gathered before becoming ripe and sent to Europe, to be used as a chemical in the tanning of leather.

Besides these beautiful groves of gnarled oaks, the trees that most attract attention in Arkadia are the extensive pine forests that cover the slopes of many of the mountains. Unfortunately, however, although the Arkadian is highly capable of admiring the usefulness and the cooling shade of a tree just as fully as though he had stepped alive out of the pages of Theokritos, yet he has no mercy for the trees if he happens to be a shepherd. Then the sense of beauty yields to the spirit of personal gain. For the forests, especially those of pine, prevent the growth of grass, and therefore are often ruthlessly set fire to and burned by these shepherds, to increase the extent of the pasture regions on the mountains.

Besides the oaks and the pines there are to be seen everywhere isolated and majestic plane-trees, which are especially numerous along the streams and the beds of torrents and by fountains. Indeed, along one stream, which the traveller may see on his way to Lykosoura, there grew such a profusion of these trees in antiquity that the river was called "Plataniston," or "Plane-dell," and, curiously enough, the name is still applicable to that beautiful region for the same reason.

After the mythical but not unreal Pelasgos, the next great benefactor and civilizer of the Arkadians was the hero from whom they took their name, as the instructive myth asserts. This man was Azan Arkas, who taught them how to turn the wool of their flocks into garments through the arts of spinning and weaving, and how to grind grain and bake it into bread, instead of eating vegetable materials raw. Arkas had learned from the mystic Neoptolemos of Attika the cerean art of sowing wheat and making bread.

Another interesting story from these remote days is that

Evander, a native of the Arkadian town of Pallantion, after Arkadia had become entirely civilized, wandered away with a band of adventurous followers, eleven hundred years before Christ, and came to Italy, where he established a colony, and gave to his new home the name of his native town, Pallantion. But in time the name changed itself by distortion into "Palation." And from this name came the appellation of the "Palatine Hill." Evander's colony afterwards grew, by accessions from the surrounding country, into the great city of Rome. With him Evander brought to Latium a knowledge of music, as was natural for an Arkadian to do, and the old Greek alphabet, which by slight modifications constituted later the alphabet of the Romans. Thus from Arkadia, according to the story, were the first germs of civilization introduced into Italy.

Although the land of Arkadia constitutes a physical unit when contrasted with the lands lying about it, it is, nevertheless, by the smaller mountains within it, divided into a number of vales, which by their nature constitute so many immense dens, so to speak, within which the rustic inhabitants lived practically in independence of each other. This was the case in antiquity; and in the middle ages, when insecurity of life increased here, there existed almost no relations whatsoever between inhabitants of neighboring valleys, unless we call by this name the continual little wars of town against town, to settle disputes regarding the right to pasture flocks on disputed mountains. Even in the last century it is a known fact that the inhabitants rarely, and most of them never, visited those villages distant only a walk of two hours.

The gruff Arkadian was not, and is not, a man to make friends. In antiquity the Arkadians usually had no allies among other Greeks, but always had powerful and merciless enemies, especially the jealous Spartans. They generally knew how to protect themselves, however, and were among the last of the Greeks to see their independence torn away from them.

After Greece became a Roman province, the various Arkadian towns took part in the successive civil wars that divided the Roman Empire. And with the exception of the

single city of Mantinea, these unlucky Arkadians, out of a spirit of stubborn opposition and praiseworthy bravery, always took sides with the weaker party, and consequently were always doomed to be left with the vanquished. Thus, when Sulla carried war into Greece in order to drive out the armies of Mithridates, the Arkadians stood against the cruel Roman, under the banners of the hellenized Asiatic. Later, in the war between Caesar and Pompey, which ended by the victory of Caesar on the battlefield of Pharsalos, they fought on the side of the defeated Pompey. And when, after the assassination of Caesar, Brutus and Cassius tried to stand against the forces of Octavius and Antony in the passes of the gold mines near Philippi, the Arkadians, spurred on with the promise of being allowed to plunder Sparta if victorious in this battle, partook of the results of the hopeless defeat of Brutus and his associate. And finally, when Antony turned against his former friend Octavius, and was doomed to defeat in the world-famed naval battle of Aktion, most of the Arkadian towns had taken sides with Antony,—fated to be with the vanquished.

This unbroken series of ill-fortune, together with other causes of decay, brought ruin to Arkadia. The geographer Strabon, who, early in the first century of our era, travelled over a good portion of the civilized world, describes other parts of Greece in detail, but avoided going to Arkadia, remarking that its great cities had passed away, and nothing but heaps of ruins marked their former sites, and that the country was desolate.

Although Strabon's sorrowful epitaph over the dead cities of Arkadia was something of an exaggeration, nevertheless it is true that the period of great desolation had begun. This was increased by the frequent inroads of later invaders, beginning with that of Alaric and the Goths in 395 A. D., and by the destructive assistance of earthquakes and plagues.

After the departure of the French, the betterment in the condition of affairs introduced by them again decayed under the demoralizing rule of the Ottomans, which lasted down to the present century. But a certain spirit of Western chivalry, due in part to this Frankish rule, continued to thrive from

that time on in the mountain fastnesses. Its votaries were the celebrated *klephts*, or mountain refugees, who preferred to be roving outlaws and wild adventurers rather than to submit to the rule of the Crescent. And when, in 1821, the war-storm of freedom burst out, it was Arkadia that furnished the most reliable soldiers of the Peloponnesos, and the greatest hero of the war, Kolokotrones.

The present inhabitants are in character much like the ancient,—hospitable, as are all mountaineers, but yet not ready or willing to make friendship with others than their own townsmen. They still possess the uncouth and strong wit of their classic ancestors, together with their disregard for much learning. Their famed love of music is lost. For the songs of the peasants and shepherds cannot have the least claim in that line.

As in antiquity, so now, the inhabitants never live in isolated houses, but always in groups, forming hamlets or towns. All Arkadia now possesses but one center large enough to be called a city, Tripolis, which occupies a position between the ruins of Tegea and Mantinea, and is the modern successor of these famous cities; and yet ancient Arkadia had at least a dozen cities more important than this modern Tripolis.

Many of the modern villages are very picturesque; all of them are situated most romantically. The principal buildings in every village are the churches. The stranger is often surprised to find such imposing edifices standing in the midst of a village of huts. But the Arkadian of to-day, like his ancestors, is religious,—more religious than good. He delights in feasts, and in the “panegyrics,” or occasions of dancing, singing and eating that accompany church celebrations. Every mountain-top is crowned with a chapel, and has its analogous feast-day, when all the inhabitants of the village to which the mountain belongs ascend to the little plateau round the chapel, many of them dressed in mountain costumes of kilt and fez, where they first hear Mass, and then amuse themselves in lively songs and vigorous dances, and in feasting, in which roast lamb and resined wine play the chief rôle. It is also common to build chapels near springs of cool water.

These latter chapels are often sacred to the Madonna, under the title of "zoodochos pege," or "the Fountain that contains the Life-Giver," referring to the Blessed Virgin as Mother of God, while the chapels on mountain-tops are usually dedicated to the prophet Elias or to the Ascension of Our Lord.

That the ancient Arkadians were likewise religious is evident in many ways, and tangibly by the fact that they built most beautiful and costly temples. Two of the noblest temples of the Peloponnesos were in Arkadia; one at Tegea, sacred to Athena Alea, and the other at Bassae, built in honor of Apollon Epikourios. Of Apollon's temple splendid ruins are still to be seen; and of Athena's shrine there exist beautiful pieces of sculpture from the pediments and frieze. What a pity for the artistic fame of Arkadia that these temples had to be built by foreign artists! For the masterpiece at Bassae is the work of Iktinos the Athenian, who built the famous Parthenon on the akropolis of Athens; and the temple of Athena at Tegea was planned and decorated by the equally famous sculptor and architect, Skopas, from the island of Paros.

The villages are often situated at the heads of streams, on the slopes of theatre-shaped dells, where the gushing fountains serve both for furnishing drinking water, which the Greek, despite his like for a moderate quantity of wine, regards as the most luxurious of beverages, and for irrigating the gardens that often surround the houses of the smaller villages.

These village fountains are the beginnings of mountain torrents, which flow on until most of them empty into the Alpheios or its tributary, the Ladon. These two rivers carry off mostly all the waters of western and southern Arkadia. The source of the Ladon is one of the most beautiful imaginable. It rises, a full stream, suddenly out of the earth at the foot of the Aroanian mountains. In this Ladon, as well as in the crystal Lousios, in which the nymphs used to bathe the infant Zevs, the most beautiful of streams, and in other mountain torrents, there is an abundance of finest speckled trout and other fresh water fish, which would afford excellent

sport, but which the natives kill and catch by exploding dynamite in the streams.

These, then, are the wonderful hills and valleys and streams of Arkadia, with their untamed denizens, and something of their long and varied history of myth and lore, which make up the poetical land that, on account of its scenery, has been called "the Switzerland of the Peloponnesos."

DANIEL QUINN.

Kalabryta, Greece.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman (1802-1865), by Wilfrid Ward (Fourth edition), Longmans, Green & Co. London and New York, 1900, 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 579, 656.

Out of the correspondence of the Cardinal, the materials collected by Father Morris, S. J., the reminiscences of schoolmates and contemporaries, and other documents of value, Mr. Ward has compiled a life of Nicholas Wiseman that adds a new and useful chapter to the history of modern English Catholicism. After all, it was he who held the reins of government at Westminster during the stirring decades which saw the great influx of Oxford men and the numerous astonishing conversions of the most notable men and women in English society. It was through him that the new opportunities and openings for Catholicism were not allowed to lie unused. He spent himself in planning, suggesting, and urging. By tongue and pen and action he was ever in the forefront of the struggle, ever a gentleman and a patriot, but ever also a sturdy and unflinching man of faith. When one considers the strain of the work of a Catholic bishop in London, one can but wonder at the versatility and power of labor that distinguish this great man. Not to speak of the brilliant promise of his earlier years in the line of Syriac and Arabic, his occasional lectures, sermons, and discourses are of themselves a most valuable contribution to our apologetic literature, and serviceable for generations to come. He was, indeed, a "*vir felicitis memoriae*," to which was added a more than common power of concentrating all his thought and erudition on the problem before him. Had he lived on at Rome in the atmosphere of the *Via di Monserrato*, he would have been another Cancellieri or Marini,—indeed, all his life he gave the impression of a great savant of the Italian school, doubled with the manner and temper of a princely ecclesiastic of the eighteenth century. It is doubtful if any foreigner ever entered Rome who was more deeply and intimately impressed with her spirit. In him the "*Alma Urbs*" found an apostolic soul not too unworthy to be placed beside an Augustine of Canterbury, and like him anxious to set up in England a replica of that

"Roma felix quæ duorum principum
Es consecrata glorioso sanguine."

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In this light we must read those pages of Mr. Ward's book which describe the administration of the archdiocese, the foundations of the Oblates of St. Charles, the relations of Henry Edward Manning to the Cardinal, the deposition or "liberation" of Archbishop Errington from his coadjutorship, the relations with the Old Catholics of England after the development of the Oxford Movement, the foundation of the Hierarchy in 1850, the government of St. Edmund's and of Oscott College. This life is written with "pietas" and moderation. It abounds in original materials, and though quite bulky (1235 pp.) does not pall on the reader, so varied is the panorama in which the son of the merchant of Seville claims our undivided attention. Involuntarily that other Englishman of humble birth, Wolsey, the son of the butcher of Ipswich, comes before us as we peruse these pages, and we are struck with two things,—the self-identity of English Catholicism after a trituration of three centuries, and the marvellous democracy of opportunity and advancement that obtains in the Catholic Church, so often accused of being the enemy of intellect, energy, progress and happy innovation. Again, Wiseman recalls Wolsey by a certain stately port and manner, as well as by his devotion to the cause of education,—

"Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you,
Ipswich, and Oxford! One of which fell with him
Unwilling to outlive the good man did it;
The other, though unfinish'd yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue."

—*Henry VIII. (IV. 2).*

The passion of learning was dominant in Wiseman, but it was no dry and self-centred passion. He was an enthusiast, an apostle of light and activity, an opponent of every stagnation and "arm-chair" policy. His hand lies yet on the rudder of English Catholicism, and his noble and unselfish spirit is yet predominant in its counsels. T. J. S.

The Testament of Ignatius Loyola, translated by E. M. Rix, with preface by George Tyrrell, S. J. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1900. 8°, pp. 230. \$1.00.

This excellent book offers in an English dress the original account of his conversion and spiritual experience by St. Ignatius himself. It is in the shape of notes of conversations held with Father Louis Gonzalez between 1553 and 1555. These notes were taken down in Spanish and

Italian by amanuenses of the latter. Their original text has never been published, but the Latin translation of them made by P. Du Coudray was used by the Bollandists in their life of St. Ignatius in the seventh July volume. This autobiography is usually known as the "*Acta quædam*" and was accessible to both Ribadeneira and Manare. The present translation is the Latin version just mentioned, which has somehow found its way into the Vatican Archives, bound up with "the very sheets on which the (Spanish and Italian) amanuenses of Father Gonzalez wrote at his dictation," Father George Tyrrell adds to the text judicious historical and theologico-historical observations, and Father Thurston furnishes a select bibliography of "sources" and "literature" for the study of the beginnings of the Society. The text of the autobiography is provided with explanatory notes and elucidations. Altogether, we have in these pages a very useful and timely contribution to our hagiographical literature, one that may be read by every one with profit for mind and heart.

T. J. S.

Le Bienheureux Raymond Lulle (1132-1315) par Marius André.
Paris: Lecoffre, 1900; 8°, pp. 216.

The editor of "*Les Saints*" introduces this volume with the following remarks: "Here is one of the 'Blessed' long forgotten, but truly original and new in his present aspect. It has been hitherto the custom to class him among those scholastics who ranged from the dryness and stiffness of their syllogisms to the reveries of alchemy. A contemptuous phrase or two was all he could look for in the manuals of philosophy. Scarcely did we know that he was really declared a '*Bienheureux*.'" While the present volume does not pretend to discover a new philosopher, it does present us with a thinker quite free from the follies of alchemy,—a profound theologian, an apostle resolute on impressing both language and logic into the service of the truths of religion, a man of action, an extraordinary missionary, a martyr, and at the same time a lover of nature, a poet, a troubadour of the south, a writer of inexhaustible capacity, whose varied works deserve a place beside those mediæval romances in which a burning imagination was wont to personify all things and to throw all thought into allegories and symbols, at once tender and precious, delicately conceived and breathing with passion. In these pages we hear of his stormy youth, his conversion, his brusque separation from his family, his long journeys through Europe, Asia and Africa, his insistence with popes, emperors and kings to bring about the unity of the Church and to conquer the world of Islam, his efforts to save the Templars from their own decadence as well as from the cruel rapacity of their enemies,—in a word, we behold a man not unworthy to

take place between St. Francis of Assisi, whose work he continues, and St. Ignatius Loyola, whom he somehow foreshadows. As we read these analyses or extracts from his works, in which Theology is cast into the form of a dialogue, and the Ten Commandments talk and act, are apostrophized, listened to, served and obeyed; in which the thought of his Lady in heaven mingles with his arguments, his sighs and his tears, we are carried back at once to the heroic age of the old romances of chivalry and the days of the great Trecento." T. J. S.

Cosmologie Hindoue, Dieu, l'Homme et la Nature, d'après le Bhāgavata—Purāṇā, par A. Roussel, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1898. 8vo, pp. 384.

Père Roussel, of the French Oratory, presents in this work a summary of the teachings of the old Hindoo poem, the Bhāgavata Purāṇā, a kind of Brahmanic encyclopædia in which the Indian imagination has laid up its dreams and broodings on God, man, and the outside world. Some modern Indianists will have it that the New Testament has drawn from this work all that is original and vigorous in its Christianity, and that Vishnu-Krishna is the prototype of Christ—the Man-God. Hence a preliminary question arises as to the date of the Bhāgavata. Barth in his "Religion des Indes" (p. 112) says that the eighteen principal Purāṇās are undated, cover in their formation a period of a thousand years, and copy one another. Eugène Burnouf admits that the compilation of the B. is modern, though its materials are old, and that there is in it no trace of Greek or Christian ideas, nor indeed have any positive traces of such been discovered in any Indian work. Perhaps, in its present form, the B. is the compilation of a hand of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D. On the other hand Père Roussel demands stronger proofs than are yet forthcoming that the Bhāgavata is filled with "infiltrations évangéliques."

Following the translations of Burnouf and Hauvette-Besnault, which he has himself controlled, especially in all passages cited in his book, Père Roussel extracts and classes methodically the statements of the Bible concerning the unity of God, trinity, incarnation, pantheism, Mâyā (illusion) divine goodness and providence, destiny, salvation. Then follows the doctrine of man, his education, life, death, caste, faith, good works, detachment, devotion and devotees. Finally come the outside world, creation, the ages of the world, and the Pralayas, or quadruple destruction by fire.

With these texts before us, we can appreciate the conclusions of Père Roussel (pp. 373–384) that while there is a kinship of phraseology between the Hindoo and Christian doctrines, there is no real similarity

of ideas. The Hindoo monotheism abolishes all *reality* of existence outside of God, and is therefore a pantheism. The Hindoo doctrine of Creation conceives a pre-existent matter, a kind of spider-like spinning of being out of itself. Its trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva is not the doctrine of the co-equal triune God, but of divinities unequal among themselves and admitting above them a distinct fourth being, the divine essence. Though the Hindoos had the idea of a virgin-mother, yet Vishnu is not born of one, but according to the common way of nature. The redemption of Vishnu is only a final sinking of individuality in the universal soul, quite a different thing from the Beatific Vision of the Christian teaching. "If we compare the august person of Jesus Christ," says Père Roussel, "with Vishnu in some of his avatars; if we place the birth of the Infant God, as related in the Gospel beside the birth of Krishna as it is told in the B. we do indeed find details of similarity that cannot easily be attributed to chance, yet, if we reflect on the comparative late date of the final recension of the B. and again on the historical fact of the early preaching of Christianity in the very heart of India, we shall easily understand that the last compiler of the B., whether it was Vopadeva or another, might have made use of the Gospel narrative, directly or indirectly, in order to ornament his narrative." M. Roussel refers to the "notes savantes et substantielles" of M. Sylvain Levi, entitled "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes," especially on "Saint Thomas, Gondophares et Mazdeu," published in the *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec., 1896, and Jan.-Feb., 1897. As a matter of fact, Krishna is as legendary a god as the one whose avatar he is said to be, while only the boldest scepticism or the most insensate atheism has ever ventured to deny the existence of Jesus Christ. The book of Père Roussel is an excellent side-reading for all philosophers who are anxious to know the genuine teachings of Brahmanism.

T. J. S.

L'Université d'Avignon aux XVII. et XVIII. siècles, par J. Marchand. Paris: Picard, 1900; 8°, pp. 326.

The history of the old "Studium" of Avignon has a very special interest for us. It was a pontifical university (1303-1792), and though it was principally a school of law *in utroque jure*, nevertheless it was governed to some extent by the representative of Rome at Avignon, and never failed to have recourse to the Holy See when its privileges or rights were threatened. The work of M. Marchand treats of the constitution of the "Studium," its professors of law, theology and medicine, the relations of the law-school to the "University," the officers, agents, and employees of the latter, the bishop-chancellor, the papal vice-legat, the

municipal control, the Roman congregations, the Holy See, and the Kings of France. We get a glimpse, very instructive, at the formation of the faculties, the methods and the subjects of teaching, the examinations, the number, conduct and government of the students, the buildings and the budget. Apropos of its conflicts with the neighboring universities of Orange and Aix (La Fameuse), the history of the law and medical degrees of Avignon comes up for discussion. Like most of the old teaching corporations, it grew incapable of adapting itself to the changed requirements of the times. For two centuries before its disappearance it had gradually taken on the character of the French universities, and was destined, therefore, to go the way of decay and death that was only hastened by the Revolution.

T. J. S.

Annuaire Pontifical Catholique pour 1900, par Mgr. Albert Bat-tandier. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse; 8°, pp. 648.

This very useful compilation acts as the complement of the "Année de l'Eglise" of M. Egremont (Lecoffre). It contains fresh and reliable information concerning the Roman Curia, the procedure of the congregations and tribunals, statistics of the pontifical "familia," the Catholic episcopate, etc. Excellent articles are also inserted on the "causes" of Saints actually pending, the latest discoveries, literary and monumental, in Christian archæology, the Jubilee, the Breviary, papal history, and many other subjects of special interest to ecclesiastics. In form it is almost a replica of Whitaker's Almanac,—which ought to indicate sufficiently its practical utility. The "Annuaire" has reached its third year of publication.

T. J. S.

Determination of the Resistance of the Air at speeds below one thousand feet a second, by Albert F. Zahm, Catholic University of America, 1900.

Some Theorems on High-Speed Balloons, by Albert F. Zahm, Catholic University of America, 1900.

1. A full account is given of the writer's research at this institution during the summer vacations of 1896 and 1897. The work contains illustrations of all the apparatus employed and a description of two new ballistic chronographs, one photographic, the other electro-chemical, which measure intervals of time smaller than one-hundred-thousandth of a second. By means of the photo-chronograph the speed of a bullet crossing a room can be measured accurately to one ten-thousandth of its true average velocity. The outcome of the research seems to be to establish, within the range of the observations, the law of atmospheric resist-

ance maintained on analytical grounds by Colonel Duchemin early in this century, but controverted by the most accurate of the other ballistic researches made during the past sixty years.

2. This is a dynamical study of the capabilities of a navigable balloon of great size. The computations show that such a vessel can be made strong enough to endure a speed of more than sixty miles an hour; that, with the motors now available, it can be practically propelled more than thirty miles an hour, carrying scores of passengers; that, at this speed, it can easily be controlled in all kinds of weather. Incidentally, half a dozen theorems are proved relating to the structural strength and hydrostatic equilibrium of an air ship, and it is from these that the little work takes its title. The theorems were read before the International Aeronautic Congress in September of this year.

The Conception of Immortality. Josiah Royce. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1900; pp. 91.

As Ingersoll lecturer at Harvard for 1899, Professor Royce discussed one phase only, but an important phase, of the problem of immortality. The permanence of the individual man is what we really mean when we say that there is life beyond death; and to make this meaning clear it is necessary to define the idea of individuality. This definition is easy so long as we deal with individuality in the abstract; but it is much harder to tell just what this individual is. Neither sense nor thought affords us an adequate knowledge of that by which one thing ultimately differs from all other things; for sense and thought have to do with types. It is in the will and its voluntary choice that we must discover the true meaning of individuality. It is something that we demand and pursue, though we do not attain it in this world. An individual is a being that adequately expresses a purpose.

The real world, as containing individuals, is teleological; the very idea of a real being is the idea of something that fulfils a purpose. The whole universe is an expression of the Divine Life. God, therefore, is the primary individual; and each human life is individual because it has its place and its share in the uniqueness of God's individuality and purpose. It is the indwelling life of God in us that inspires our longings for the ideal and the individual. "And just because individuals whose lives have uniqueness of meaning are here only objects of pursuit, the attainment of this very individuality, since it is indeed real, occurs not in our present form of consciousness, but in a life that now we see not, yet in a life whose genuine meaning is continuous with our own human life, however far from our present flickering form of disappointed human consciousness that life of the final individuality may be." E. A. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Ouvriers des temps passés (XV et XVI siècles)*, par H. Hauser. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1899, 8°, pp. 252.
- Die Wiederherstellung des Jüdischens Gemeinwesens nach dem Babylonischen Exil*, von Dr. Johannes Nikel. B. Herder, St. Louis, 1900, 8°, pp. 227. \$1.45.
- Hesychii Hierosolymitani Interpretatio Isaiæ Prophetæ nunc primum in lucem edita*, etc., a Michaele Faulhaber, *ibid*, 1900, 8°, pp. 222. (Biblische Studien IV, 2 and 3). \$1.60.
- The Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, by Ezra P. Gould, D. D. New York: Macmillan, 1900, 8°, pp. 217.
- Saint Jean Baptiste de la Salle*, par A. Delaire. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8°, pp. 210.
- Pseudo-Dionysius in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen*, von Hugo Koch. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900, 8°, pp. 276. 7 Marks.
- Etude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains*, par Albert Dufourcq. Paris: Fontemoing, 1900, 8°, pp. 441. Francs 12.50.
- Cithara Mea*, Poems by Rev. P. A. Sheehan. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1900, 8°, pp. 246.
- Studies in Poetry, Critical, Analytical, Interpretative*, by Thomas O'Hagan, M. A. Ph., D. Boston, 1900, Marlier, Callanan & Co., 8°, pp. 114.
- The World's Best Orators*, Vol. IX. St. Louis: Ferd. P. Kaiser, 4°.
- Julien L' Apostat*, par Paul Allard. Vol. I. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8°, pp. 502.
- Ecclesiastical Dictionary*, containing, in concise form, information upon Ecclesiastical, Biblical, Archaeological and Historical Subjects, by Rev. John Thein. New York: Benziger, 1900, 4°, pp. 749.
- Old Ire, A Reminiscence*, by Lawson Gray. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1900, 8°, pp. 168.
- An Epitome of the New Testament*, by Nicholas J. Stoffel, C. S. C. The University Press, Notre Dame, Ind., 1900, pp. 322.
- Christ, the Man-God, Our Redeemer*, by Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J. St. Louis: Herder, 1900, 8°, pp. 87.
- The Pilgrim's Guide to Rome*, by the Abbé Laumonier, translated by Charles J. Munich, F. R. Hist. S. New York: Benziger, 1900. 16°, pp. 235 55 cents.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University took place at the University Wednesday, October 11th, at 10 o'clock A. M. The committees of the board on finance, studies and discipline and organization met on Tuesday evening in the committee rooms, Caldwell Hall, and discussed the different matters belonging to their work. The committee on studies and discipline consisted of Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan, of New York; Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley, of Detroit, and Rt. Rev. Bishop Horstmann, of Cleveland; that on finance of Most Rev. Archbishop Williams, of Boston; Most Rev. Archbishop Keane, of Dubuque; Rt. Rev. Bishop Maes, of Covington, Ky.; Rt. Rev. Monsignor Conaty, Rector of the University; Michael Jenkins, Esq., of Baltimore, and Thomas E. Waggaman, Esq., of Washington; and that on organization of Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia; Rt. Rev. Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, and Rt. Rev. John M. Farley, D. D., auxiliary Bishop of New York.

The board came together for its regular meeting at 10 o'clock in the senate room, McMahon Hall. There were present, His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons presiding, Most Rev. Archbishop Williams, Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan, Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan, Most Rev. Archbishop Keane, Most Rev. W. H. Elder, D. D., Archbishop of Cincinnati; Rt. Rev. Bishop Spalding, Rt. Rev. Bishop Maes, secretary of the board; Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley, Rt. Rev. Bishop Horstmann, Rt. Rev. Bishop Farley, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Thomas J. Conaty, D. D., Rector of the University; Messrs. Michael Jenkins, and Thomas E. Waggaman, treasurer.

After prayer the minutes of the last meeting were read and approved and the reported of the different committees were received. The committee on studies and discipline, through its chairman, the Archbishop of New York, reports approval of the courses of studies for the current year, and emphasized the importance of the course in philosophy as outlined by the instructors in that school for the benefit of all lay students of the University.

The report of the committee on finance, through the chairman, the Archbishop of Boston, approved as correct and satisfactory the financial accounts of the University. It recommended the early sale of the New Jersey and New York properties, and was well satisfied with the invest-

ments, all of which are well secured. The endowment funds at present amount to \$856,283.55, showing a cash increase over last year of \$38,476.70.

The committee on organization, through its chairman, the Archbishop of Philadelphia, reported on different matters relative to the schools of the University and to the affiliation of seminaries and colleges with the University.

An important movement was suggested in the School of Technological Sciences, and a committee, consisting of His Eminence the Cardinal, the Archbishop of New York, the Bishop of Covington, and the Rector of the University, was appointed to consider the matter of permanent and extensive development.

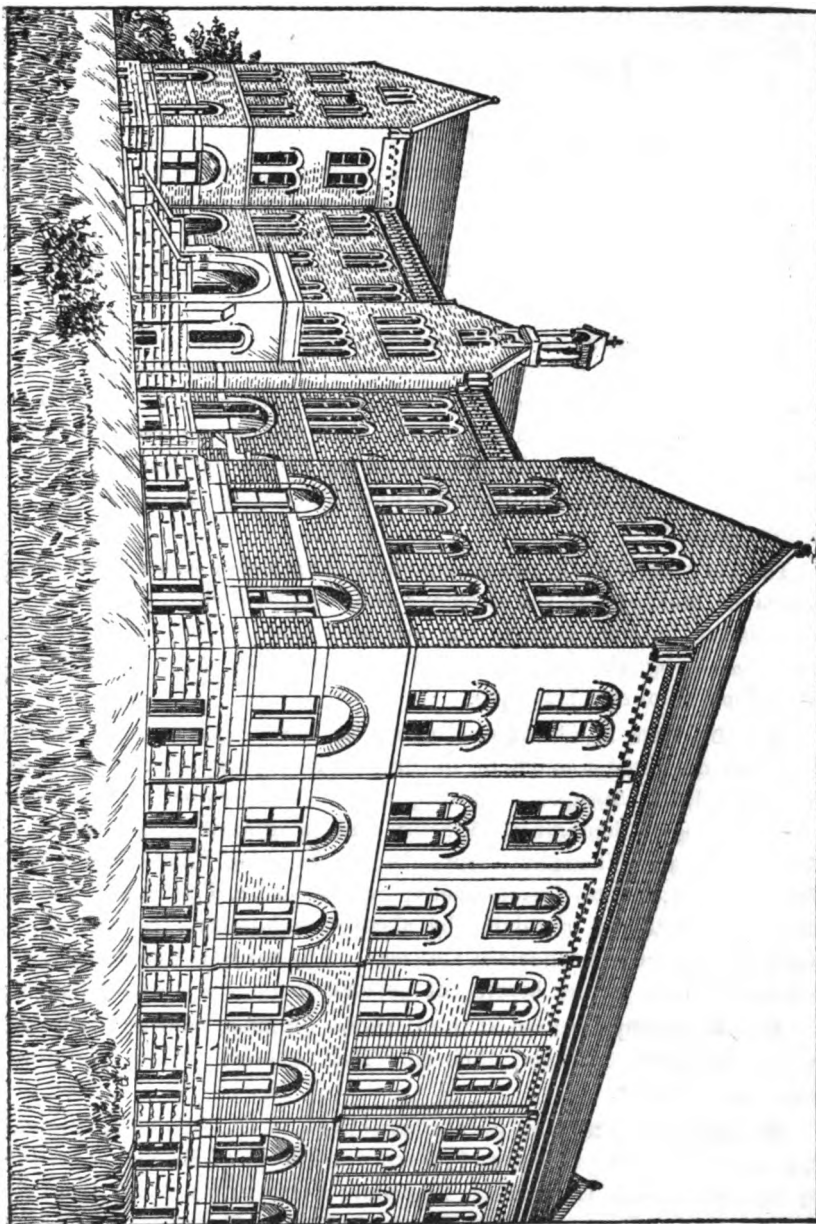
The report of the Most Rev. Archbishop Keane on his work for the endowment fund during the past year was most encouraging. Owing to his new duties as Archbishop of the See of Dubuque he is compelled to discontinue this work for the University, and several plans were under consideration by the board, with a view to the completion of the endowment fund.

THE MARIST COLLEGE.

The Fathers of the Society of Mary took possession in August last of their new College, a view of which is shown on the opposite page. The building occupies the central portion of the College property, which adjoins the University grounds on the north. It is solidly constructed in brick, with stone trimmings, and is provided with every convenience to secure the health and comfort of the occupants. From the upper stories the view is extensive and beautiful, sweeping over the city in the south, and long stretches of woodland, dotted with villages and farms, in the north and east. The grounds about the building are now being laid out in terraces and walks; eventually, the entire plot of ten acres will be used for purposes of recreation.

The Society of Mary was founded early in the century at Lyons, France, and was formally approved by Pope Gregory XVI in 1836. Its members are employed in parish work, the education of youth, and missionary labors. The central establishment is at Lyons, where the Father General, Rev. A. Martin, resides. There are 36 houses of the Society in France, 6 in Great Britain and Ireland, 17 in America, 3 in New Zealand, and 1 in Australia. The work of the missions is conducted principally in the islands of the Pacific. The Provincial in this country, Rev. O. Renaudier, resides in Boston.

In 1891, the Marists purchased the "Brooks Mansion" in Brookland, near the University. Here the Scholasticate of the Society was established in 1892. The property on which the new building stands was secured in 1897. The College in Brookland is now occupied by younger students who are pursuing undergraduate courses preparatory to their admission into the Society. At the new College there is the seminary curriculum in philosophy and theology; and the students follow courses in the various schools of the University.



THE MARIST COLLEGE (CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY).

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Opening Exercises.—The University opened Wednesday, October 3d. The Mass of the Holy Ghost was said, at 9.30 A. M., by the Rt. Rev. Rector, after which the professors made the usual profession of faith. At 10.30 the professors and students met in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, where the Rt. Rev. Rector welcomed all and delivered a short address on the spirit and aims of university work.

Archbishop Keane of Dubuque.—Since the last issue of the BULLETIN Archbishop Keane has been nominated to the archiepiscopal See of Dubuque. The best wishes of the University accompany him. He has been truly its founder and benefactor since the day he resigned the See of Richmond to take up the task of making known the idea of a Catholic University, collecting the requisite funds and organizing the work. *Ad multos annos!*

The Very Rev. Vice-Rector accompanied Archbishop Keane to Dubuque, where he took part in the ceremony and reception which the clergy and citizens of that city gave to the new archbishop. Rev. Dr. Kerby was also present, together with Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, S. T. L., vice-president of St. Joseph's College, Dubuque.

Rev. Dr. Pace at Chicago.—During the week September 24–29, Rev. Dr. Pace delivered a course of lectures on Psychology at the St. James Assembly Hall, Chicago. The subjects were: September 24, The Study of Psychology; September 25, Sense and Imagination; September 26, Association and Thought; September 27, Impulse, Emotion and Will; September 28, Mental Development; September 29, The Soul. The lectures were attended regularly by about two hundred teachers in the parochial and public schools of Chicago. The subjects were treated with a practical view to the bearing of psychology on the work of teachers.

Rev. Dr. Kerby lectured at the Catholic Summer School, Plattsburg, N. Y., July 15th, 16th and 17th on "The Laborer," "The Capitalist," and "Socialism."

Dr. Charles P. Neill lectured at Plattsburgh, N. Y., July 30–1, August 1, 2, 3, on the following subjects: 1) Nature and Scope of Economic Science; 2) Structure and Growth of Economic Society; 3) Analysis of the Present Social Struggle; 4) Systems of Labor; 5) Nature of Modern Social Movements. Dr. Neill was appointed by President McKinley, on

June 29th, one of the five members of the Board of Charities for the District of Columbia, created by the act of Congress of June 6th.

Rev. Dr. Henebry.—Owing to the advice of his physician, Rev. Dr. Henebry will not resume his classes in Gaelic for one year at least. We earnestly hope that his illness will not prove serious and that we may soon welcome him back, restored in health and spirits.

Improved Transit.—During the past summer the line of the City and Suburban Railway was opened along Michigan Avenue, thereby affording more direct communication with the city. Michigan Avenue between Trinity College and the Soldiers' Home has been graded and macadamized.

Holy Cross College.—During the summer Very Rev. P. J. Franciscus, C. S. C., was appointed Superior of the Band of Missions of the Holy Cross. He succeeded in his former position of Superior of the College by Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C. Father Burns completed his studies at the University of Notre Dame and received the degrees A. B. and A. M. He has been actively engaged in the work of teaching at Notre Dame and, in addition, has been for several years Superior of the Community House. His assistants in the College Faculty are Rev. Casimir Smogor, C. S. C., who has followed courses in Theology at this University for two years, and Rev. W. A. Maloney, C. S. C., who was until recently vice-president and director of studies at St. Edward's College, Austin, Texas.

The College library has recently been enriched by a collection of one thousand volumes, chiefly on philosophy and allied subjects, donated by Very Rev. J. A. Zahm, C. S. C., Provincial of the Congregation.

The Banigan Chair of Political Economy.—At the October meeting the Board of Trustees promoted to the Chair of Political Economy Dr. Charles P. Neill, who has hitherto been Associate Professor of Economics in this University. Dr. Neill received the degree of A. B. from Georgetown University, that of A. M. from the University of Notre Dame, and that of Ph. D. from the Johns Hopkins University. He was Instructor in Mathematics at Georgetown University in 1891; Assistant Professor of Mathematics in the University of Notre Dame, 1891-92, and Associate Professor of Mathematics in the University of Notre Dame, 1892-94.

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